

# Preaching in the Patristic Era

*Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West*

*Edited by*

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# Contents

Notes on Contributors IX

## *General Introduction*

Religious Literacy and the Role of Sermons in Late-Antique  
Christianity 3  
*Johan Leemans*

## *Introduction*

- 1 Preaching and Listening in Latin?: Start Here 11  
*Wendy Mayer*

### PART 1

## *Text and Context*

- 2 La Transmission de la Prédication Antique de Langue Latine 31  
*François Dolbeau*
- 3 Visual Art and Iconography 59  
*Jutta Dresken-Weiland*

### PART 2

## *Delivering, Listening to and Reading Sermons*

- 4 Sermons, Audience, Preacher 87  
*Eric Rebillard*
- 5 Rhetoric in the Patristic Sermons of Late Antiquity 103  
*Geoffrey D. Dunn*

- 6     **Impact, Influence, and Identity in Latin Preaching. The Cases of  
Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna**    135  
      *Pauline Allen*

**PART 3**  
***Latin Patristic Preachers***

- 7     **Ambrosius Mediolanensis**    159  
      *Camille Gerzagnet*
- 8     **Les Sermons Ariens (Pseudo-Maximinus)**    168  
      *Rémi Gounelle*
- 9     **Augustine of Hippo**    177  
      *Shari Boodts and Anthony Dupont*
- 10    **Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles. The Sermons of Bishop  
Caesarius**    198  
      *Nicolas De Maeyer and Gert Partoens*
- 11    **Preaching According to Gregory the Great**    232  
      *Bruno Judic*
- 12    **Preaching in Fifth-Century Gaul. Valerian of Cimiez and the  
Eusebius Gallicanus Collection**    253  
      *Lisa Bailey*
- 13    **Jerome**    274  
      *Andrew Cain*
- 14    **Latin Translations of Greek Homilies**    294  
      *Sever J. Voicu*
- 15    **Leo Magnus**    327  
      *Bronwen Neil*
- 16    **Maximus of Turin. Two Preachers of the Fifth Century**    347  
      *Clemens Weidmann*

- 17 **Donatist Sermons** 373  
*Maureen Tilley*
- 18 **Peter Chrysologus** 403  
*Andrea Bizzozero*
- 19 **Christian Preaching in Fourth-Century Spain** 430  
*Liuwe Westra*
- 20 **Zeno, Chromatius, and Gaudentius. Italian Preachers Amid  
Transition** 454  
*Robert McEachnie*

## *Conclusion*

- Attending to the Word: A Concluding Look at Latin Patristic  
Preaching and a Vision for the Way Forward** 479  
*Adam Ployd*

## *Indexes*

- Sever J. Voicu*
- Biblical Index** 501
- Index of Ancient Names, Titles and Selected Realia** 504
- Index of Modern Names** 532
- Index of Manuscripts** 540



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# Religious Literacy and the Role of Sermons in Late-Antique Christianity

*Johan Leemans*

The internal and external dynamic of Christianity (as that of any religion) is shaped by the religious literacy of its adherents. Here, 'religious literacy' (as in the more familiar 'political' or 'cultural literacy') refers to the complex of cognitive-intellectual knowledge (doctrine, normative writings, the tradition) and praxis-oriented knowledge (ethics, rituals, spirituality) an individual or a group has of their own religion (and/or of that of others).<sup>1</sup> *Ad intra* religious literacy creates a sense of belonging for the individual and promotes active participation in one's own tradition; *ad extra* it enables the communication between members of a religious movement as well as between various religious traditions and society at large. The extent to which a person or group has acquired and interiorized this knowledge determines the capacity and ability to live a religion and to communicate about it with others. Understood in this way, religious literacy is by definition a fluid given, that allows for diversity, change and development. The content of both the cognitive-intellectual and the praxis-oriented types of knowledge develops and changes from generation to generation, and so does the communication about them. All of this makes for a complex process that involves a wide array of actors and factors. As religious literacy is crucial for the organization, cohesion and profile of Christian communities, it does not come as a surprise that the leaders of these communities place a high premium on enhancing and promoting it. Therefore, the sermons they delivered are of paramount importance.

From the earliest period up until today sermons have been an integral part of Christian liturgical experience. Drawing on what was Jewish custom in the synagogue, Christian gatherings too saw liturgical readings followed by an address from the leader of the community. These sermons often start from or deal with the explanation of the readings from the Scriptures and connect these to the lives of the members of the community. Many sermons have this

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<sup>1</sup> The term "religious literacy" has not yet been adopted widely and, hence, is not yet used consistently. Just one example: the Harvard Religious Literacy Project (<<https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/definition-religious-literacy>>), as it is geared towards religious education in the broad sense of the word, is adopting a more focused meaning of the term, as coined by Diane L. Moore.

exegetical thrust but many also address ethical, doctrinal or disciplinarian issues. When the context demanded it, there was room to address issues prompted by a current challenge, problem or discussion related to doctrine or discipline. In line with its diverse content, the tone and content of Christian sermons can be explanatory and discursive but also exhortative or polemical. Through the preacher's eyes, sermons offer us a glimpse of the daily life of Christians in general and their liturgical life in particular.

Late Antiquity is the formative period during which a Jewish sect in first-century Palestine gradually spread across the Later Roman Empire, received the support of emperors, established an institutional and doctrinal framework, nurtured the spiritual and devotional life of its followers, showed a remarkable missionary zeal and capacity for adapting to many local cultures and at the end of the period diverged into local cultural and doctrinal variants, many of which persist until today. During the first six centuries of its existence, Christianity transformed the religious landscape of the Roman Empire and in the process was itself also transformed continuously. Many specialized studies, more general surveys, handbooks and introductions have charted the development of Christianity between 100 and 600 AD in all its aspects and no doubt many more will continue to do so in the future. Christianity's doctrinal development, internal organization, the relation between religion and culture, between church and state no doubt will remain scholarly topics of the first rank. Many literary and archaeological sources await discovery or merit a more thorough study than they have received so far.

As part of the future research agenda about late-antique Christianity, the notion of 'religious literacy' could function as an additional prism, through which the processes of development and transformation could be approached. Sources that reveal the historical reality as it was lived by late-antique Christians and shaped for them by the leaders of their communities are particularly illuminating in this regard. Hagiographical sources (miracle books, *passiones*), liturgical books (missals, *synaxaries*) and sermons are the sources that come immediately to mind. Generally speaking, these sources have received less scholarly attention than learned theological treatises, monastic literature and exegetical works. Yet, the past few decades have witnessed an increase in interest in these formerly marginal genres.

This is most certainly the case in the area of sermon studies. Over the past decades several spectacular finds have brought new sermons to light: Dolbeau's find of some dozens of new sermons in a Carthusian manuscript of the Mainzer Stadtbibliothek,<sup>2</sup> the discovery of 6 (partially) new sermons of the *doctor*

2 *Aurelius Augustinus, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, retrouvés à Mayence, édités et commentés par F. Dolbeau (Collection des études augustinienes. Série Antiquité, 14), Paris 1996.

*gratiae* in a manuscript in Erfurt,<sup>3</sup> and, more recently, new homilies on the Psalms by Origen in a manuscript from the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.<sup>4</sup> New editions and translations have made late-antique sermons much more accessible and the large corpora of Pseudo-chrysostomica and Pseudo-augustiniana are beginning to yield their secrets, including the discovery that some of these dubia or spuria are actually authentic sermons by these stars of late-antique preaching.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, sustained research has sharpened the profile and the confines of the corpus of lesser-known homilists such as Severian of Gabala, Proclus of Constantinople or Amphilochius of Iconium for the Greek East and Zeno of Verona, Chromatius of Aquileia or Maximus of Turin for the Latin West. But also with regard to the really big homiletic corpora of Augustine of Hippo or John Chrysostom substantial scholarly progress has led to a better understanding of these bishops as homilists, theologians and interpreters of the Scriptures. Finally, important results have been achieved through the analysis of homiletical material for a better knowledge of social realities, the liturgy and Christian rhetoric. The past decades have witnessed a positive revaluation of patristic sermons as such, thanks to the preacher-audience analysis. Patristic sermons, then, are not just sources to be mined for nuggets of historical knowledge, nor are they a form of “light theology”. They must be seen and are increasingly valued as a privileged, nuanced, richly textured and multi-layered way of communication between the leaders of Christian communities and their flock. This mode of communication is not straightforward but rather governed by some basic rules of rhetoric, progresses by association and has the liturgical context and the Scriptural pericopes or verses attached to it as anchors that orient the preachers’ discourse to their audience.

The rich legacy of patristic sermons has great potential for scholarship and has not yet been mined sufficiently. Yet, it is also a challenging, difficult to unlock type of source. It really requires interdisciplinary knowledge of Latin and Greek (Coptic and Syriac), textual transmission, history of the liturgy,

3 I. Schiller/D. Weber/C. Weidmann, “Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten: Teil 1 mit Edition dreier Sermones”, *Wiener Studien*, 121 (2008), 227-84; “Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten: Teil 2 mit Edition dreier Sermones zum Thema Almosen”, *Wiener Studien*, 122 (2009), 171-213.

4 *Origenes, Die neuen Psalmenhomilien. Eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*. Herausgegeben von L. Perrone, in Zusammenarbeit mit M. Molin Pradel/E. Prinzivalli/A. Cacciari (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, Neue Folge. Band 19), Berlin/München/Boston 2015.

5 See the programmatic article and case-study by C. Weidmann, “Unitas Omnibus Linguis Loquitur: An Unidentified Augustinian Sermon on Pentecost”, in R.W. Bishop/J. Leemans/H. Tamas (eds.), *Preaching after Easter: Mid-Pentecost, Ascension, and Pentecost in Late Antiquity* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 136), Leiden 2016, pp. 304-22.

biblical exegesis and historical theology. Knowledge of archaeology and church architecture is equally indispensable for an adequate understanding of homiletical texts. This helps to explain why all in all a rather small group of scholars maintains a strong research focus on patristic sermons, and why a handbook such as the one presented here is useful. Dom Olivar's monumental work *La predicación cristiana antigua* is more than 25 years old and has not received the attention and dissemination it deserves.<sup>6</sup> It remains a standard work but the fact that it is in Spanish limited its impact on the field. Since Olivar a more synthetic volume on Greek and byzantine sermons was published in 1998 in Brill's *New History of the Sermon*. This volume largely focusses on the preacher-audience-analysis to highlight its possibilities and limitations but also provides useful introductory information on the most important Greek homilists. To these two, a number of other volumes may be added.<sup>7</sup>

What is conspicuously lacking in this state of the art is an up-to-date handbook on Latin patristic sermons. The present handbook fills this lacuna. It will serve as a solid foundation for graduate students wanting to work in this field but more seasoned scholars also will be able to profit from it if they wish to get a quick overview of the size, content and nature of the oeuvre of a preacher. The list of editions and publications at the end of each chapter does not aim at completeness but serves as a trustworthy pointer to the most important sources and scholarship. Chronologically the focal zone of the book is the 4th to 6th century. This is the golden age of Latin preaching, when it reached the zenith of its creative potential. After this time, the sermon *ex abundantia cordis* gives way gradually to the prepared sermon or desk sermon and to florilegia and handbooks with exemplary sermons. Geographically our focus is self-evidently on the Latin West but we do include a chapter with an overview of Greek sermons in Latin translation.

The first six chapters of the book<sup>8</sup> (parts I and II) are thematic and general in nature. The introductory chapter traces in broad strokes the emergence and development of Latin preaching in the patristic era, and points out some of the issues and methodological problems connected to studying Latin preachers, sermons and their audience. This is followed by a thorough expert survey on the transmission of Latin patristic sermons (ch. 2) and a synthesis of what

6 A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua* (Biblioteca Herder. Sección de teología y filosofía, 189), Barcelona 1991.

7 Three early examples: D. Hunter (ed.), *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Essays in Honour of Walter Burghardt S.J.*, New York 1989; E. Mühlenberg/J. van Oort (eds.), *Predigt in der Alten Kirche*, Kampen 1994; H. Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*. II. The Patristic Age, Grand Rapids 1998.

8 All contributions in this volume were subject to peer review.

sermons teach us about visual art and iconography in the churches and about the preachers' often critical attitude towards these images (ch. 3). The chapters 4-6 deal with issues related to the preacher-audience dynamic. What do we know about the audience (and, for that matter, about the preacher)? What role did rhetoric play? What was the impact and influence of these sermons on the hearers anyway? And did it make a difference whether sermons were delivered impromptu or were read? The next section of the handbook, then, is devoted to a presentation of the many individual preachers we know from the late-antique and early medieval Latin West. Aside from chapters on the "big names" due attention is also given to lesser-known preachers in chapters on Gaudentius of Brescia or three 4th-century Iberian authors of sermons: Potamius of Lisbon, Pacianus of Barcelona, and Priscillian of Avila. Finally, also anonymous sermons such as the so-called Donatist Sermons from the Vienna Codex or the "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection are presented. All these preachers and their homiletic oeuvre document a time of transition for Western Europe in general and testify to the central role of Christianity in this dynamic. Much more research should be devoted to a radical multidisciplinary study of editing, translating, commenting and studying these texts to understand better the processes that led to the formation of Christendom.





## *Introduction*





# Preaching and Listening in Latin?: Start Here

Wendy Mayer

## 1 Introduction

It is a truism of Christianity that it originated in the Greek-speaking eastern Roman empire and, through missionary activity and the networks of the Jewish diaspora, spread from its point of origin in the Roman province of Palestine towards Rome and the Latin-speaking West. This raises an interesting question about the origins of Latin preaching. Did the practice of preaching arise independently within the western Roman world or is it a tradition brought across from the East that subsequently developed its own characteristics and trajectory? This then gives rise to an associated question: to what degree can we trace cross-influence? These and similar questions we will attempt to answer in this chapter. Where did Latin preaching come from? What is it? That is, what are its defining characteristics? Who preached? How did individual sermons survive? In the larger picture, how did the historical events of the 4th to 7th centuries influence the development of Latin preaching and its survival? And, of equal importance, how has the preaching in Latin of this era been studied? What resources for exploring Latin sermons and their preaching currently exist?

## 2 The Emergence of Preaching in Latin

As early as the mid-2nd century AD, Justin Martyr, writing from Rome, refers to oral instruction as a regular part of Sunday worship, indicating that this instruction followed and was based on the reading of both early gospel accounts and the Old Testament prophets.<sup>1</sup> A key component was exhortation to the listeners to follow the instructions in those writings. But Justin was writing in Greek and, just as the “apostle’s recollections” and the books of the prophets were at this time circulated only in Greek,<sup>2</sup> it is likely that the proto-

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1 Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 67, 3-4, ed. Marcovich, p. 129.

2 The primary version of the Old Testament Scriptures used in Christian worship and exegesis in the first centuries AD was the Septuagint.

sermons to which Justin refers were delivered in Greek as well. We should therefore not assume that when Christianity and its worship arrived in the western half of the Roman empire, where the dominant language was Latin, preaching in Latin automatically occurred. In origin Christianity was a Judeo-Hellenistic religion that, when it arrived in Rome, North Africa and other regions of the West, was foreign and we should expect that it took some time for Christian practices to take on indigenous characteristics and to adapt themselves to a distinctly different cultural world. As Olivar points out, Hippolytus was still preaching in Greek in Rome in the 3rd century, while some Roman bishops continued to preach in Greek into the second half of the 4th century, with perhaps presbyters, rather, preaching in Latin in smaller communities.<sup>3</sup> The first surviving works in Latin that can be identified clearly as sermons do not appear until the middle of the 4th century, although there is some argument that a highly rhetorical discourse *Aduersus Iudaeos* attributed to Cyprian that originated in Rome in the late 2nd or early 3rd century, was both originally composed in Latin (as opposed to translated from Greek) and can be categorized as a sermon.<sup>4</sup> Since Olivar finds evidence of both local preaching in North Africa in the mid-3rd century and of an attachment to worship in Latin in the genuine writings of Cyprian,<sup>5</sup> even though none of his sermons survive, we should suppose that preaching in Latin was taking place in some regions or local communities in the Roman West by the 3rd century AD, but that this development was not uniform and was influenced by local factors.<sup>6</sup>

That Cyprian was a trained orator and, prior to his conversion, a teacher of rhetoric raises another issue of importance for how we view the emergence of Latin preaching, namely to what extent the sermon is a uniquely Christian development, on the one hand, and how much it was shaped by the rhetorical traditions that existed in the Graeco-Roman world, on the other. Despite claims to the contrary, both by modern scholars and by patristic preachers

3 Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 266. Although there have been minor developments since 1991, when he published his detailed analysis of Christian preaching from its origins to the late 6th century, Olivar's work remains authoritative.

4 Van Damme, *Pseudo-Cyprian*. For discussion see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 266-67. On the problems of defining a work as homiletic, particularly at this early period, see Mayer, "Homiletics", pp. 570-72. The work is listed by Dekkers/Gaar, *Clavis*, p. 21 under pseudo-Novatian.

5 Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 267-71.

6 That Christianity in its early centuries was a network of idiosyncratic small groups not representative of the wider community is a point made by Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries*, pp. 129-31.

themselves,<sup>7</sup> Christian sermons are best viewed not as a novel product, but as an oratorical genre that evolved from and under the influence of the available traditions of the time. Stewart-Sykes traces an erratic trajectory in the first two to three centuries in which preaching emerged in household churches from the need to test prophetic utterances, using Scripture as a standard, a development that occurred side by side with synagogue preaching and the mode of teaching practised in Hellenistic philosophical schools.<sup>8</sup> As the written Christian scriptural canon gained growing respect and as Scripture gained dominance in authority over prophecy, the households themselves developed into scholastic associations that came under the influence of the models of communication (the exegesis of Scripture, the teaching of philosophical truths) current in similar organizations, in this case synagogues and, to a lesser extent during these early centuries, Hellenistic philosophical schools. Just as we have argued that preaching in Latin developed in different regions at different times under the influence of local factors, so Stewart-Sykes argues that the same occurred with the development of Christian preaching in the first three centuries *per se*. By the end of the 3rd century the confluence of the employment of Scripture as a touchstone in prophetic traditions with the absorption of influences from Jewish synagogue preaching and Hellenistic philosophical pedagogy had given rise to two elements of Christian preaching that became characteristic of sermons in the 4th century: moral (ethical) teaching and scriptural exegesis.

Stewart-Sykes' model gives preference to the influence of Jewish synagogue practice on the evolution of Christian preaching in both Latin and Greek. His view has since been nuanced further by Maxwell, who points on the philosophical side to the more natural influence, not of the formal schools but of the "popular philosophers", especially the wandering Cynic preachers who spread their moral message to a wider audience in the marketplaces of the Roman imperial world.<sup>9</sup> In their preoccupation with ethics rather than metaphysics, their debates about the service of sophistry (eloquence/rhetoric) to philosophy (its purpose is to communicate universal truths in a way that accommodates the soul of the hearer, not to entertain), and their concern

7 See, e.g. Merkt, "Mündlichkeit"; Schäublin, "Zum paganen Umfeld". By the end of the 4th century the claim by preachers that the uneducated, simple speech of the apostles had spread the true philosophy (Christianity) successfully throughout the known world in opposition to the teachings and sophisticated rhetoric of the Graeco-Roman philosophers (the implication being that their own preaching followed in the tradition of the apostles) had become a *topos*.

8 Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy*. For a summary of his arguments in relation to earlier scholarship see Mayer, "Homiletics", pp. 568-70.

9 See Maxwell, *Christianization*, pp. 11-41 ("Philosophical preaching in the Roman world").

with communicating their message to the masses rather than the elite, they prepared the way for the Christian sermon. The message of Dio Chrysostom and others about the superiority of the simple and self-sufficient life, for instance, or the Cynic rejection of wealth shared significant similarities with the Christian message. In this respect, receptiveness to the ethical content of public speeches as well as the practice of public preaching in Latin as well as in Greek were an accepted and familiar part of popular culture throughout the Roman imperial world, paving the way for the Christian sermon as it emerged by the 3rd and 4th centuries and providing a framework into which, as Christianity gained influence, its preachers could plug relatively seamlessly. It is this cultural background in particular, especially the rejection of sophistry as the practice of rhetoric for the purpose of entertainment and the consciousness of a need to reach a broad audience, that helps to explain the adoption by the majority of Latin preachers of a “simple” oratorical style or *sermo humilis*.<sup>10</sup>

By ignoring or dismissing these readily available models and arguing instead that the simplicity of language of the Scriptures is the true model for preaching,<sup>11</sup> preachers in Latin such as Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, who like their predecessors Tertullian and Cyprian were either teachers or students of Latin rhetoric, were able at one and the same time to distance themselves from “pagan” rhetoric and philosophy and to appropriate and work within those same traditions.<sup>12</sup> In the fourth book of his *De doctrina christiana* Augustine produced what has been considered the first treatise on Christian rhetoric and the “art of preaching”,<sup>13</sup> but his work is less novel than it at first appears. Christian preachers and authors in both the East and West had been grappling with the tension between eloquence or sophistry and communication of the true philosophy (Christianity) since at least the 3rd century in response in

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10 See the classic essays: Auerbach, “*Sermo humilis*” and MacMullen, “A Note on *Sermo humilis*”; and Salvatore, *Sermo humilis*. An exception is Potamius of Lisbon, whose literary style, exemplified in his sermon *De Lazaro*, is described by Conti, *Life and Works of Potamius*, pp. 1, 4 as “extremely original” and “hyper-realist and baroque”. For an account of the more basic styles of Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus, as opposed to the more varied preaching styles of Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, and Gregory I, see the chapter by Pauline Allen in this volume (pp. 135-56).

11 See Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics*, pp. 112-20.

12 Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics*, pp. 121-26. See further the chapter by Geoffrey Dunn in this volume (pp. 103-34).

13 See Enos/Thompson, *The Rhetoric of St. Augustine*; Ward, “Roman Rhetoric”, pp. 355-56.

part to the trend known as the second sophistic (fl. ca. 50-300 AD).<sup>14</sup> Indeed, as has recently been argued, Origen's conception of a separate Christian rhetoric that attempts to solve the problems of the conversion of mixed audiences, the utility of "pagan" rhetoric, and the communication of the New Testament Scriptures and their divine proofs predates that of Augustine by one and a half centuries.<sup>15</sup> Similarly when Augustine conceived of the role of the preacher as that of psychagogue,<sup>16</sup> he may not have been reclaiming and transforming a lapsed philosophical ideal so much as continuing in a philosophical tradition that informed the preaching of John Chrysostom and others before him.<sup>17</sup> This is not to argue for a direct reception of Origen's or Chrysostom's ideas by Augustine in the West (the Origenist controversy and other factors complicated this), but simply to point out that Latin preaching did not develop in isolation, nor should we draw a linear trajectory from the earliest Christian authors in Latin and Latin sermons of the 4th to 7th centuries. Latin preachers faced many of the same concerns as their fellow clerics who preached in Greek and we need to bear in mind that by the later 4th century, when asceticism, the cult of the saints and the new *terra sancta* of Jerusalem drew increasing numbers of tourists from the Latin-speaking West to Egypt, Palestine and Syria – not to mention the practice of exiling western bishops in the East – the networks between individuals in the two halves of the empire that developed facilitated the exchange of biblical commentaries, sermons and ideas. When we look at the environment from which mature Latin patristic preaching emerged, we should thus perhaps think of Latin sermons and preaching as evolving from rhetorical traditions already well established in the Roman world, which led them to absorb – and also exhibit – a range of influences.

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14 See Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics*, pp. 121-23 on this debate in Tertullian, Cyprian, and their immediate successors. On the place of Christian literary production within this movement see the excellent discussion in Van Hoof, "Greek Rhetoric", who cites and analyses the bulk of the key scholarship on the topic. The acknowledgement that this movement was not just a phenomenon of the Greek-speaking Roman world but also influenced Roman (Latin) rhetoric is seen in the inclusion of a chapter on the second sophistic in the Blackwell *Companion to Roman Rhetoric*: Anderson, "Rhetoric and the Second Sophistic".

15 Duncan, "The New Christian Rhetoric".

16 See Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*.

17 On Chrysostom's conception of the preacher as psychagogue see Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom on Divine pedagogy*.

### 3 Defining Sermons and Their Audiences

In Latin patristic preaching the linguistic labels employed can be as fluid as those applied by Greek patristic authors to what they preached.<sup>18</sup> The two most common terms are *sermo* or *tractatus*, the two initially being used interchangeably. This is the case regardless of the content, which could range from exegesis or the explanation of Scripture to moral or catechetical instruction.<sup>19</sup> Only later did the term *tractatus* come to be associated more firmly with sermons in the scriptural commentary tradition, where the content was primarily exegetical, as opposed to sermons that were primarily pastoral and exhortatory in character. Not in all cases, moreover, can we assume that what has been handed down as a sermon, under whatever label, was delivered in front of an audience in a liturgical context. This is the case, for instance, with Augustine's *tractatus in euangelium/epistolam Iohannis*, many of which were never delivered orally, being either dictated by Augustine to a scribe or written by him as model sermons.<sup>20</sup> This raises the further complicating issue of the distinction to be drawn between a sermon in the form in which it was delivered orally and a more polished, subsequently edited version. Sermons were often preserved by stenographers present in the audience,<sup>21</sup> *notarii* being an essential part of a bishop's staff for the production and preservation of official records and correspondence. Sermons of Augustine and Ambrose, for instance, which they did not have a chance to subsequently edit in both cases show signs of *ex tempore* preaching. In the case of Ambrose, the few versions of his sermons that survive in their stenographically recorded form make it clear in comparison with others that he edited what he initially preached in a relatively simple style, improving the tone, structure, and supporting references.<sup>22</sup> Understanding at what point in the transmission process the Latin sermons that survive

18 For discussion of some of the problems see Mayer, "Homiletics", pp. 570-72. For the diversity of labels in both Latin and Greek see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 487-514.

19 See Dupont, *Gratia*, pp. 5-8 and literature; and Tovar Paz, *Tractatus*, pp. 19-20. So in the case of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, both Possidius and older collections refer to them as *tractatus*, on which see Dolbeau, "Les titres". I am indebted to Gert Partoens for alerting me to this reference.

20 Dupont, *Gratia*, p. 6.

21 On the role of stenographers in recording the sermons of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gaudentius of Brescia, Zeno of Verona, Peter Chrysologus, and Gregory the Great, see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 910-22.

22 Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics*, pp. 101-09. The embellishments include "a more colorful and flowery vocabulary", the insertion of "biblical citations and discussions from Greek exegetes", the elimination of "the superfluous" and compression of "the essentials,



situate themselves (preacher's notes; faithful stenographic record of an oral original; edited by its preacher; edited by a later scribe) is thus of considerable importance. Another dimension, as opposed to the deliberate writing of a sermon not intended for delivery by its author but as a model, is the subsequent editing out of specific material in sermons that were delivered and then recorded to produce generic models. The production and circulation of collections of sermons of this kind increasingly came to fill a need as administrative and economic changes took place in the former western imperial provinces in the centuries following the sack of Rome,<sup>23</sup> impacting different regions of the West.<sup>24</sup> The "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection, produced in the 6th century in Gaul, is one such example.<sup>25</sup>

The anonymity of the sermons in collections such as the "Eusebius Gallicanus", a direct product of the editorial process and of their second life as homiletic models, raises the issue of attribution and authorship. Both play an important role in how we approach sermons composed in Latin and their preaching since one of the complications involved in studying patristic preaching, regardless of the language, is that for a variety of reasons the author to whom a sermon was attributed and the original author of that sermon were often not the same. Anonymous and pseudonymous sermons of Latin composition proliferate, the latter attributed not just to famous Latin preachers (such as Augustine), but also to well-known figures who preached and composed sermons in Greek (notably, Chrysostom and Ephrem [Graecus]). One case in point is the survival of a large number of 4th- and 5th-century North African "dissenter"<sup>26</sup> and "Catholic" sermons by lesser or unknown preachers

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in order to achieve a more educated tone, more precise language, and a more periodic style".

23 The real impact of "barbarian" migration on the provinces of the former Roman empire in the West is debated, the two chief views (major disruption with demonstrable decline in standard of living versus modestly disruptive accommodation and transformation) being led by Heather (*Empires and Barbarians; The Fall of the Roman Empire*) and Ward-Perkins (*The Fall of Rome*) on the one side, and Brown (e.g. *The Rise of Western Christendom*) on the other. Regardless, it is generally agreed that under the Ostrogothic and Vandal kings the focus of those who formerly lived under Roman rule turned inwards, becoming far more localized.

24 In this respect the West differs from the East, where the practice of producing such collections became common only in the 8th and 9th centuries (often in monastic settings). On the latter see Cunningham, "The Sixth Century".

25 On the context and content of the collection see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 1-38.

26 There is considerable debate about the precise label to be applied to this group. Both the terms "Donatist" and "Catholic" have fallen out of favour in current scholarship as

as a result of their collection in the later 5th century in Italy, the excision of the names of their original authors (if still attached), and the subsequent transmission under the name of Chrysostom.<sup>27</sup> The activity of Rufinus, Jerome, and Annianus of Celeda, among others, who in the last decades of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century translated into Latin from Greek select eastern Christian texts from a wide range of genres, provided a fertile climate for both deliberate obfuscation and innocent confusion.<sup>28</sup> A Latin collection of 38 homilies and four treatises attributed to Chrysostom and produced in North Africa in the early 5th century, provides a useful illustration. Rather than containing Latin translations from Greek of 38 genuine sermons composed by Chrysostom, as one might expect, alongside just 13 authentic Chrysostom homilies we find translations of Greek homilies authored by Basil of Caesarea and Severian of Gabala (one each), and at least 11 homilies that were originally composed in Latin by a variety of authors. Among the latter is an authentic sermon by the mid-4th-century “Arian” preacher Potamius of Lisbon.<sup>29</sup> Thus at a relatively early stage in the history of Latin patristic preaching the attribution of authorship to Latin sermons both composed in that language and translated from other languages was becoming complex.

These issues raise significant questions of relevance to the study of the preacher’s audience. When we study Latin preaching we work, for the most part, from texts that have been written down.<sup>30</sup> Since, as Harrison points out, in the late-antique world virtually everything we now approach as a written text was either initially delivered orally or intended to be read aloud,<sup>31</sup> we need

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reproducing labels that were a product of the biased view of the sources. See Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, pp. 5-6, who points out that both sides saw themselves as Catholic, but settles on the term “dissenter”, used by him in a general sense, as a way of distinguishing the two parties.

27 See Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, Appendix H, pp. 843-49; Bady, “Les traductions latines”, pp. 307-08, esp. nn. 4 and 9.

28 One of the chief reasons that sermons were attributed to preachers such as Augustine and Chrysostom was the orthodoxy of the latter in contrast to the non-orthodox or heretical status of the sermons’ authors. Attribution of such sermons to an author of unimpeachable status guaranteed their survival.

29 See Wenk, *Zur Sammlung*, pp. 9-32; and Bady, “Les traductions latines”, pp. 308-09.

30 The archaeology and architecture of church buildings and martyria are also significant for understanding the physical context of preaching, but are not discussed here. In recent decades substantial work has been done on this aspect in relation to the major cities of Italy and North Africa.

31 Harrison, *The Art of Listening*, pp. 1-2. The same point is made by Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, p. 410.

to consider that the performative aspect of preaching had multiple contexts. That is, even if the sermon as originally delivered does not survive, since they were also read aloud, its subsequently edited version, or even a sermon composed for circulation in written form, each have their own particular audiences. That is, what we might think of as the only or most important performative context – the liturgical setting of the interior of a church building or martyr-ium; the audience who stood or sat within or around it; the preacher who instructed them; and the interaction between these three – is only one of a number of possibilities. The simple fact of the production of sermon collections in the West from the early 5th century onwards, regardless of content or purpose, presupposes that the sermons of even quite obscure preachers were after their delivery published in a written form and circulated, since if they had not been written down in the first place they could not have been collected. Even before their assembly into such collections, the individual sermons would thus have gone through an intermediate phase in which, through the act of being read aloud, they were performed before audiences in private households or Christian (perhaps even ascetic) communities with different dynamics from those of their original context. Once they had been brought together into a collection for a particular purpose, their further alteration through editing or introduction into new circles via translation together with their insertion into a fresh context via the rationale and process engaged in their selection, would have changed the performance context and dynamic yet again. Sermons could thus have multiple lives and, while this aspect of preaching remains barely studied,<sup>32</sup> it is important both to view all of these lives as performative and not to privilege one audience or context over another.

#### 4 Delivery Dynamics

This leads us to a consideration of the sheer complexity of the ways in which the dynamic between the sermon deliverer (whether preacher or reader) and audience could be enacted within these multiple contexts. In this regard, for Latin preaching the work of Olivar remains foundational,<sup>33</sup> although it should be noted that his focus is on the oral delivery of an original sermon in a liturgical

<sup>32</sup> Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, is a rare exception.

<sup>33</sup> See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 515-901. For a preliminary exploration of these factors in Greek preaching of the first millennium, see Allen/Cunningham, *Preacher and Audience*.

setting.<sup>34</sup> Even at this one level the variety of options allowed for considerable variation in the dynamics. One of the first avenues for diversity is the category of a sermon. As the shape and forms of Christian worship developed, by the 4th century the audience and setting of catechesis, for instance, had largely diverged from that of the sermon, the one being delivered to a subset (those enrolled in the catechumenate) of the audience of the other. Similarly the liturgical calendar had a strong influence on the size and composition of an audience and a sermon's setting. Major liturgical festivals, such as Easter or the anniversary of a martyr, often drew large crowds, while the audience dropped off significantly on more ordinary occasions. Lent could mean the preaching of a sermon almost every day, some in the evening during the week, others in the morning on weekends, depending on local custom. Catechetical instruction could be delivered in the weeks both before and after Easter, increasing at that period the frequency of preaching and the diversity of audiences and locations. Martyr festivals would draw both preachers and audiences to martyria, often outside the city, sometimes comingling rural- and urban-dwellers. The markets associated with such occasions could lead to particularly inattentive and rowdy behaviour.

Even if the sermon was delivered inside a church there was considerable potential for variation. An audience might be seated (and therefore static) or there might be no seating and the mobile audience could crowd the preacher or wander in and out of the venue. If there was no permanent seating provided, the rich who suffered from gout or who wished to emphasize their status might have their slaves carry in chairs. Behaviour associated with other forms of oratory, such as acclamations and applause, were often a natural part of the experience. The audience might also be segregated according to gender between the front and back of the nave, across the nave from each other, or between upstairs and downstairs, depending on local custom and architecture. Whether the preacher prepared his sermon beforehand, preached from notes or *ex tempore* might affect his ability to respond spontaneously to the mood, behaviour, or interjections of the audience. The preacher himself might be a deacon, priest or bishop and the sermon or catechesis might have been delivered standing or seated from an elevated platform (*ambo*) in the middle of the nave or from a *cathedra* or other kind of seating arrangement in the apse or behind the altar. Depending on the status of the see and the particular church more than one cleric might preach on a particular liturgical occasion.

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34 The term "original" refers to the authorship of the sermon and indicates that it is the product of the preacher. The content itself might not be wholly original in the modern sense, being borrowed to smaller or larger degree from elsewhere.

We should also bear in mind that house churches did not disappear in the period after Constantine and that sectarian Christian communities that were not in imperial favour or were deemed heretical might be obliged to worship in such spaces out of necessity. With the rise of monastic communities in the 5th century we need also to consider the peculiarities of a monastic audience and setting. Quite apart from these factors, the historical circumstances of the 5th century and those that followed had a variety of impacts in different regions of the West. For example, in the second decade of the 5th century entire families fled Rome for their estates in North Africa, which would, temporarily at least, have altered the size and the social dynamics of local congregations in both locations.

When we move beyond this level, additional factors come into play. In terms of the two types of sermon collections we have discussed (the 38-homily Latin Chrysostom and the "Eusebius Gallicanus"), in the first case the triumph of Nicene Christianity in the last decades of the 4th century may well have contributed to the circulation of Potamius' sermon without his name, since the latter now carried the taint of "Arianism". A similar post-factum view of the Catholic-dissenter (or Donatist) schism in North Africa would have led to a markedly different perception of the dissenter homilies preserved in an Italian collection of the later 5th century. Taking away any identification of their original context would inevitably have changed a listener's response. Attribution of such sermons to an orthodox author (in this case, the Greek homilist Chrysostom) may additionally have influenced the listener's expectations when they listened to genuine sermons of that preacher in Latin translation. Did they notice differences in style or theology? Or were the sermons from such collections read out one at a time, each on a different occasion? Freed from the taint of heterodoxy, did it mean that these sermons not only continued to be experienced by new audiences but that the collections as a whole engendered in those audiences a completely new sense of "the preacher", this time as a composite author? Potamius' sermon raises yet another issue. How did these new audiences respond to a homiletic style that was now considerably at odds with the simplicity of other preachers? Did his hyperrealism now evoke a completely different response in audiences with differently shaped sensibilities? In a not unrelated issue, in the case of the "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection, were these sermons preached in their published form? To what extent did local Gallic preachers deviate from these models? How did lay congregations in Gaul respond to sermons originally composed for a monastic audience? More importantly, are questions of this kind even valid? Or should we treat each subsequent performance of a sermon beyond its original setting as a completely new and unconnected performance? There are many more questions

that the multiple lives of sermons raise, including the impact of church-political and social-historical factors on the preacher-audience dynamic at all levels. The one constant in all of these considerations, however, is that in each instance there are listeners, a preacher/reader and a physical environment, all of which exert their influence.

## 5 Resources for Studying Latin Sermons and Preaching

By now it will have become clear that there is ample room for future investigation of Latin patristic sermons, their preaching and their audiences. In the 25 years since patristic preaching began to be taken seriously as a topic of research, many of the same pitfalls remain and this is a field that still needs to be entered with caution.<sup>35</sup> The establishment of modern critical editions, the delicate tasking of identifying authors and teasing out the relationships among sermons that have been pseudonymously attributed or transmitted anonymously, in addition to establishing clear boundaries for the corpora of individual Latin preachers, are all ongoing tasks. The occasional discovery of new sermons, as has occurred since 1990 in the case of Augustine, continues to impact the latter.<sup>36</sup> In consequence, determining the date and provenance of individual sermons within even well-studied corpora continues to be a challenge.<sup>37</sup> The problem posed by the piecemeal production of modern critical editions of the sermons of more prolific authors by a variety of individual scholars and their consequent publication in a range of locations can also make assembling an author's full works for the purposes of study difficult. One is often obliged to collate from a variety of series (the most common are *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, *Sources Chrétiennes*, in addition to *Patrologia Latina*, and *Patrologia Latina Supplementum*), and then to forage through a range of journals or less common series in which individual sermons or small collections have been published. This problem is greatest in the case of pseudonymous or little known homilists. Additionally, the confusion that can attach to the citation of the titles of

35 For a discussion of the methodological problems that attach to patristic preaching as a whole see Mayer, "Homiletics", pp. 575-79.

36 A collection of 26 new sermons of Augustine was discovered in Mainz in 1990 and a further 4 new sermons and two previously partially known sermons in Erfurt in 2008. On the latter see Kamimura, "Selected Bibliography".

37 For the situation with regard to the dating of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, which remains unresolved, see the summary in Dupont, *Gratia*, pp. 24-35.

individual sermons of Greek and oriental patristic preachers and that ought to be negated in the case of Latin sermons, since the citation of sermon titles in Latin is across the field of patristic homiletics the norm, continues nonetheless because of the rationale behind the compilation of the standard reference for Latin patristic writings, the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (CPL). That is, in only a small number of cases is a title, which might then be cited in a standard way by scholars, assigned to an individual sermon.

The *Clavis*, while helpful for most other patristic works, is problematic when it comes to sermons. Produced as a template and guide for the future publication program of the Latin series of *Corpus Christianorum*, it is, on the one hand, the most readily available resource for locating who preached what, and what sermons have been pseudonymously attributed to whom and have currently been identified as belonging to someone else. On the other hand, it serves those who study Latin preaching less well in that Dekkers, who was at the time producing a significant resource that was completely novel and remains important to this day, did not assign separate identification numbers and titles to the individual sermons of an individual author. This is both because at the time that he and Gaar began their work the field of patristics privileged theological writings over those perceived as popular (such as letters, hagiography, and sermons), and because the study of patristic sermons and preaching was as yet underdeveloped. As a result the *Clavis* for the most part assigns single reference tags to entire sermon collections. So, for example, in the case of Peter Chrysologus 179 of his sermons that derive from one collection are listed together under a single entry, a further 17 from another manuscript under a second entry, and two other sermons are assigned entries of their own.<sup>38</sup> In order to locate the titles and topics of 196 of his sermons one would thus have to skim through the volumes containing the current edition of his sermons. Given the accelerated progress in the field of patristic preaching since the 3rd edition was published in 1995 the *Clavis* at times also fails to reflect the current state of knowledge. The *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins*, now in its 5th edition, which began for other reasons (in that case the indexation of patristic citations of the *Vetus Latina Bible*), constitutes an alternative resource that partly solves these problems.<sup>39</sup>

In terms of other useful tools, since the sermons of Augustine constitute by far the largest corpus of single-authored sermons in Latin that survives, it is not surprising that tools have been developed to assist those who study them.

<sup>38</sup> Dekkers/Gaar, *Clavis*, pp. 87-91.

<sup>39</sup> For the drawbacks that accompany the cumulative development of this resource see the review of the most recent edition by Elliott, *Journal of Theological Studies* (2008).



Drobner's bibliography dedicated to the *sermones ad populum*,<sup>40</sup> when combined with his guide to the more recently discovered "Erfurt" sermons,<sup>41</sup> provide scholars with a firm foundation from which to start.<sup>42</sup> Such tools are rare in the case of other Latin patristic preachers for whom one is obliged to trawl one's way through a range of bibliographies to locate the important, particularly recent, secondary scholarship.<sup>43</sup> The chapters in this volume and the literature they cite offer a useful starting point.

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40 Drobner, *Augustinus* and *Supplement*.

41 Drobner, *Neu identifizierte Textzeugen*.

42 This is similarly the case with the study of Augustine and his audience. See Müller, "Preacher: Augustine".

43 E.g. *L'année philologique* (published both in hard copy and in searchable format online [by subscription]), *Bibliographia Patristica: Internationale Patristische Bibliographie* (De Gruyter), *Base d'Information Bibliographique en Patristique* (<<http://www4.bibl.ulaval.ca/bd/bibp/>>), and the *Bulletin d'information et de liaison of the Association Internationale d'Études Patristiques/International Association of Patristic Studies* (Brepols). The *BIBP* is restricted to journal articles and searchable only in French, but offers unrestricted online access and is one of the best starting points. None of these bibliographies offers the capacity to search the topic of sermons or preaching. The best approach is to search via a specific Latin patristic preacher. The drafts, articles and notices of books posted by individual scholars networked on <<http://www.academia.edu>> is another increasingly useful resource. Concerning the sermons of Augustine, the website of the *Zentrum für Augustinusforschung* should be consulted: <<http://www.augustinus.de>>.



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**PART 1**

*Text and Context*





# La Transmission de la Prédication Antique de Langue Latine

*François Dolbeau*

## 1 Introduction

Dans l'Occident latin des 4e-6e siècles, la prédication était en général assurée par un évêque, durant une assemblée liturgique: celui-ci était assis, et s'adressait, d'un lieu surélevé, à ses fidèles restés debout. Les formes d'allocution les plus communes étaient l'explication des Écritures du jour (épître, évangile, psaume) ou un enseignement de type catéchétique ou doctrinal.<sup>1</sup> Comme l'auditoire réagissait aux paroles de l'orateur, l'exposé s'apparentait souvent à une sorte de dialogue, ponctué d'applaudissements, d'interruptions, parfois de cris ou de pleurs.<sup>2</sup> Le sermon était donc un exercice oral, une parole vivante que le prédicateur infléchissait en fonction de l'actualité ou des réactions de son public. Comment expliquer que tant de textes de ce genre, éminemment occasionnels, aient été mis par écrit, regroupés en 'collections' et qu'ils aient ensuite trouvé de nouveaux usages, au point de parvenir jusqu'aux lecteurs modernes?<sup>3</sup> La réponse est complexe, et les modes de transmission ont varié au cours du temps. Les manuscrits conservés permettent assez bien de retracer les phases médiévales de cette histoire, mais les sources antiques sont lacunaires et laissent subsister des points obscurs. Une présentation respectant l'ordre chronologique reste malgré tout indispensable, car les premières étapes conditionnent l'évolution ultérieure.<sup>4</sup>

1 Ce que les modernes distinguent par les noms d'"homélie" et de "sermon", mais les termes antiques *homilia* et *sermo* – que concurrençaient *tractatus* et plus rarement *dictio*, *contio* – étaient jadis synonymes. Pour tenir compte de l'évolution historique, au lieu d'un emploi indifférencié d'"homélaire", quelquefois précisé par l'adjectif "mixte", une distinction sera faite ici entre "sermonnaire", recueil d'allocutions d'un même auteur, et "homélaire", compilation de textes d'orateurs différents selon le cycle liturgique.

2 Sur le sermon comme dialogue, voir Olivar, *La predicación*, et Dagemark, "Augustine's Sermons".

3 Question posée par Merkt, "Vom Mund zum Auge", à propos d'Augustin. Une "collection" est un recueil organisé.

4 Des exposés détaillés de l'histoire de la prédication sont procurés par Grégoire, *Homélaïres liturgiques médiévaux*, et Olivar, *La predicación*.

## 2 La période créatrice de l'éloquence chrétienne en Occident: ca. 390-ca. 600

Jusque vers la fin du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle, les sermons prononcés en assemblée n'étaient pas destinés à être publiés. Ils servaient au mieux de documents préparatoires à la rédaction de traités plus élaborés, d'où les traces d'oralité étaient en majeure partie évacuées. Il est probable que les ouvrages de Cyprien, un rhéteur converti († 258), reposent ainsi sur des textes prêchés. Le fait est avéré pour Ambroise de Milan († 397), orateur exceptionnel au témoignage d'Augustin, dont nous ne possédons aucun sermon proprement dit: ce qui s'en rapprocherait le plus serait les traités *Du sacrement de l'incarnation du Seigneur* (CPL 152), volet ambrosien d'un débat avorté, et *Des sacrements* (CPL 154), qu'on interprète comme une suite de catéchèses sténographiées, apparentées thématiquement au livre *Des mystères* (CPL 155). Afin de vérifier la compétence oratoire et doctrinale d'Augustin, alors prêtre, des évêques lui demandèrent de prendre la parole à un concile général d'Afrique, tenu à Hippone en 393: le discours correspondant ne fut pas édité tel quel, mais, à la suite de pressions amicales, transformé par l'auteur en un livre intitulé *De la foi et du symbole* (CPL 293).<sup>5</sup> Les sermons latins, dont le statut est indiscutable et la publication sûrement antérieure à 390, sont en nombre infime.<sup>6</sup> En dépit des apparences, la collection des *Sermons* de Zénon de Vérone († avant 380) ne fait pas exception à la règle, car elle conserve tant de doublets et de traces d'inachèvement qu'il ne peut s'agir que d'une édition posthume, indépendante de la volonté de l'auteur.<sup>7</sup>

La situation changea radicalement durant la dernière décennie du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle, à la fois en Italie avec Chromace d'Aquilée (388-407), Gaudence de Brescia (ca. 390-410) et Maxime de Turin († entre 408 et 423), et en Afrique avec Augustin.<sup>8</sup> Ce dernier, un ancien professeur de rhétorique, fut ordonné prêtre en 390 afin de prêcher à la place de l'évêque d'Hippone, dont la langue maternelle était le grec: il proposa de relire les essais des prêtres de Carthage,<sup>9</sup> dicta à leur intention des sermons-modèles<sup>10</sup> et publia deux ouvrages qui procuraient, entre autres, une réflexion théorique sur l'art de prêcher.<sup>11</sup> Ce brusque épanouisse-

5 Voir les *Révisions* 1, 17.

6 Par exemple le *De baptismo* de Pacien de Barcelone (CPL 563); l'authenticité des pièces attribuées à Optat de Milève n'est pas garantie.

7 C'est le jugement de Löfstedt, son dernier éditeur.

8 Les références aux sermons des auteurs cités sont fournies en bibliographie, parmi les sources primaires.

9 Augustin, *Lettre* 41, 2.

10 Augustin, *Lettres* 16\* 1 et 23A\*, 3.

11 *La doctrine chrétienne* et *La première catéchèse* (CPL 263 et 297).



ment, en Afrique et en Italie, fut précédé de peu par quelques adaptations d'homélies grecques d'Origène, dues à Grégoire d'Elvire († après 392) et à Jérôme, ce qui laisse supposer un certain degré d'influence orientale. Il fut accompagné d'un courant continu de traductions de sermons (d'Origène, Eusèbe d'Émèse, Basile, Grégoire de Nazianze, Jean Chrysostome), dues à Rufin et d'autres lettrés. Les deux phénomènes, quelle que soit leur relation exacte, manifestent en tout cas le vif intérêt d'un public cultivé à l'égard de l'éloquence sacrée.

Le renouvellement du genre se poursuit jusqu'au début du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle et s'étendit à la Gaule méridionale, avec les œuvres de Pierre Chrysologue († 450), Valérien de Cimiez († ca. 455-60), Léon le Grand († 461), Avit de Vienne († 518), Fulgence de Ruspe († ca. 527), sans oublier les centaines de pièces transmises de façon anonyme ou sous le nom de Jean Chrysostome, et les recueils – connus de Gennade († ca. 500), mais aujourd'hui égarés – de Salvien et Musée de Marseille et de Victor de Carthage;<sup>12</sup> en revanche, les traductions de sermons grecs se ralentirent, en même temps que divergeaient les destinées politiques des contrées d'Occident et d'Orient.

Avec Césaire d'Arles († 542) commence une phase de déclin où la compilation de sermons antérieurs tend à se substituer aux créations originales, au point de déformer une production comme celle de Faust de Riez († ca. 490), que la critique moderne échoue à isoler.<sup>13</sup> “Eusèbe Gallican” et “Pseudo-Fulgence” ne sont plus des noms d'auteur, mais des étiquettes de convenance. Enfin, au terme de la période ici considérée, l'œuvre prêchée du pape Grégoire le Grand (590-604) est une réussite unique, d'une excellence comparable à celles d'Augustin ou de Léon.

Parmi les latins, les orateurs ici mentionnés n'avaient pas tous le même talent et n'obtinrent ni le même succès ni la même autorité, mais tous furent tenus pour orthodoxes: condition majeure de leur diffusion en milieu ecclésiastique. Quatre séries, cependant, de sermons hétérodoxes furent protégées par leur anonymat: la première est priscillianiste,<sup>14</sup> deux sont ariennes,<sup>15</sup> la

12 Gennade, *Des hommes illustres*, c. 68, 78, 80. La biographie d'Hilaire d'Arles († ca. 440) lui attribue aussi des homélies pour les fêtes de l'année (voir *CPL* 506, c. 14).

13 Vessey, “Orators, Authors, and Compilers”, p. 26, pp. 30-31.

14 Dans leur copie unique (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 3, 5e-6e s.), les onze traités priscillianistes sont bien anonymes, en dépit des titres donnés par Schepss, leur découvreur et éditeur. Seuls, les numéros IX et X sont explicitement des sermons au peuple, le n° I est un discours apologétique tenu face à des évêques, le n° XI une bénédiction solennelle, la plupart des autres sont des explications scripturaires, peut-être fondées sur des homélies.

15 *Collection de Vérone*, éditée en dernier lieu par Gryson, *Scripta Arriana Latina* I, et *Collection de Munich*, découverte et publiée par Étaix, “Sermons ariens inédits”, d'après des

dernière donatiste;<sup>16</sup> elles ont en commun le fait d'avoir connu une diffusion minime.

### 3 Modalités de composition et de publication des sermons

Entre 390 et 600, la société occidentale se transforma en profondeur, mais les techniques de production et d'édition oratoires, dans la mesure où elles peuvent être restituées, semblent être restées stables, de Gaudence de Brescia à Grégoire le Grand. Ce dernier répartit ses *Quarante homélies sur les Évangiles* (*Homiliae in Euangelia*; CPL 1711) en deux livres, chacun de vingt pièces, qui respectent les séquences chronologiques de la prédication effective: la première vingtaine, dictée par l'auteur, avait été lue par un notaire en assemblée liturgique; la seconde fut improvisée et sténographiée.<sup>17</sup> L'ensemble, révisé avant publication, est précédé d'une lettre-préface adressée à un admirateur; en outre, le premier livre, dont une partie avait été publiée par des frères trop pressés de façon non autorisée, correspond à une seconde édition corrigée. En tête de l'homélie 21, Grégoire manifeste sa préférence à l'égard de l'improvisation, plus efficace d'un point de vue pastoral.<sup>18</sup>

Ce type de sermonnaire d'auteur remonte aux origines du genre, et chacun des traits évoqués peut être rapproché de parallèles antérieurs. Le recueil de Gaudence était ainsi adressé à un familier souhaitant lire la prédication pascale qu'une maladie l'avait empêché d'entendre. Il comporte une lettre-préface et dix-neuf *tractatus* (CPL 215): les dix premiers représentent la séquence effective d'allocutions pascales, prétendument reconstituées de mémoire;<sup>19</sup> les cinq

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témoins uniques, datables respectivement du début du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle (Vérone, Biblioteca Capitolare, LI [49]) et du troisième quart du 8<sup>e</sup> (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 6329).

16 *Collection de Vienne*, forme élargie de la *Collection de l'Escorial* du Pseudo-Chrysostome latin, analysée et partiellement éditée par Leroy, "Vingt-deux homélies" et "Inédits de la catéchèse donatiste", d'après Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4147, a. 1435.

17 Grégoire le Grand, *Homiliae in Euangelia* préface, ed. Étaix, p. 1: ... *euangelii quadraginta lectiones exposui. Et quarumdam quidem dictata expositio assistenti plebi est per notarium recitata, quarumdam uero explanationem coram populo ipse locutus sum atque ita ut loquebar excepta est ... Eisdem quoque homilias eo quo dictae sunt ordine in duobus codicibus ponere curavi, ut et priores uiginti quae dictatae sunt, et posteriores totidem quae sub oculis dictae, in singulis essent distinctae corporibus.*

18 Grégoire le Grand, *Homiliae in Evangelia* XXI, 1, ed. Étaix, p. 174: ... *collocutionis uox corda torpentia plus quam sermo lectionis excitat.*

19 Gaudence, *Sermons* préface, 7, ed. Glück, p. 4: ... *exegisti, ut scriberem, quid unaquaque die illius sacratissimae ebdomadis sanctae fraternitati a me expositum meminisssem.*

suivants le texte corrigé de sermons destinés à remplacer des transcriptions non autorisées, mises en circulation par des notaires indéliçats;<sup>20</sup> les quatre derniers, non annoncés en préface, furent sans doute ajoutés afin que l'ouvrage atteigne la longueur attendue d'un livre, selon les usages de la librairie romaine. Le recueil de Grégoire d'Elvire (*CPL* 546) et le sermonnaire de Valérien de Cimiez (*CPL* 1002) comptent aussi vingt pièces; la collection d'Augustin dite Sessorienne en a vingt-deux;<sup>21</sup> des sermons d'Eusèbe d'Émèse, vingt-neuf sont disponibles en latin, en deux ensembles de dix-sept et de quatorze;<sup>22</sup> parmi les séries pseudo-chrysostomiennes, celle de l'Arsenal compte quinze pièces et celle de Morin trente et une;<sup>23</sup> et des nombres voisins caractérisent encore d'autres collections.

La distinction entre sermons dictés et improvisations, fortement marquée chez Grégoire, apparaît dès la fin du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parmi les orateurs, les uns jugeaient indispensable une préparation élaborée: exposés dictés à un secrétaire, mémorisés et déclamés ensuite ou encore, comme pour Grégoire, lus par une personne différente; certains, se défiant de leur capacité, confiaient même la rédaction de l'allocution dont ils étaient redevables à un lettré de leur entourage, d'où quelques discours sacrés du diacre Ennode portant en rubrique le nom du commanditaire,<sup>24</sup> ou la formulation utilisée par Gennade à propos du prêtre Salvien.<sup>25</sup> D'autres prédicateurs se contentaient de préparatifs plus sommaires: choix d'un thème et canevas mis par écrit, ou seulement méditation sur les Écritures du jour, de façon à constituer un enchaînement cohérent de citations bibliques.<sup>26</sup> Parfois même, en raison d'un incident – par exemple une erreur du lecteur – ou une demande impromptue, le sermon est totalement improvisé et commente des passages scripturaux qui n'avaient pas été prévus.<sup>27</sup>

20 Gaudence, *Sermons* préface, 10-11, ed. Glück, pp. 4-5: *Quattuor praeterea breuiores tractatus ... et quintum de Machabaeis martyribus emendatos tibi, quoniam cogis, remittam ... De illis uero tractatibus, quos notariis, ut comperi, latenter appositis, procul dubio interruptos ac semiplenos otiosa quorundam studia colligere praesumpserunt, nihil ad me attinet.*

21 Wilmart, "Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de S. Augustin", pp. 218-21; Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, pp. 201-02.

22 Toutefois, deux pièces figurent de part et d'autre, ce qui, joint à l'unité de la traduction, fait penser qu'il a primitivement existé une seule collection comptant 29 textes.

23 *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 651-54. La seconde série que Morin, grâce à la critique interne et à partir d'anciennes éditions de Chrysostome, avait restituée à un auteur unique, fut ensuite retrouvée dans plusieurs témoins médiévaux.

24 Ennode, *Discours* 2-4, pour les évêques Honorat de Novare et Maxime de Pavie.

25 Gennade, *Des hommes illustres* 68, ed. Richardson, p. 85: "*Homilias* episcopis factas multas".

26 "Moi qui vous parle, avant de venir à vous, j'ai réfléchi à ce que je vous dirai" (Aug., *Sermon* 225, 3).

27 Aug., *Commentaire des Ps.* 86, 1 et (138, 1); *Sermon* 352, 1; *Sermon* Dolbeau 5, 1 et 7.

Une fois la prédication effectuée, les procédés varient aussi: les textes dictés peuvent être diffusés tels quels ou bien corrigés à la façon du premier livre des homélies grégoriennes; les sermons improvisés, à moins d'avoir été transcrits aussitôt de mémoire, ne peuvent s'être conservés que s'ils avaient été sténographiés officiellement ou en cachette (ainsi pour Gaudence), ce qui implique en plus une mise au net avant révision éventuelle. Ces différentes pratiques expliquent que les sermons subsistants entretiennent des relations variées avec l'oralité, appréciables, dans une certaine mesure, grâce à des critères littéraires ou linguistiques: présence ou non de citations étendues, longueur des mots et des phrases, degré de richesse lexicale, choix des particules, emploi d'interjections et d'apostrophes.<sup>28</sup> Mais la critique interne ne parvient pas à distinguer entre des sermons dictés, dont l'oralité originelle était déjà ténue, et des improvisations très révisées.

Ce qui permet de retracer les pratiques évoquées plus haut, ce sont les déclarations des contemporains – Possidius pour Augustin, Ferrand pour Fulgence –, et surtout celles des orateurs eux-mêmes, durant la prédication, dans leurs lettres, ou, comme Gaudence ou Grégoire, en préface. La documentation relative à Augustin est la plus abondante. C'était un adepte de l'improvisation (*repentini sermones*, selon la formule de Possidius),<sup>29</sup> à l'intérieur d'un cadre dont le début et la fin étaient définis à l'avance.<sup>30</sup> Il permettait à quiconque, y compris à des hérétiques et des païens, de faire sténographier ses propos.<sup>31</sup> Dans les villes d'Afrique comme ailleurs en Occident, il existait des notaires en mesure de transcrire un débat ou un sermon, notaires dont la présence se trahit çà et là par le rappel d'incidents de séance au milieu d'un discours direct:<sup>32</sup> quand l'évêque d'Hippone se déplaçait, il était aussi accompagné de familiers capables de suppléer au refus des professionnels, même s'ils étaient plus lents que ces derniers.<sup>33</sup> Une fois les sténographies (*excepta*) mises au net, Augustin faisait archiver les copies de sermons qu'il avait pu récupérer.<sup>34</sup> On ignore si

28 Voir Marti, "Lateinische Predigten zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit".

29 Possidius, *Vie de saint Augustin* 7, 1. Pour qualifier une prédication, Sidoine Apollinaire emploie aussi ce terme (*repentina*) qu'il oppose en *Epist.* 9, 3, 5, à *elucubrata* ("longue-ment préparée").

30 *Vie de saint Augustin* 15, 2-4.

31 *Vie de saint Augustin* 7, 3 et 9, 1. Selon Eusèbe, *Histoire ecclésiastique* 6, 36, 1, Origène avait été moins libéral, puisqu'il accepta seulement vers la soixantaine que ses propos fussent notés par des tachygraphes.

32 Voir, à titre d'exemple, Aug., *Lettre* 213; *Sermons* 323, 4; 356, 1. Le rôle des notaires à cette époque a été étudié par Teitler, *Notarii' and 'Exceptores'*.

33 Aug., *Lettre* 44, 2; *Commentaire du Ps.* 51, 1.

34 Voir la liste d'ouvrages (ou *Indiculus*), annexée par Possidius à la *Vie de saint Augustin*.

l'archivage était associé à une simple relecture par l'auteur ou un secrétaire ou bien à une correction plus approfondie. L'on sait en revanche qu'Augustin entreprit méthodiquement de compléter, par des sermons dictés, ses exposés sur les Psaumes et l'Évangile de Jean<sup>35</sup> et qu'il conçut, vers la fin de sa vie, le projet de réviser l'ensemble de son œuvre prêchée, sans pouvoir le mener à bien.<sup>36</sup> Le cas d'Augustin manifeste, pour la mise au net et l'archivage des sermons, l'importance des notaires-tachygraphes comme celle de l'entourage immédiat. Jérôme associe parfois notaires (*notarii*) et copistes (*librarii*) de Palestine, qu'il réunit dans une même accusation d'incompétence.<sup>37</sup> Mais la teneur textuelle des sermons d'Augustin, au moins de ceux qui nous sont parvenus grâce à des collections antiques, incite à plus d'indulgence envers leurs homologues africains.

Les modalités d'édition des sermons sont moins bien connues que celles de leur préservation immédiate. Durant l'Antiquité tardive, il existe naturellement des marchands de livres,<sup>38</sup> mais jamais Augustin n'en fait état à propos de la mise en circulation de ses ouvrages. Les réseaux qui assurent la publication de ses œuvres semblent plutôt la communauté monastique d'Hippone, le clergé carthaginois et le cercle de ses correspondants.<sup>39</sup> Une fois son texte corrigé (*emendatus*), l'auteur en adressait des exemplaires à l'évêque Aurelius de Carthage et à d'autres amis et bienfaiteurs, à charge pour eux d'en faire exécuter des copies et de prêter l'original venu d'Hippone à qui voulait le transcrire.<sup>40</sup> Tel était le lancement d'une édition autorisée, qui parfois avait été précédée d'une édition-pirate, faite par des notaires ou des disciples impatients.<sup>41</sup> Rien ne laisse supposer, dans les sources disponibles, que la situation ait été différente pour les autres prédicateurs. Seule, l'analyse des manuscrits conservés permet d'en savoir un peu plus sur les usages éditoriaux des orateurs tardo-antiques.

35 Aug., *Lettre* 23A\*, 3; *Commentaire du Ps.* 118, introduction; Possidius, *Indiculus* 104, 1-4. Cela implique une relecture et un bilan des textes existants.

36 Aug., *Lettre* 224, 2. Il se peut que l'entreprise ait reçu un début d'exécution, d'après l'envoi de sermons accompagnant la *Lettre* 231. On notera qu'Augustin avait choisi de traiter la prédication en dernier, après les livres et la correspondance.

37 Jérôme, *Lettre* 71, 5.

38 Voir, entre beaucoup de références possibles, Aug., *Contre l'adversaire de la loi et des prophètes* 1, 1; *Sermons* Dolbeau 5, 14 et 26, 20. Le terme de *bibliopola* est alors disparu au profit de *librarius*, qui désigne aussi les copistes.

39 Hübner, "Emendatio, editio"; Dekkers, "Saint Augustin éditeur".

40 Cf. Aug., *Lettres* 174 (à propos de la *Trinité*), 1A\* (pour la *Cité de Dieu*).

41 Augustin en fut victime, tout comme Gaudence et Grégoire le Grand, mais pour des œuvres autres que ses sermons: cf. *Révisions* 1, 5; 2, 13, 15 et 32; *Les mariages adultères* 2, 1.

## 4 Les types de diffusion des 4<sup>e</sup> et 5<sup>e</sup> siècles

### 4.1 *Sermonnaires d'auteur*

Les collections de sermons homogènes, c'est-à-dire d'un même auteur, semblent alors avoir été la forme d'édition la plus habituelle. Les plus élaborées, comme celle de Gaudence, comportaient une préface et une table des chapitres. Elles pouvaient occuper plusieurs manuscrits, dont chacun renfermait une vingtaine de pièces. A Hippone, selon Possidius, les *Homélies sur l'évangile de Jean* étaient reliées en six tomes; comme elles étaient au nombre de 151 avant interpolation, le contenu moyen de chaque tome était donc de 25 pièces. Ce type de collection, qui naît en latin avec Grégoire d'Elvire, fut adopté aussi par Valérien de Cimiez, dont se sont transmis vingt sermons de ton moralisant. Il était si traditionnel qu'il fut repris, longtemps plus tard, par Grégoire le Grand, qui répartit ses *Quarante homélies* en deux livres et les fit copier en deux tomes indépendants:<sup>42</sup> la plupart des manuscrits renferment l'ouvrage au complet, mais il en subsiste quelques-uns ne comportant que la première ou la seconde vingtaine.<sup>43</sup> Cette observation, rapprochée de l'entrée de Possidius, implique une équivalence ancienne – et déjà archaïque au temps de Grégoire – entre un manuscrit au sens matériel (*codex*), un livre au sens intellectuel (*liber*) et un nombre de discours oscillant, selon leur longueur, de 20 à 30 textes.<sup>44</sup>

Lorsque d'un même auteur on possède un bloc important de sermons, on peut affirmer, sans gros risque d'erreur, que cela implique l'existence d'une ou plusieurs collections homogènes. Cela ne signifie pas que ces collections aient toutes remonté à l'époque tardo-antique ou qu'elles soient toutes parvenues jusqu'à nous. Certaines en effet ont un caractère posthume probable, comme celle de Zénon de Vérone (*CPL* 208), ou avéré, comme celle de Pierre Chrysologue, évêque de Ravenne (*CPL* 227), qui remonte à l'un de ses successeurs, Félix, attesté en l'an 724. La première, répartie en deux livres comptant respectivement 62 et 30 textes, souvent très courts, se rapproche encore du module précédent.<sup>45</sup> La seconde au contraire, préfacée par Félix, fait éclater le cadre

42 Voir note 17.

43 Étaix, "Répertoire des manuscrits des homélies sur l'Évangile de saint Grégoire le Grand"; Dolbeau, "Naissance des homéliaires et des passionnaires", p. 20 n. 27-28.

44 Une telle équivalence remonte au passage, déjà lointain, du rouleau (*uolumen*) au codex, mais ce dernier avait montré depuis sa capacité à renfermer plus d'un livre. La définition d'Isidore: *Codex multorum librorum est, liber unius uoluminis* (*Étymologies* 6, 13, 1) correspond mieux aux livres produits vers 600.

45 Son plus ancien témoin était un manuscrit carolingien de Saint-Remi de Reims, brûlé en 1774, dont on possède des collations.

traditionnel avec une séquence de 176 pièces, dont huit au moins ne peuvent être authentiques. Son plus ancien témoin connu ne datant que du <sup>II</sup>e siècle, il est impossible de savoir si cette *Collectio Felicianiana* tenait dès l'origine en un seul volume.<sup>46</sup> La collection de Maxime de Turin – où sont insérées au moins quatre pièces apocryphes et dont les copies sont passées sous les noms d'Ambroise et d'Augustin – doit aussi être posthume,<sup>47</sup> mais sa confection remonte nécessairement au <sup>VI</sup>e siècle, car elle est déjà évoquée par Gennade.<sup>48</sup> La reconstruction qu'en propose la dernière édition critique compte 89 sermons, sans qu'on discerne actuellement de division en livres ou en tomes: là encore la présentation primitive nous reste inaccessible.

En revanche, malgré l'absence de préface, le premier des deux sermonnaires du pape Léon est contemporain de l'auteur, car il renferme uniquement des sermons authentiques, au nombre de 56, prêchés durant les cinq premières années du pontificat.<sup>49</sup> Selon le dernier éditeur, le second sermonnaire en est une forme enrichie au moyen de prédications postérieures, qui n'existe plus en tant que telle et doit être reconstituée à partir d'homéliaires. Il pourrait aussi remonter à Léon, car les pièces qu'il possède en commun avec le premier y figurent dans une recension qui a tout l'air d'avoir été modifiée par l'auteur: il devait donc s'agir d'une seconde édition, révisée et augmentée, selon une pratique déjà évoquée à propos de Grégoire.

Cette seconde collection de Léon et celle de Maxime, bien qu'elles n'aient pas été préservées dans leur pureté, peuvent être reconstituées grâce à des témoins médiévaux. Les sermons de Chromace ont survécu de façon plus émiettée: certaine est l'existence, à date ancienne, d'une collection chromacienne, mais il n'en subsiste qu'un fragment anonyme dans un manuscrit de Ripoll du milieu du <sup>12</sup>e siècle:<sup>50</sup> treize sermons, en partie fragmentaires, dont un fut prononcé en l'honneur de martyrs d'Aquilée. Le culte des saints, pour les séries dépourvues de noms d'auteur, est un indice précieux de localisation. Le cas d'Avit de Vienne se rapproche de celui de Chromace: une vie ancienne lui attribue un recueil d'*Homelieae de diuersis temporibus anni*, dont seuls des éléments épars sont parvenus jusqu'à nous; mais l'évêque avait publié en outre un

46 Vers la même époque, les deux volumes de l'homélaire d'Agimond, copiés en onciale, renferment respectivement 116 et 100 pièces (voir note 75).

47 Zangara, "Intorno alla *collectio antiqua* dei sermoni di Massimo di Torino".

48 Gennade, *Des hommes illustres*, c. 41.

49 Rubriquée "Tractatus quos a die ordinationis sue per continuum quinquennium beatissimus papa Leo dixit ad populum", elle est transmise par un seul témoin complet: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. CCXXVII, ff. 92-254 (9<sup>e</sup> siècle).

50 Paris, BnF, lat. 5132.



corpus de ses lettres et discours d'apparat, que nous restitue un manuscrit sur papyrus du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>51</sup>

Augustin, du fait de l'abondance de son œuvre prêchée, justifie un traitement à part. Ses collections, en règle générale, ne comportent pas de préface: la seule exception est son *Exposition de la Première Épître de Jean*, car les textes qui, dans certains manuscrits, servent d'ouverture aux *Commentaires des Psaumes* et aux *Homélies sur l'évangile de Jean* sont d'origine médiévale.<sup>52</sup> Parmi les collections de *Sermons au peuple*,<sup>53</sup> une seule est sûrement contemporaine de l'auteur, celle de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse, dont l'*Indiculus* dit de Possidius (CPL 359) fournit déjà la table; elle comporte une trentaine de pièces, qui s'insèrent dans un calendrier liturgique depuis l'Ascension jusqu'à la fin du mois d'août.<sup>54</sup> Au moins trois autres collections sont antérieures à 500, d'après leurs rubriques et leur organisation: la Sessorienne (22 textes), qui est, au vu de ses titres, fondée sur des sténographies prises à Carthage;<sup>55</sup> la Campanienne, dont les deux témoins repérés comptent 58 et 56 pièces, parmi lesquelles 38 leur sont communes;<sup>56</sup> enfin, la collection dite de Mayence-Lorsch (28 textes), prêchée hors d'Hippone, comme d'ailleurs les trois précédentes.<sup>57</sup>

À l'intérieur de ces divers sermonnaires d'auteurs, le rangement des pièces mérite quelques mots de commentaire. Un recueil de Vérone des environs de 500 renferme deux séries distinctes d'allocutions, l'une et l'autre anonymes: d'abord vingt-quatre explications d'évangiles, toutes orthodoxes (CPL 694); puis, après deux extraits d'Augustin, quinze sermons d'inspiration arienne (CPL 695), dont sept pour les fêtes du Christ (Noël, Épiphanie, Pâques, Ascension, Pentecôte), cinq pour celles des saints (Innocents, Jean-Baptiste, Étienne, Pierre et Paul, Cyprien) et trois pour des martyrs non spécifiés.<sup>58</sup> Le compilateur faisait donc la distinction, dès la fin du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, entre les catégories liturgiques de temporel, sanctoral et commun d'une part, entre les genres que les modernes appellent homélies et sermons d'autre part.

51 Paris, BnF, lat. 8913-14. Selon Wood, "The Homilies of Avitus", Peiper aurait regroupé à tort toutes les allocutions d'Avit, sans distinguer entre les deux séries.

52 Wright, "The Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis*", pp. 68-71.

53 Recensées chez Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, pp. 197-234.

54 Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 64-69.

55 Voir note 21.

56 Wilmart, "Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de S. Augustin", pp. 222-32; Morin, *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. 1, pp. 3-10.

57 Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 61-64.

58 *Collection de Vérone*, ed. Gryson, pp. 7-46 et pp. 47-92. Caduque est l'attribution ancienne à Maximin l'Arien.



La seconde distinction n'a rien de surprenant: beaucoup de recueils en effet ne comportent que des exposés scripturaires, consacrés à un même livre biblique commenté de façon continue (comme chez Augustin) ou discontinue (comme Jérôme sur Marc et les Psaumes, Épiphanie latin sur les Évangiles, Grégoire sur Ézéchiël et les Évangiles). Le classement strict temporal/sanctoral/commun reste, quant à lui, exceptionnel: les organisateurs de collection privilégiaient plutôt une certaine variété, tout en préservant à l'occasion, comme Gaudence ou le traducteur d'Eusèbe d'Émèse, telle ou telle séquence effective de prédication. Divers recueils – ainsi la collection augustinienne de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse<sup>59</sup> – paraissent fidèles à une saison liturgique, temporal et sanctoral mêlés. Le problème est alors de savoir si de telles séquences conformes au calendrier renvoient à une seule campagne de prédication ou résultent, bien que le choix des lectures fût encore loin d'être fixé, d'un arrangement *a posteriori*. Les collections les mieux organisées sont celles du pape Léon: un secrétaire a réuni ses cinq premières années de prédication en respectant à la fois la séquence liturgique (Noël, Épiphanie, Carême, Passion, etc.) et la chronologie effective: les cinq sermons pour Noël, comme les cinq pour l'Épiphanie ou les dix pour la Passion, ont été regroupés, mais dans l'ordre de leur composition; lorsque la collection fut augmentée, l'intercalation se poursuivait selon le même principe, chaque nouveau sermon étant rangé dans la sous-section correspondante selon sa date de production.

#### 4.2 *Les sermons extravagants*

Sauf cas exceptionnel, tel Valérien de Cimiez, les recueils homogènes ne suffisent pas à rendre compte en totalité des sermons conservés. Des sermons qualifiés d'extravagants se lisent dans les éditions critiques de Maxime de Turin et de Pierre Chrysologue. Grégoire d'Elvire a publié au moins un vingt et unième *Tractatus Origenis*, le *De arca Noe* (CPL 548). De même, Gaudence de Brescia a laissé deux morceaux ayant circulé hors collection: une allocution prêchée à Milan, en présence d'Ambroise, et un panégyrique commémorant Philastrius, son prédécesseur. Il existe, d'autre part, des auteurs mineurs des 4<sup>e</sup> et 5<sup>e</sup> siècles, comme Potamius de Lisbonne, Pétrone de Vérone (ou de Bologne), Eraclius, Laurent de Mésie, Sedatus de Nîmes, auxquels ne sont imputés que deux ou trois sermons.<sup>60</sup> Enfin, des allocutions anonymes, mais sûrement tardo-antiques, refont surface à l'époque carolingienne dans des recueils étran-

<sup>59</sup> Voir note 54.

<sup>60</sup> CPL 541 et 543 (Potamius), 210-11 (Pétrone), 387-88 (Eraclius), 644-45 (Laurent), 1005-06 (Sedatus); voir aussi CPL 238 (trois allocutions d'un archidiaque romain du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle).

gers à la prédication.<sup>61</sup> Dans chacun de ces cas, il serait abusif de postuler la disparition d'un sermonnaire proprement dit. Il est plus vraisemblable de supposer l'existence de livrets reposant sur le travail ponctuel de sténographes, disparus en tant que tels, mais dont la teneur fut préservée parce qu'on les recopia en appendice à des recueils variés. Quelques sermons de Potamius et d'autres auteurs furent ainsi annexés à la collection de Zénon de Vérone. Ceux d'Eraclius côtoient des allocutions d'Augustin, qui l'avait choisi pour successeur sur le siège d'Hippone; de même ceux de Quoduultdeus, dont un petit corpus de huit pièces est resté groupé parmi les recueils augustinien.<sup>62</sup> Mais beaucoup de sermons extravagants furent joints, semble-t-il, à des ouvrages de type différent. À l'un de ses mécènes, Augustin offrit ainsi en hommage deux de ses traités: les *Confessions* et l'*Enchiridion*, avec quatre sermons, dont le plus rare, *De la providence*, n'a jamais connu qu'une transmission isolée.<sup>63</sup> Ennode († 521) avait rédigé quelques allocutions d'apparat sur des thèmes religieux, mais en nombre insuffisant pour constituer un recueil: il choisit de les publier avec ses discours profanes, ses opuscules et ses lettres, à la façon de son contemporain Avit, sans même chercher à les rapprocher. Parmi les *Codices latini antiquiores* (CLA), certains renferment des sermons d'Augustin isolés dans des contextes variés: le *Sermon* 150 avec les *Épigrammes* de Prosper, le *Sermon* 351 avec des *Lettres* de Jérôme.<sup>64</sup> La frontière entre genres littéraires était donc loin d'être étanche: un fait qui étonne aujourd'hui, comme l'insertion du *Sermon* 12 d'Augustin dans deux manuscrits de sa correspondance en écriture bénéventaine, devait être assez fréquent aux origines de la tradition.

## 5 Les transformations du haut Moyen Âge

Entre le 6<sup>e</sup> et le 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, il se produisit plusieurs changements dans la transmission des sermons. Les modes de diffusion antérieurs: sermons isolés ou par petits blocs, sermonnaires homogènes, continuent d'exister, comme le montrent l'exemple romain de Grégoire ou les dix catéchèses d'un Anonyme de

61 Deux exemples entre beaucoup: un *Sermo de natale domini et de defectu solis*, prêché après l'éclipse de novembre 402, ed. Étaix, dans *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 39 (1993), 364-70; le *Sermo quare iusti tardius audiuntur*, témoin d'un agraphon dans une recension particulière, ed. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 173-74.

62 Sur ce corpus, voir l'édition de Braun, pp. LXXXII-CIII. Notons toutefois que les *Sermons* d'Eraclius ont préservé le nom de leur auteur, tandis que ceux de Quoduultdeus l'ont tous perdu.

63 Aug., *Lettre* 231, 7.

64 CLA 609 et 405; voir aussi CLA 550.

Vérone.<sup>65</sup> Mais d'autres types de recueil font leur apparition: hétérogènes, plus épais, subordonnés aux évolutions liturgiques. Sur un fond de déclin culturel, la compétence rhétorique et même linguistique est en recul; le nombre des nouveaux auteurs diminue, les textes des anciens semblent trop prolixes, et des compilateurs s'emploient à les adapter. Des transformations majeures affectent la fabrication et la production des livres: au lieu d'être réparties en six tomes comme à Hippone, les *Homélie sur l'Évangile de Jean* sont copiées désormais en deux volumes, puis en un. Les sermons des siècles antérieurs perdent leur statut littéraire et, de modèles à imiter, deviennent matériel topique à réemployer. Seuls, Grégoire à la fin du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle et Bède au début du 8<sup>e</sup> acquièrent une autorité analogue à celle des anciens Pères. L'évolution générale pourrait donc se résumer ainsi: recul de la notion d'auteur au profit des compilateurs, gonflement des recueils, simplification et recomposition des textes.

### 5.1 *Collections sans unité d'auteur*

Les recueils hétérogènes, mêlant la production de plusieurs orateurs (nommés ou non), occupent le devant de la scène. Plusieurs sont imputés à l'évêque Césaire d'Arles, qui continuent de faire, en parallèle, œuvre personnelle.<sup>66</sup> Une collection, originaire aussi d'après son sanctoral de Gaule méridionale, est placée traditionnellement sous le nom d'"Eusèbe Gallican" (*CPL* 966): ses 76 pièces ont été regroupées en 43 chapitres, par thèmes ou par occasions liturgiques; elle a recueilli notamment divers morceaux du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle: une portion notable, mais difficile à isoler, de l'héritage de Faust de Riez et, au chapitre 18, un bloc de dix homélies prêchées à des moines, que certains ont voulu attribuer à Eucher de Lyon († ca. 490). Une autre collection, étiquetée "Pseudo-Fulgence" par les modernes (*CPL* 844), fut compilée en Afrique en 80 chapitres: des sermons authentiques et apocryphes d'Augustin y sont mêlés aux productions d'un ou plusieurs anonymes africains.<sup>67</sup> Un trait commun à "Eusèbe Gallican" et au "Pseudo-Fulgence" est la présence de sections réservées à des séries d'exordes, pouvant être préposés *ad libitum* à n'importe quelle autre pièce: cela

65 Réunies dans un manuscrit des 6<sup>e</sup>-7<sup>e</sup> siècles: Vérone, Biblioteca Capitolare, LIX (57). L'édition de Sobrero y joint une onzième pièce, qui a circulé de manière indépendante.

66 Voir l'édition monumentale de Morin, qui recense en introduction quinze collections différentes. D'autres manuscrits ou séries ont, depuis, été identifiés par Étaix, "La Collectio Clichtovea des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles" et "Nouvelle collection de sermons rassemblée par saint Césaire".

67 Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 89-125.

illustre une liberté d'intervention sur les sermons antérieurs, quels qu'en aient été les auteurs, et la pratique devenue courante du réemploi.

Ces recueils composites, irrespectueux de leurs modèles, avaient une destination pratique: fournir le moyen, à des prêtres souvent peu cultivés, de s'acquitter de l'obligation de prêcher que leur avait imposée le concile de Vaison en 529;<sup>68</sup> procurer aux moines des lectures pour l'office de nuit, selon la recommandation de règles comme celle de saint Benoît.<sup>69</sup> De ces recueils, deux exemples excellents sont fournis par des collections à dominante augustinienne. La première, compilée par Césaire, a connu une diffusion importante sous le nom de *Cinquante homélies de saint Augustin*,<sup>70</sup> mais uniquement à partir du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle: en dépit du titre, et bien qu'un seul nom, celui d'Eraclius, soit associé à celui du saint, seulement vingt textes environ y sont reconnus comme authentiques; le troisième article est un extrait de lettre, tous les autres sont des remaniements césairiens ou des productions pseudépigraphes. Encore faut-il ajouter que, même dans les pièces retenues par les éditeurs d'Augustin, retouches mineures et variantes banalisantes surabondent. Le second exemple est la collection de Bobbio, transmise par un témoin unique, Vatican latin 5758, copié peu avant 640. Ce manuscrit, précédé d'une table, contient trois séries de sermons imputés à Augustin, soit un total de 51 textes: pp. 5-103, 21 pièces, toutes inauthentiques à restituer pour une part à Pierre Chrysologue; pp. 104-258, 24 sermons, numérotés de I à XXIII et recensés dans la table; pp. 259-362, après un morceau acéphale, 5 textes numérotés de xxvi à xxx, mais absents de la table.<sup>71</sup> Des 30 derniers sermons, 9 sont des textes pseudépigraphes ou des centons (dont un fabriqué à partir de morceaux de Jérôme), 21 sont authentiques et parfois sans autre témoin connu: l'intérêt de cette collection est hélas amoindri par le fait que la plupart des sermons y sont tronqués, le compilateur n'ayant retenu des textes originaux que la longueur adaptée aux lectures de son époque.

68 *Concilium Vasense A. 529*, ed. C. De Clercq, *Concilia Galliae. A. 511-A. 695* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 148A), Turnhout 1963, pp. 78-9: ... *nobis placuit, ut non solum in ciuitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis uerbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, ita ut, si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur.*

69 Benoît, *Regula*, ed. Ph. Schmitz, Gembloux 1946, p. 31: *Codices autem legantur in uigiliis diuinae auctoritatis tam ueteris testamenti quam noui, sed et expositiones earum quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis patribus factae sunt.*

70 Analysée par Morin, dans son introduction à l'édition de Césaire: S. *Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, pp. LXXV-LXXXIV.

71 Voir la description de Morin, *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. 1, pp. 278-81.

## 5.2 *Homéliaires patristiques*

Les homéliaires sont des recueils de sermons d'auteurs multiples, dont la structure est étroitement calquée sur le calendrier liturgique, avec division éventuelle en deux parties: d'hiver et d'été. Comme les recueils précédents, mais avec une meilleure organisation interne, ils sont destinés à procurer des lectures orthodoxes soit durant la messe soit, en milieu régulier, pour l'office monastique ou le repas pris en commun.<sup>72</sup> Contrairement à la plupart des manuscrits liturgiques, les noms d'auteur n'en sont pas évacués, car ils sont les garants de la vérité doctrinale. Mais les textes y sont souvent raccourcis, simplifiés ou remaniés, afin d'être adaptés à des auditeurs moins férus de beau langage que le public tardo-antique. Et les fausses attributions – à Augustin, Jean Chrysostome, Léon le Grand, Maxime, etc. – s'y multiplient, pour restituer de l'autorité à des œuvres de prédicateurs peu connus ou à des sermons tombés dans l'anonymat. Certains de ces pseudonymes pourraient remonter aux auteurs eux-mêmes: ainsi le nom Sévérien, sous lequel circulait la prédication de Pierre Chrysologue, avant que ne fût compilée la *Collectio Felicianiana*, c'est-à-dire l'édition posthume due à Félix de Ravenne. Le fait que peu de textes aient été imputés à Grégoire le Grand reste inexpliqué: cela suggère l'hypothèse que la période la plus créatrice de pseudépigraphes était achevée vers 600.

La naissance de l'homélaire proprement dit – ou *Liber omeliarum diuersorum auctorum*, selon un catalogue de bibliothèque carolingienne – reste entourée d'obscurités.<sup>73</sup> On s'accorde à penser qu'un modèle très influent, aujourd'hui perdu, fut compilé à Saint-Pierre de Rome vers le milieu du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle et qu'en dérivent indépendamment quatre branches de témoins conservés, l'homélaire du prêtre romain Agimond du début du 8<sup>e</sup>, ceux d'Alain de Farfa († 770) et d'Éginon de Vérone († 802) de la seconde moitié du 9<sup>e</sup>, enfin un manuscrit du Vatican du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>74</sup> Les premiers représentants de ce type, fragmentaires ou complets, sont datables des années 680-720. Mais les conditions indispensables à leur naissance: augmentation de la capacité textuelle d'un codex, pratique de mélanger les auteurs, fixation des péricopes liturgiques, lecture en communauté d'homélies patristiques, étaient réunies dès la seconde moitié du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'homélaire d'Agimond, destiné à la basilique

<sup>72</sup> Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*.

<sup>73</sup> Voir Dolbeau, "Naissance des homéliaires et des passionnaires".

<sup>74</sup> Chavasse, "Le Sermonnaire Vatican du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Bouhot, "L'Homélaire de Saint-Pierre du Vatican au milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et sa postérité"; Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 343-92 (Agimond), 127-88 (Alain), 189-221 (Éginon), 223-44 (Vatican), 479-86 (tableaux comparatifs entre les trois derniers, sous un titre courant qui mentionne fautivement Paul Diacre).

romaine des saints Philippe-et-Jacques, est écrit dans une onciale du début du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle; il comporte deux volumes de 330 et 318 feuillets, pour un total de 216 sermons (116 + 100).<sup>75</sup> Un premier volume, aujourd'hui manquant, couvrait la période de Noël au Carême, si bien que le total primitif des textes devait dépasser trois cents. Comparé à la vingtaine de pièces des sermonnaires d'auteurs ou à la cinquantaine des collections hétérogènes (*Homiliae quinquaginta* et manuscrit de Bobbio), le nombre est impressionnant. On a peine à croire qu'un tel monument n'ait pas été précédé de divers essais moins aboutis. À partir du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, cette famille d'homéliaires romains fut concurrencée par une compilation analogue, destinée explicitement à l'office de nuit, dont Charlemagne avait passé commande à Paul Diacre, un moine du Mont-Cassin invité à sa cour.<sup>76</sup>

La confection d'un homélaire permettait d'éviter le recours à de multiples sermonnaires d'auteur; elle supposait un travail savant de sélection, de prise d'extraits et de classement, dont le responsable rendait parfois compte dans un prologue.<sup>77</sup> Comme les textes étaient destinés à être lus – et non plus déclamés, après avoir été mémorisés, comme c'était le cas dans l'Antiquité –, les compilateurs s'autorisaient à franchir les limites du genre oratoire et à puiser aussi dans des livres d'exégèse ou de théologie: commentaires exégétiques et traités d'Ambroise, Augustin et Jérôme, œuvres d'Isidore de Séville, *Morales sur Job* de Grégoire. Dans les homéliaires de dérivation romaine, Origène, suspect d'hétérodoxie, est absent, et la source la plus récente est Isidore, tandis que Paul Diacre n'hésite pas à faire de multiples emprunts à Bède et à intégrer des traductions d'Origène.<sup>78</sup>

Dans tous ces manuscrits, contrairement aux pratiques antérieures, chaque pièce est en principe affectée à une occasion liturgique: temporal et sanctoral sont mélangés dans le respect du calendrier, et un riche commun suit la partie d'été. Une minorité de textes est constituée de centons, dont on ne sait s'ils circulaient antérieurement ou s'il faut les considérer comme des créations des compilateurs. D'autres, en plus grand nombre, ont été raccourcis et remaniés, enrichis à l'occasion d'une finale parénétique ou d'une doxologie.

75 Vatican (Cité du), Vat. lat. 3835-36.

76 Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 423-78.

77 Ainsi Alain de Farfa: *Et reuoluens paginas librorum uenerabilium catholicorum patrum ... ex praedictis scripturarum montibus (lire fontibus, comme quelques lignes plus haut) per singulis festiuitatibus quod aptum ex his uel conpetens esset, ex plurima excerpti uolumina et quodammodo distinctissime conlocaui* (Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, p. 133). Ces prologues ont été commentés et édités: Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 38-39, 132-34, 191-92, 225, 424 et 427.

78 McKitterick, "Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms 334 and its Implications".

Le reclassement systématique des sermons a brassé les recueils antérieurs et détruit, à de rares exceptions près, les séquences chronologiques plus ou moins longues, c'est-à-dire en définitive les lointaines copies de livrets de sténographes, qui avaient subsisté jusque-là. Dans certains cas cependant, on parvient à isoler quelques-unes des collections, homogènes ou hétérogènes, ayant servi de sources.

Un homélaire du début du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, dit d'Ottobeuren, mais originaire de la région de Bénévent, transmet 101 pièces:<sup>79</sup> il résulte d'emprunts massifs à Césaire (40 textes), à Grégoire le Grand (11 des 40 *Homélies sur l'évangile*) et à Léon (10 sermons). Sauf deux morceaux, sa section centrale (n<sup>os</sup> 37-59) est tirée d'une même collection de Césaire;<sup>80</sup> or celle-ci n'est préservée que dans un manuscrit du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, placé sous le nom d'Ambroise; les copies de l'homélaire sont donc plus anciennes de cinq siècles que celles du sermonnaire césairien, ce qui leur confère un réel intérêt sur le plan textuel. Une telle situation n'est pas unique. Un recueil de Chrysostome latin, la *Collection de l'Arsenal*, n'est transmis de façon séparée que dans un manuscrit du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>81</sup> mais la totalité de son contenu, soit 15 homélies africaines de date tardo-antique, a été répartie, selon le même ordre, à l'intérieur d'un homélaire de la fin du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>82</sup>

### 5.3 *Conséquences de la multiplication des homéliaires sur la transmission des sermons*

La structure liturgique des homéliaires était mieux adaptée à l'emploi des textes, dont le contenu retouché facilitait d'autre part la reprise immédiate. Cela explique, selon toute vraisemblance, la diminution progressive des modes antérieurs de diffusion: sermonnaires d'auteur, recueils hétérogènes (comme ceux de Césaire ou d'"Eusèbe Gallican"), sermons dispersés parmi des ouvrages d'un autre genre. La plupart des collections de type ancien n'ont qu'un faible nombre de copies; plusieurs ne se sont transmises qu'en un exemplaire, comme les collections de Césaire et du Chrysostome latin dont il vient d'être question; d'autres ont même disparu en totalité, comme le second sermonnaire de Léon,

79 Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 321-42 (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Vittorio Emanuele 1190).

80 *Collectio biblica*.

81 Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 175; Boodts/De Maeyer, "The Collectio Armamentarii". La *Collectio biblica altera* sur les mystères de l'Ancien Testament, analysée par Morin, dans son édition de Césaire, *S. Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, pp. LIX-LXII. À mon avis, les deux pièces absentes ne font exception qu'en apparence et devaient figurer dans une forme plus ancienne de cette *Collectio biblica*.

82 L'homélaire dit du Cardinal Jouffroy (Vat. lat. 3828), analysé chez Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 245-61.



et doivent être restituées à partir d'homéliaires médiévaux. Parmi les sermons d'Augustin, beaucoup ne sont attestés, eux aussi, que par des homéliaires, ce qui implique la disparition de diverses collections antiques;<sup>83</sup> deux séries seulement continueront d'être copiées régulièrement jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge, les *Cinquante homélies* et le *De uerbis domini et apostoli*, qui, de façon significative, ne remontent pas à l'Antiquité, mais sont des créations des 6<sup>e</sup> et 7<sup>e</sup> siècles.<sup>84</sup>

Une autre conséquence probable est l'adoption du classement liturgique dans certains sermonnaires d'auteurs. Par exemple, en ce qui concerne Augustin, les collections dites de Wolfenbüttel<sup>85</sup> et Colbertine<sup>86</sup> ne renferment que des sermons imputés à Augustin et majoritairement authentiques. Elles sont pourtant, à la différence des recueils de même type, strictement ordonnées selon le calendrier. Comme l'une et l'autre ne sont transmises que par un manuscrit, respectivement des 9<sup>e</sup> et 12<sup>e</sup> siècles,<sup>87</sup> il n'est pas exclu que leur structure actuelle soit secondaire. L'hypothèse n'est pas gratuite, car d'autres collections, homogènes ou hétérogènes, ont subi des réorganisations au cours du temps.

Du recueil africain du "Pseudo-Fulgence", chacune des deux familles présente un classement différent: un manuscrit de Saint-Mihiel des 9<sup>e</sup>-10<sup>e</sup> siècles et l'édition princeps de 1633 suivent grosso modo un calendrier liturgique, en rejetant en finale des sermons sans date ou *omni tempore dicendi*; les catalogues de la bibliothèque carolingienne de Lorsch décrivent le même recueil, dans un ordre tout différent où les sermons festifs paraissent disposés au hasard (Noël entre Pâques et la Pentecôte; l'Ascension derrière la Pentecôte, la nativité de Jean-Baptiste et la Saint-Laurent, etc.).<sup>88</sup> Il est clair que la structure

83 Disparitions confirmées par d'anciens inventaires de bibliothèques: voir Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 524-33.

84 Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, pp. 212-14 et 221-25 (listes de manuscrits); De Coninck/Coppieters 't Wallant/Demeulenaere, *La tradition manuscrite du recueil De uerbis Domini jusqu'au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Parmi toutes les autres, le *De lapsu mundi* (Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, p. 231) et la *Collection tripartite* (Wilmart, "La Collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin") sont les seules qui aient encore un peu circulé après le 13<sup>e</sup> siècle.

85 Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 393-422; Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, pp. 205-08.

86 Chavasse, "Un homiliaire liturgique romain du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, pp. 225-26; Partoens, "A Medieval French Homiliary?".

87 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 12 Weiss. (4096); Paris, BnF, lat. 3798.

88 Voir les concordances dressées par Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 96-102.



initiale est celle de Lorsch et doit procéder du rapprochement de livrets primitifs; la série d'exordes passe-partout y occupe, comme chez "Eusèbe Gallican", l'un des derniers chapitres, tandis qu'elle figure en tête dans l'autre branche.

Les deux familles de sermons de Maxime révèlent un scénario identique: la structure de trois manuscrits datables des 5e-8e siècles est désordonnée et conforme au témoignage de Gennade, tandis que trois témoins postérieurs à 800 restaurent un ordre liturgique plus strict; du reste, les emprunts faits par les homéliaires dépendent de cette branche du stemma.<sup>89</sup>

D'autres exemples de double classement sont plus énigmatiques, car on n'en discerne pas la raison. L'ordre habituel de la *Collection des 38 homélies* de Chrysostome a été bousculé, de façon indépendante, dans deux recueils du 12e siècle.<sup>90</sup> La collection augustinienne dite de Mayence-Lorsch est restituée grâce à un recueil perdu qu'analysent les catalogues déjà cités à propos du "Pseudo-Fulgence", et à un manuscrit copié au 15e siècle. Dans une diffusion si limitée, il est peu probable que beaucoup de maillons séparent ces exemplaires, dont l'ordre, pourtant, diverge du tout au tout.<sup>91</sup> Comme il s'agit de sermons thématiques, sans rapport avec le temporel ou le sanctoral, le changement paraît arbitraire. De même, les deux témoins du 11e siècle de la *Collection campanienne* offrent des variations importantes,<sup>92</sup> illustrant la facilité avec laquelle des chefs d'atelier pouvaient effectuer des coupures dans un modèle commun.

## 6 Tradition directe des sermons du 9e au 15e siècle

Avec le début du 9e siècle, commence la diffusion des homéliaires patristiques d'Alain de Farfa et de Paul Diacre, qui resteront, grâce à leurs multiples dérivés, les plus influents jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge. Leur rôle dans la lecture en assemblée y est souvent rappelée en marge par des indications de lectures. Pour la prédication tardo-antique, les homéliaires constituent désormais le courant principal de transmission, sermonnaires d'auteur, collections hétérogènes et sermons extravagants n'ayant plus qu'une circulation restreinte. Mais la situation change si l'on prend en compte la qualité textuelle des sermons:

<sup>89</sup> Le détail des faits est exposé par Mutzenbecher, en introduction à son édition, *Maximi episcopi Taurinensis collectio sermonum antiqua nonnullis sermonibus extrauagantibus adiectis*.

<sup>90</sup> Douai, Bibl. mun. 212 et Laon, Bibl. mun. 302, analysés par Wenk.

<sup>91</sup> Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 61-64.

<sup>92</sup> Voir note 56.

dans les éditions critiques, lorsqu'au moins deux types de témoins sont représentés, les homéliaires jouent un rôle secondaire par rapport aux autres, sauf exception due, par exemple, à la datation respective des exemplaires. L'évaluation la plus délicate est toujours celle des copies isolées, dont les trois origines possibles sont indiquées ici par ordre d'intérêt décroissant: sermon extravagant au sens strict, c'est-à-dire indépendant des séries connues; morceau extrait, en raison de son thème, d'une collection homogène ou hétérogène; élément d'un homélaire ayant retrouvé son indépendance.

Des sept siècles de réception médiévale, seuls les faits les plus saillants peuvent ici être évoqués. En ce qui concerne la production des textes, deux moments sont à privilégier: l'époque carolingienne et le début du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle. La première connaît une véritable explosion créatrice et compilatrice, liée par la critique au milieu auxerrois (Haymon, Héric, Remi), mais géographiquement plus large (Homéliaires bavarois et italiens, Raban Maur, Luculentius).<sup>93</sup> Cette production, qui s'inscrit dans la tradition des Pères, pénètre dans les homéliaires, où elle concurrence la prédication tardo-antique. Puis, à partir du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle, se développe un nouveau type de sermon, très reconnaissable avec ses divisions et son prothème, qui rompt avec les productions antérieures sans se mélanger à elles; les homéliaires cessent alors d'accueillir des sermons contemporains.

Sur le plan livresque, le phénomène le plus marquant est l'apparition des lectionnaires homilétiques – pour l'office de nuit ou le réfectoire<sup>94</sup> –, puis des bréviaires, qui représentent en quelque sorte la petite monnaie des homéliaires: les lectures de l'office et du bréviaire sont divisées et calibrées en leçons, non plus dans les marges mais de première main, de sorte que les sermons tronqués y deviennent la règle; souvent aussi, celles du réfectoire sont raccourcies et associées à la formule marginale *Tu autem*, au moyen de laquelle le président de l'assemblée interrompait l'hebdomadier. Sauf dans le cas de pièces rarissimes, les éditeurs modernes tiennent ces manuscrits pour négligeables, alors que c'est à travers eux que les lecteurs médiévaux ont souvent eu accès à la doctrine des Pères.

En matière de prédication patristique, l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres*, dont l'état primitif comptait 345 textes, est la création la plus ambi-

93 Voir Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens de l'École d'Auxerre*. La découverte postérieure de la série de Luculentius est due à Lemarié, dans "La collection carolingienne de Luculentius restituée par les deux codices Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 17 et 21".

94 Les deux types sont parfois complémentaires, car, chez les chartreux par exemple, on poursuivait au réfectoire la lecture commencée à l'office de nuit.

tieuse.<sup>95</sup> Compilé dans le premier quart du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, sans doute en milieu cistercien, celui-ci était destiné à servir aux lectures quotidiennes du réfectoire. La sélection est conservatrice: peu de textes sont médiévaux, et aucun postérieur au 9<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'auteur a exploité une collection de Maxime, passée sous le nom d'Ambroise, et l'homélaire de Paul Diacre; il est surtout parvenu à réunir un nombre exceptionnel de sermons augustinien<sup>96</sup>, dont l'origine reste discutée.<sup>97</sup>

Tout au long du Moyen Âge central, homéliaires et lectionnaires se multiplient et se diversifient, en faisant des emprunts sporadiques aux sermonnaires d'auteur, moins souvent recopiés dans leur totalité. Ainsi le grand lectionnaire de Corbie en trois volumes, copié dans le dernier tiers du 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, a-t-il accueilli, en les dispersant, 14 sermons de Gaudence de Brescia et 19 de Valérien de Cimiez.<sup>98</sup> la bibliothèque de cette abbaye possédait en effet le seul corpus connu du second et l'un des témoins du premier.<sup>99</sup> De façon analogue, divers homéliaires du Mont-Cassin ont accueilli quelques-unes des 62 *Interprétations* évangéliques d'Épiphane latin.<sup>100</sup>

Au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, un mouvement inverse se mit en place: des homéliaires vers de nouvelles collections d'auteur. Un exemple indiscutable en est le *Collectorium sermonum sancti Augustini* de Roberto de' Bardi, chancelier de la Sorbonne de 1336 à 1349.<sup>101</sup> L'ambition du compilateur était de réunir le maximum de sermons augustinien<sup>96</sup> en puisant aussi bien dans des homéliaires (Paul Diacre, Alain de Farfa, *Sancti catholici Patres*) que dans les sermonnaires médiévaux.<sup>102</sup> Le total atteint de 566 est impressionnant, mais la proportion de textes apocryphes est élevée. Car le nom d'Augustin n'a jamais cessé, contrairement à ceux de Chrysostome, Maxime ou Léon, d'attirer à lui des textes anonymes ou

95 Bouhot, "L'Homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres*".

96 Près de 180, dont 28 seulement sont inauthentiques.

97 Cette source, selon Bouhot, serait la *Collection Tripartite* de saint Augustin, dont aucun des manuscrits repérés n'est antérieur au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle; Wilmart, "La Collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin", et était supposent une relation inverse; je croirais plutôt à l'existence d'une source perdue commune aux deux séries.

98 Était, *Homéliaires patristiques latins*, pp. 206-74, spéc. pp. 257-58: Paris, BnF, lat. 11702 (partie d'hiver); lat. 11703 (temporal d'été); lat. 11704 (sanctoral d'été et commun).

99 Paris, BnF, lat. 13387, 9<sup>e</sup> s. (Valérien); lat. 13331, 11<sup>e</sup> s. (Gaudence).

100 Curieusement, ces pièces isolées sont les seules à avoir gardé le nom d'Épiphane, tandis que les divers manuscrits du corpus livrent ceux d'Ambroise, Jean et Jérôme.

101 Pozzi, "Roberto de' Bardi e S. Agostino" et Pozzi, "La 'Tabula' di Jean de Fayt al 'Collectorium' di Roberto de' Bardi".

102 *Collection Tripartite, Cinquante Homélies, De uerbis domini et apostoli, De lapsu mundi*, etc.; les sermonnaires tardo-antiques n'étaient plus accessibles à Roberto de' Bardi.

d'auteurs incertains, voire de fasciner des faussaires.<sup>103</sup> Dans le *Collectorium*, une quarantaine de sermons inauthentiques provient ainsi d'une création quasi contemporaine, les *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, composés pour fortifier les prétentions à l'ancienneté de l'Ordre des ermites de saint Augustin.<sup>104</sup> Cette série, qui mettait en scène un Augustin imaginaire, finit par compter, en se gonflant d'éléments divers, 76 articles: ce fut la collection de sermons la plus copiée à la fin du Moyen Âge<sup>105</sup> et la plus souvent imprimée de 1477 à 1500.

## 7 Tradition indirecte

L'exposé serait incomplet, si la tradition indirecte était passée sous silence. Celle-ci comporte trois aspects: les citations d'utilisateurs médiévaux, les extraits repris dans des florilèges, les centons fabriqués à partir de sermons antérieurs.

Les citations peuvent être explicites ou implicites, nominales ou anonymes, susceptibles d'infirmier ou de confirmer les attributions modernes. Elles sont trop courtes en général pour être exploitables sur le plan textuel; leur intérêt est plutôt de nous renseigner sur la diffusion d'un sermon ou, quand elles sont associées à une référence précise (avec numéro ou titre spécifique), sur l'emploi d'une collection. Mais l'argument est à manier avec prudence, car la présence d'une citation dans les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, le *Décret* de Gratien ou diverses *Sommes* scolastiques confère à celle-ci un statut d'*auctoritas*, qui multiplie ensuite les reprises de seconde main. Du reste, les sermons des Pères semblent avoir procuré moins de citations que leurs traités ou leurs commentaires bibliques, peut-être parce qu'on les tenait pour des œuvres adressées à un public moins lettré. Cependant, le repérage des emprunts est loin d'être achevé, bien qu'il ait été facilité par le recours aux bases de données textuelles.

Les florilèges renferment des extraits surtout nominaux, qui sont en moyenne plus longs et d'un tout autre intérêt que les citations, y compris sur le plan ecdotique. Augustin et Jérôme s'y taillent les meilleures parts, mais alors que la prédication du premier a fait l'objet de dépouillements attentifs, celle du second fut quasi inexploitée. Les florilèges les plus anciens, composés notam-

103 Sur les problèmes que pose la pseudépigraphe en homilétique, voir Machielsen, "Contribution à l'étude de la pseudépigraphe médiévale en matière patristique".

104 Saak, *Creating Augustine*.

105 Comme le montrent les centaines de copies recensées dans les volumes d'*Handschriftliche Überlieferung*. Les raisons d'un tel succès restent mystérieuses, d'autant que l'authenticité de la collection fut récusée dès la fin du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle.

ment par Eugippe, Bède et Florus, sont aussi les plus précieux aux yeux des philologues, car leur témoignage est souvent antérieur à l'ensemble de la tradition directe; ceux qui sont plus tardifs n'ont pas cet avantage, mais conservent de l'intérêt si leurs auteurs avaient accès à des pièces rares. C'est ainsi que des fragments de sermons perdus d'Augustin se rencontrent non seulement chez les trois auteurs cités,<sup>106</sup> mais aussi chez Sedulius Scottus (*Sermon* Dolbeau 1) et dans un florilège inédit conservé dans deux témoins du Moyen Âge central (*Sermon* Morin 18);<sup>107</sup> et ce sont des fragments repérés dans le *Milleloquium ueritatis sancti Augustini* de Barthélemy d'Urbino († 1350) qui ont amené la découverte du *Sermon* Dolbeau 28.

Enfin, la technique de centonisation, dans le domaine de la prédication, mériterait une étude plus systématique. Les éditions de Césaire d'Arles et d'"Eusèbe Gallican" font constater le procédé, grâce à leurs apparats des sources. Mais des centaines de sermons anonymes ou pseudépigraphes n'ont pas encore été examinées sous cet angle. Les passages dont une enquête révèle le réemploi sont parfois d'une meilleure qualité textuelle que les représentants de la tradition directe; parfois aussi, ils sont associés à des développements sans source connue, que la critique interne invite à considérer comme des emprunts à des sermons égarés. L'analyse des centons oratoires, à peine amorcée, laisse donc espérer nombre de trouvailles.<sup>108</sup>

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106 Voir Verbraken, "Les fragments conservés de sermons perdus de saint Augustin".

107 Ces deux manuscrits sont Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, CA. 4° 131, fin 11e siècle, et Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 16057, 12e siècle.

108 Weidmann, "Discovering Augustine's Words in Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons"; Weidmann, "Der Augustinuscento Sermo Mai 66" (excellente étude d'un cas particulier).

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# Visual Art and Iconography

*Jutta Dresken-Weiland*

## 1 The Explication and Interpretation of Images

The preserved Latin patristic sermons rarely mention works of art, failing to mention even artwork displayed at the place where the sermon was given. The same is true for Greek patristic sermons, which are considered in this study in order to broaden the scope of the evidence. The patristic attitude toward works of art is generally positive, but this attitude can vary not only from author to author, but within the corpus of the same author as well. Augustine wrote in his *De consensu euangelistarum* 1, 10 “that they who have sought Christ and his apostles not in sacred books but in pictures on walls, thoroughly deserve to err”, but declares in another context (*In euangelium Iohannis, tractatus* XXIV, 2): “When you see a picture there is nothing else to do but to see and to praise.”<sup>1</sup>

It is vital to observe the two contexts in which works of art in churches were mentioned in patristic sermons. The first context is sermons honoring the saints. Gregory of Nyssa’s homily on Theodore the Recruit, a soldier in the Roman Army who died on a pyre in Amasea (present-day Turkey) during the early 4th century, was delivered in the martyr’s sanctuary at Euchaita. The service was held on the anniversary of Theodore’s death, 17 February, between 379–81 AD.<sup>2</sup> The homily gives an excellent idea of the dedication, fervor, workmanship and thought necessary to create an adequate place for the martyr:

But somebody coming to a place like this one, where we are gathering today, where the memory of the just is kept alive and his holy remains preserved, is in the first place attracted by the magnificence of what they see. They see a house that, like a temple of God, is splendidly adorned by the size of the building and the beauty of its ornamentation. The carpenter shaped the wood until it had the form of animals and the mason polished the stones until they had the smoothness of silver. The painter colored the blooms of his art, having depicted on an image the martyr’s brave deeds, his opposition, his continuous pain, the beastly appearance

<sup>1</sup> Van Dael, *Biblical cycles*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Leemans et al., *Let us die*, pp. 82–91.

of the tyrants, the insults, the blazing furnace that was the athlete's most blessed end, the representation of the human form of Christ, who was the president of the games – having fashioned all these things for us by his use of colours, he portrayed, as if in a book the uttered speech, in great detail the martyr's contest and at the same time he also adorned the church as a beautiful meadow. For even though it remains silent, painting can speak on the wall and be of the greatest profit. And the mosaicist, for his part, made a floor to tread on that was worthy of the martyr's story.<sup>3</sup>

The function of the images illustrating Theodore's martyrdom was to stimulate the fervent faithful to venerate the martyr:

Taking delight in the seeing of such works of art that can be observed, one longs for the rest, in particular to approach the tomb, trusting that touching it results in sanctification and blessing.<sup>4</sup>

Interestingly, Christ is also represented in human shape as ἀγωνοθέτης, an example of the popularity of agonistic imagery and terminology in early Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

A similar idea was presented by Basil of Caesarea in his homily on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, delivered on 9 March 373 AD.<sup>6</sup>

Come then, let us bring them into prominence by remembering them, ... demonstrating to everyone, as if it were in writing, the acts of the men's prowess. When often both historians and painters express manly deeds of war, the one embellishing them with words, the other engraving them onto tablets, they both arouse many too to bravery. The facts which the historical account by being listened to, the painting silently portrays by imitation. In this very way let us too remind those present of the men's virtue, and as it were by bringing their deeds to their gaze, let us motivate them to imitate those who are nobler and closer to them with respect to their course of life.<sup>7</sup>

3 Gregory of Nyssa, *De sancto Theodoro*, ed. Heil/Cavarnos/Lendle, p. 62, line 25-p. 63, line 14; trans. Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 85.

4 Gregory of Nyssa, *De sancto Theodoro*, ed. Heil/Cavarnos/Lendle, p. 63, line 15-17; trans. Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 85.

5 Leemans, *God and Christ*.

6 Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 67.

7 Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in XL martyres*, 19, 2, ed. Migne, vol. 31, pp. 508-10; trans. Leemans et al., *Let us die*, pp. 68-69.

In the homily on the martyr Barlaam, Basil described at length the long and cruel martyrdom of the saint and concluded by appealing to “famous painters (ζωγράφοι) of victorious warriors” to outmatch his martyrdom with their paintings.<sup>8</sup> Even though this might be an expression of humility and a reference to the merits of the saint, it is obvious that Basil ascribed great power to images.

Interestingly, it is in the context of images depicting martyrdom that images are seen in a completely positive way. This makes it clear that theologians knew the power of images and used them in order to intensify the martyr's veneration.

The second context in which works of art in churches were mentioned in patristic sermons includes references to artwork in churches as *ekphrasis* and poetry. Besides sermons in honor of saints, there are also descriptions of artwork in the literary context of *ekphrasis*. *Ekphrasis* is a term from Greek rhetoric that denotes a particularly vivid, powerful linguistic presentation. In antiquity, the term *ekphrasis* was applied not only to descriptive imagery and art, but also to the use of descriptive language. The quality of the language was used to evoke images, to make the reader or listener see images which were not present. Whether the object of the description actually existed or not was inconsequential. *Ekphrasis* aimed at the emotional engagement of the listener.<sup>9</sup>

In his famous panegyric delivered at the dedication of the church of Tyrus in 314 AD,<sup>10</sup> Eusebius referred to the edifice only briefly: “Why should I now describe in detail the pattern of the all-wise and masterful arrangement, and of the surpassing beauty of each part, when the testimony of the eyes leaves no place for instruction through the ears?”<sup>11</sup> He does not mention any imagery. In contrast to the panegyric character, this text contains the earliest complete description of a Christian church and is the first written record testifying to the existence of a monumental church building. A very interesting and important example of *ekphrasis* is the description by Asterius of Amasea († after 415 AD) of a painting of Saint Euphemia's martyrdom in Chalcedon, depicted in five

8 Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia in XL martyres*, 17, 3, ed. Migne, vol. 31, p. 489.

9 Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*; see with literature the very useful <<http://www.gib.uni-tuebingen.de/netzwerk/glossar/index.php?title=Ekphrasis>>.

10 For the dating, see Vinzent, “Paulinus von Tyrus und die origenistische Diadoche”, p. 152 n. 34.

11 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10, 4, 44, ed. Bardy, pp. 95-96; trans. Deferrari, *Eusebius Pamphili Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2, p. 258. For the intention of this panegyric see Heyden, “Sakralisierung”.

scenes.<sup>12</sup> Asterius indicated that the medium of the painting is cloth, which could have been a woven textile, or a cloth with paint applied to it,<sup>13</sup> or a cloth with dyed motifs.<sup>14</sup> It is not possible to determine whether Asterius' description corresponds to what he saw. The text may have been written to be published and not to be read aloud, as it shows familiarity with ancient art and uses pagan religious terminology.<sup>15</sup> Asterius vividly recounted the scene of the trial and referred to the importance of philosophy when he described Euphemia wearing a philosopher's garment. Perhaps this garment represents the Christian way of life in general and ascetical way of life in particular. Asterius contrasts the painting of Euphemia with the famous Roman painting of Medea before killing her children:

This is the masterpiece. High upon his throne sits the judge who looks in a severe and hostile way at the virgin; indeed, even with inanimate matter, art can rage whenever it wants. Then the guard of the office and many soldiers, the secretaries with their tablets and styluses; one of them has lifted up his hand from the wax and observes intensely the condemned, his face turned towards her as if he was ordering her to speak louder so that he, struggling to hear, should not write down any manifest mistake. The virgin stands, dressed in a grey frock and a mantle signifying philosophy, as it was the artist's conviction, and with a courteous look, a beauty representing, however, for me the adornment of her soul with virtue.... I always praised the other painters, I saw the drama of that woman of Colchis, how she is going to kill her children with the sword, her face divided between pity and anger.... But now I have turned away my admiration from the concept of that painting to this one, and highly I praise the artist who, more than the brightness of colours, mixed shame and courage, virtues which struggle by nature.<sup>16</sup>

Because of the comparison to Medea, it is widely assumed that the text was written for an audience which was not Christian.<sup>17</sup> In this case, Asterius fol-

12 Asterius of Amasea, *Homilia XI in laudem S. Euphemiae*, 11, ed. Migne, vol. 40, 333-37; Asterius of Amasea, *Homilies*, ed. Datema, p. 154.

13 Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen*, p. 71; Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia", p. 294.

14 See Kötzsche, *Der bemalte Behang*.

15 Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 174.

16 Asterius of Amasea, *Homilia XI in laudem S. Euphemiae*, 11, 3, ed. Migne, vol. 40, 335-36, trans. Leemans et al., *Let us die*, pp. 175-76.

17 Speyer, "Die Euphemia-Reden"; Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 77-78; Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 174.

lowed a particular branch of a different hagiographical tradition, because the known legendary *passio* tells a different story.<sup>18</sup> It must be emphasized that Asterius' account "finds a balance between realism and engaged description, to the effect that while reading one gets the impression of 'historicity', much more than is the case with the later *passiones*."<sup>19</sup>

The description of Sergius' church in Gaza, written by Choricus of Gaza before 536 AD in honor of Bishop Markianus, probably for the dedication of the church, is an *ekphrasis* particularly dedicated to images.<sup>20</sup> Choricus mentioned art depicting scenes from the New Testament beginning with the annunciation and ending with the ascension of Christ.<sup>21</sup>

Toward the end of the reign of Justinian, Paul the Silentiary described the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, particularly its chancel barrier, *solea* and *ambo*. This famous *ekphrasis* is the earliest and most detailed description of such a structure.<sup>22</sup>

*Tituli* are another poetic genre used by the church.

*Tituli* consisted of epigrams: pithy expressions intended to express a theological idea. Twenty-one epigrams are reported under the name of Ambrose of Milan († 397 AD) which allude to images with the choice of deictic words. Four epigrams relate to New Testament scenes and 17 to Old Testament scenes. The epigrams are assigned to the *Basilica Ambrosiana*. The authorship of Ambrose has not been proven conclusively, but recently new evidence has been put forth in support of his authorship.<sup>23</sup> Some of the images mentioned in these epigrams were unknown in Early Christian art until now, but this is not an argument against their authenticity. Contemporary knowledge of Christian art is incomplete because so many monuments have been destroyed. A more compelling argument against authenticity of these images, on the other hand, is that *tituli*, like the *ekphrasis*, do not depend on the object of the description existing in reality. *Tituli* need not be combined with images. They can also be

18 Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia", pp. 294-95; Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 174.

19 Leemans et al., *Let us die*, p. 174.

20 Choricus of Gaza, *Laudatio Marciani* 1, 47-49, ed. Foerster/Richtsteig, pp. 14-26. For the *ekphrasis* of Choricus, see generally Stenger, "Chorikios und die Ekphrasis der Stefanoskirche".

21 Choricus of Gaza, *Laudatio Marciani* 1, 47, ed. Foerster/Richtsteig, p. 14. See the trans. by Hamilton, "Two churches at Gaza". A French trans. was made by Abel, "Gaza au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios".

22 Text and commentary in Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, pp. 297-305.

23 Gnllka, "Zur Frage der Verfasserschaft der ambrosianischen Tituli".



painted on walls to instruct the faithful and are attributed a didactic function.<sup>24</sup> This is true for the *tituli* composed about 400 AD by Prudentius, the most important Christian poet in Late Antiquity. These *tituli* are known under two titles – the Greek *Dittochaeum* and the later Latin *Tituli historiarum*. Prudentius composed 48 hexametric quatrains in total: 24 refer to Old Testament scenes and 24 to New Testament themes. Although it had been assumed that these quatrains served as captions in a basilica,<sup>25</sup> it is impossible to associate 48 images with *tituli* in any one of the early Christian basilicas. T. Lehmann has demonstrated that the clerestory of an early Christian basilica was not large enough to house such a pictorial cycle, which means that there would need to be two images stacked one upon the other plus the two associated quatrains.<sup>26</sup> Thus Prudentius' *tituli* were not intended to describe real images hung on a wall, but rather spiritual images for veneration and meditation. Because of their brevity and vividness, the *tituli* are particularly memorable.

The importance and the popularity of *tituli* are expressed in *ep.* 32 of Paulinus of Nola to Sulpicius Severus,<sup>27</sup> written possibly in the spring or summer 403 AD.<sup>28</sup> Paulinus proposed various *tituli* for Severus' newly built baptistery at Primuliacum, for the basilicas and for the tomb of the venerated presbyter Clarus, a friend and successor of Martin of Tours, and for a relic of the True Cross. In addition, he communicates the *titulus* below the apse mosaic of the basilica nova in Cimitile, various *tituli* above doors in different parts of the church complex and the *titulus* of the basilica in Fundi, founded by Paulinus and still under construction. The *tituli* descriptions of the two apse paintings in Nola and Fundi are of particular importance because they provide invaluable information about paintings which have since been lost and about the meaning attributed to the paintings.<sup>29</sup>

Works of art are also mentioned in the poetry of Prudentius. His *Peristephanon*, containing 14 poems dedicated to the martyrs, is considered to be one of his most influential works and caused an enormous response. In

24 Cugisi, "Cicli' di carmi epigrafici cristiani", p. 374.

25 Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm*, pp. 71-72; Gnlika, "Zur Frage der Verfasserschaft der ambrosianischen Tituli", p. 125 n. 20.

26 Lehmann, "Echte und falsche Bilder", pp. 108-26.

27 See the edition and transl. by Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, pp. 38-47; for the letter 32, see Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, *Descriptions*, pp. 21-100.

28 Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus*, p. 150, Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, *Descriptions*, p. 23.

29 Engemann, "Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola"; Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus*, pp. 166-69 (Nola), pp. 188-91 (Fundi); Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, *Descriptions*, pp. 101-240.



*Peristephanon* IX, 9-92,<sup>30</sup> he described a painted image of the martyrdom – “a picture of the martyr, painted in colors” – of Cassian of Imola,<sup>31</sup> whose grave he had visited. Cassian, a teacher, was killed by his pupils, possibly at the beginning of the 4th century. The description of this horrible murder, announced in the *Peristephanon* painting by a sacristan who is reporting the story to Prudentius, deeply struck the mind and the emotions of the reader. In *Peristephanon* XI,<sup>32</sup> Prudentius depicted the martyrdom of Hippolytus and mentioned also a colorful picture of the martyrdom above the tomb of the saint (XI, 125-26). Although both poems are *ekphrasis*, the existence of these pictures is possible.<sup>33</sup> In the case of Cassian’s martyrdom, the existence of the art mentioned seems probable, because Prudentius visited Imola to see the work of art on his way to Rome.<sup>34</sup>

## 2 Artwork in the Church

What did the audience look at while listening – or not listening – to the sermon?

Church congregants would have seen, upon first entering a church, familiar fixtures and decor. The fundamental elements of church furniture, valid for both East and West, are mentioned by Eusebius († between 339-40 AD) in his famous sermon celebrating the dedication of the cathedral in Tyrus (present-day Lebanon) in 314 AD.<sup>35</sup> The cathedral of Tyrus had bronze doors, marble pavements and marble columns. In the apse, there were high thrones for the higher clergy and benches for the other members of the clergy. An altar, referred to as “the holy of the holies”, was centered in front of them. The congregants could not access this part of the church and so it was delineated by

30 See the edition (with trans.) by Thomson, *Prudentius* II, pp. 222-27.

31 For “fucis colorum” see Fux, *Les sept passions de Prudence*, pp. 326-27.

32 See the edition by Thomson, *Prudentius* II, p. 312.

33 Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, pp. 132-67. For the veneration of Cassian, see Bless-Grabher, *Cassian von Imola*. For these two poems, see also a French trans. with commentary: Fux, *Les sept passions de Prudence*, pp. 321-44 (nr. 9), pp. 345-412 (nr. 11).

34 The verses *Peristephanon* 12, 43-44 (*Pastor oues alit ipse gelido rigore fontis, uidet sitire quas fluentia Christi*, “There the shepherd himself nurtures his sheep with the ice-cold water of the pool, for he sees them thirsting for the rivers of Christ” [Thomson, *Prudentius* II, p. 327]) do not refer to a representation of the God Shepherd, but are probably an interpolation pointing to baptism, see Gnilká, “Prudentius über den colymbus bei St. Peter”, pp. 83-84.

35 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10, 4, 39-45, ed. Bardy, pp. 93-95.

open-worked wooden barriers, known as a rood screen, dividing the nave from the chancel. The *cathedra*, the bishop's seat, and the *synthronon* of the clergy become an integral part of church furniture, as well as the rood screens, which were frequently made of stone or marble. Eusebius stressed the importance of light for the interior of the church and mentioned the use of open-worked wood to allow for additional daylight.

In the context of a sermon on Matth. 11:25, Augustine referred briefly to the interior of the church in which he is preaching and mentioned the columns, the height of the roof and the extension of the pavement and the walls,<sup>36</sup> without going into detail. In another sermon, he alluded to the veneration of columns in churches, which were to be kissed when the faithful entered.<sup>37</sup>

Since the time of Constantine, paintings and mosaics have been part of church decoration. This is documented by the inscription of Markos Joulis Eugenios, who founded a church some years after the end of the persecutions in Laodikea Katakekaumene (present-day Turkey), as told by his sarcophagus inscription.<sup>38</sup> The variety and themes of these decorations are not specified. It is possible that there were churches boasting very little decor. The choice of decoration depended on the taste of the church's founder, his attitude towards images and his financial abilities.

The inner walls of churches were used for figural decoration since the beginning of monumental church architecture,<sup>39</sup> but not as a general rule.<sup>40</sup> The most important innovation in church architecture was the utilization of the apse for a central theophanic representation.<sup>41</sup> Such theophanic representation depict images of Christ, often accompanied by Mary, apostles, saints and elements of his *parousia*, such as apocalyptic clouds, palm trees, the four apocalyptic creatures, or the four rivers of paradise.

There is only one apse composition which alludes to speaking or promulgation: the *dominus legem dat*. This iconographic scheme shows a bearded Christ standing on the river of paradise between the apostles Peter and Paul. Christ

36 Augustine, *Sermo Mai* 126, ed. Migne, *Supplementum*, vol. 2, pp. 503-04. The text is dated between 425 and 430.

37 Augustine, *Sermo* 198, ed. Drobner, p. 138, pp. 246-49.

38 Dresken-Weiland, "Ein wichtiges Zeugnis".

39 See Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio de deitate filii et spiritus sancti et in Abraham*, ed. Rhein, pp. 138-39.

40 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 27, 544, ed. Goldschmidt, pp. 62-63: *Pingere sanctas raro more domos animantibus adsimulatis*; "to paint, a rare custom, images of living beings on the holy houses".

41 Ihm, *Die Programm der christlichen Apsismalerei*; Arbeiter/Korol, "Wand- und Gewölbemosaiken"; Brenk, *The Apse, the Image and the Icon*.

has lifted his right arm and holds an uncoiled scroll in his left hand. Peter approaches, bent forward and holding a rod, to catch the end of the scroll. Paul has lifted his right arm in an applauding gesture. In this iconography, Christ is characterized as speaking, emphasized by his standing position and his lifted right arm. The open scroll indicates the content of his promulgation. The title *dominus legem dat* is taken from similar representations, including the mosaic in St. Costanza in Rome, where *dominus legem dat* could be read on the scroll.<sup>42</sup> The alternative denomination of this scene as *traditio legis*, introduced at the beginning of the 20th century,<sup>43</sup> is not correct, because Christ is depicted as speaking and he does not give anything. The scene *dominus legem dat* must be distinguished from representations of the teaching Christ. Here Christ holds his right hand with an elevated forefinger and middle finger before his breast or next to the upper part of his body, paralleling imperial iconography. The uplifted arm in the *dominus legem dat* is recognizable from imperial iconography as a gesture of promulgation.

In the context of this promulgation, the apostle Peter shows his readiness for his special role when he receives the scroll. The opened scroll, the law, probably refers to the message of paschal victory and peace, and the new Church consisting of Jews and Gentiles.<sup>44</sup> The figure of Peter is additionally emphasized by the cross he is holding. The mandate of baptism and mission was later given to Paul as well as to Peter, thus Paul is also part of the scene. He is considered the apostle of the Romans and is also venerated in Rome.

There are also apocalyptic elements in this scene: paradise hill with four rivers, apocalyptic clouds and the palms of paradise. The elements indicate that the promulgation of the law transcends time and history and also testifies to the appearance of the resurrected Christ at the end of times. Both apostles are depicted in a paradisiacal environment, showing that they have already arrived in the community with Christ. The Christological aspects of the scene are emphasized: the self-revelation of the eschatological victor Christ and the demonstration of his legislative authority before the apostles who are ready to serve him.<sup>45</sup>

Most likely, this composition was created for the apse of the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. It does not refer directly to any New Testament passage but uses iconography in order to express theological ideas. There are

42 Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken", pp. 118, 128-33, 145.

43 Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken", pp. 129-30.

44 Schumacher, "Dominus legem dat", p. 20.

45 Kaiser-Minn, "Die Entwicklung der frühchristlichen Sarkophagplastik", p. 331.

no other apse compositions which refer to a promulgating Christ, whereas the teaching Christ is represented frequently.

In churches, figural representations can also be found outside the apse. Paulinus of Nola decorated the Basilica Nova in Cimitile with Old Testament images within the sanctuary of Saint Felix, whereas he adorned the already existing Basilica Vetus with New Testament images.<sup>46</sup> The remains of these paintings, dated ca. 401-03 AD, are the earliest known remains of a solely New Testament cycle in a church.<sup>47</sup>

Images of standing figures must have been popular and widespread, as the letter of Epiphanius of Salamis to Emperor Theodosius illustrates. Their great number and their iconographic uniformity render identifications difficult. In some pieces of art, persons who were still alive were represented. Paulinus of Nola confessed that he did not feel comfortable with being represented together with Saint Martin in the baptistery at Primuliacum.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to Christian figures, traditional imagery was used to decorate churches. This is illustrated by the letter of Nilus of Ancyra († ca. 430 AD) to Eparch Olympiodorus:<sup>49</sup>

Being, as you are, about to construct a large church in honor of the holy martyrs, you inquire of me in writing whether it be fitting to set up their images in the sanctuary inasmuch as they have borne testimony of Christ by their martyrs' feats, their labors and their sweat; and to fill the walls, those on the right and those on the left, with all kinds of animal hunts so that one might see snares being stretched on the ground, fleeing animals, such as hares, gazelles and others, while the hunters, eager to capture them, pursue them with their dogs; and also nets being lowered into the sea, and every kind of fish being caught and carried on shore by the hands of the fishermen; and, furthermore, to exhibit a variety of stucco-work so as to delight the eye in God's house; and, lastly, to set up in the nave a

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46 Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus*, p. 215.

47 Korol, "Zu den gemalten Architekturdarstellungen des NT-Zyklus".

48 Paulinus von Nola, *Epist.* 30, 2 and 32, 2, ed. Skeb, p. 748: *Recte enim in loco refectionis humanae Martinus pingitur, qui caelestis hominis imaginem perfectam Christi imitatione portauit, ut deponentibus in lauacro terrenae imaginis uetustatem imitanda caelestis anima occurrat effigies. Noster uero quis illic locus est, qui nec infantibus innocentia neque uiris concurrimus sapientia et ab immaculatis malitia, a perfectis infirmitate distinguimur?*

49 Nilus of Ancyra, *ep.* 4, 61. Text in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 310-11.

thousand crosses and the pictures of different birds and beasts, reptiles and plants.<sup>50</sup>

Such use of conventional decoration mixed with Christian themes was not unusual and is recognizable in preserved monuments like the St. Costanza mausoleum in Rome.<sup>51</sup> “Olympiodorus was the sort of patron who still hankered after the old classicizing themes; and Nilus the sort of churchman who was concerned to make the Church’s position clear.”<sup>52</sup> In his reply to Olympiodorus, Nilus recommended a cross in the apse and images of the New and the Old Testament on the walls of the nave.<sup>53</sup> Of course, Nilus’ letter was intended not only for Olympiodorus, but like many other letters, was intended for wider circulation, in this case communicating which themes were to be chosen for church decoration and which were not.<sup>54</sup>

The cross, mentioned as decoration of the apse in the letter of Nilus, played a major role in the decoration of churches. The cross was represented in mosaic images of the interior of churches.<sup>55</sup> The creation of images of the crucified Christ are documented in Christian context from the end of the 4th century.<sup>56</sup> One of Prudentius’ *tituli* (nr. 42, ca. 400 AD) described the crucifixion of Christ. For a church in Narbonne, Gregory of Tours († 594 AD) reported an image of the crucified Christ, girded with a sheet.<sup>57</sup> Due to the imprecision of the text, the church and the painting described cannot be located nor dated.<sup>58</sup>

The congregants in church also saw ornamental decoration, such as flowers and vine tendrils, as Jerome reported in his letter to Heliodorus (*ep.* 60, 12):

50 Trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 32-33.

51 See Arbeiter, “Die Mosaiken” for this monument.

52 Cameron, “The Authenticity”, p. 190.

53 In the context of the iconoclast controversy, this passage allowing scenes of the Old and the New Testament was substituted by advising to limit the decoration of the church to a cross in the apse and to paint the walls in white, see Cameron, “The authenticity”, pp. 189-90. In this article, I will not enter on the problem of iconoclasm, see recently Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast period*; Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine iconoclasm*.

54 Cameron, “The Authenticity”, p. 190.

55 Metzger, “Deux panneaux de mosaïque d’église”, pp. 154-56.

56 Dresken-Weiland, “A new iconography”.

57 Gregory of Tours, *Miracles* 23, ed. Migne, vol. 71, pp. 724-25; see Mrass, “Kreuzigung Christi”, p. 289.

58 Février/ Barral i Altet, *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 7, p. 22.

We may pass the same eulogy on our friend, for he adorned both the basilicas of the church and the halls of the martyrs with sketches of flowers, foliage, and vine tendrils, so that everything attractive in the church, whether made so by its position or by its appearance, bore witness to the labour and zeal of the presbyter set over it.<sup>59</sup>

The walls were further adorned with hangings and curtains, as the famous passage in the letter of Epiphanius of Salamis († 403 AD) to John of Jerusalem indicated.<sup>60</sup> In the letter, Epiphanius described his arrival in the village Anautha in Palestine, where he and his companions entered a church in order to pray. Epiphanius discovered a colorful curtain at the door (βῆλον ἐν τῇ θύρᾳ βαπτῶν) bearing an image of either Christ or a saint. He tore the curtain in pieces because he thought that it polluted the church (μῦσός ἐστιν) and advised the church to wrap the dying poor in it. The people of Anautha protested against the destruction of the church's curtain and forced him to replace it with an identical model. This proved difficult to find and Epiphanius required considerable time to obtain it. This brief story demonstrates how, by the end of the 4th century, images in churches were pervasive and the faithful insisted on preserving them. In his letter to Emperor Theodosius (ca. 394 AD), Epiphanius complained that the image of Christ was painted on door curtains (ἐν βήλοις θυρῶν), and that images of prophets, patriarchs, and apostles were found on curtains and walls.<sup>61</sup> As church decoration material, textiles should not be underestimated. Asterius described a cloth (ca. 424 AD)<sup>62</sup> with the martyrdom of Euphemia near the saint's grave in Chalcedon. In Uzalis, Africa, a cloth<sup>63</sup> with a miracle of St. Stephen is suspended before the saint's grave.<sup>64</sup>

Sculpture was a rare element in churches, but is documented in both the East and the West. An extraordinary example was the monument called *Fastigium* in the Lateran-Basilica, a pediment with sculpture, erected by Constantine. It

59 Jerome, *ep.* 60, 12, ed. Hilberg, vol. 1, p. 564; trans. Schaff, [http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206/Page\\_128.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206/Page_128.html): *Hoc idem possumus et de isto dicere, qui basilicas ecclesiae et martyrum conciliabula diuersis floribus et arborum comis uitiumque pampinis adumbraret, ut, quidquid placebat in ecclesia tam dispositione quam uisu, laborem presbyteri et studium testaretur.*

60 Text in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 297.

61 Text in Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 300-02.

62 Meyers, *Les miracles*, p. 24.

63 *Velum uariis pictum e cera coloribus.*

64 Ps-Augustine, *The Miracles of Saint Stephen*, 4, 2, ed. Migne, vol. 41, col. 850-51; ed. Meyers, p. 344. See also Michaud, "Verum et velum: le miracle et l'image du miracle"

is only known by its mention in the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>65</sup> In the East, Gregory of Nazianzus mentioned figural sculpture (πλασμάτα) in the church in Nazianzus, erected by his father, his predecessor as bishop, who died in 374 AD.<sup>66</sup> John Chrysostom referred in a sermon to statues (ἁγάλματα) as elements of church furniture.<sup>67</sup> These texts suggest that the workshops which made decorative sculpture in the late-4th century produced more than the only Christian statue extant today, the seated Christ in the Museo Nazionale in Rome.<sup>68</sup>

Some churches had extremely precious objects of art, like the 6th-century relief marble columns of the *ciborium* in St. Marc in Venice, probably looted from a church in Constantinople.<sup>69</sup> Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II and regent for him, dedicated a table of gold and precious stones presumably to the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. On the front of the table Pulcheria wrote down her vow of virginity and thus communicated it to the public.<sup>70</sup>

In conclusion, generally speaking, most churches had some works of art for the congregation to enjoy if neither the preacher nor the content of his sermon could catch the attention of the faithful. Regarding images from the Bible, scenes from the Old Testament are more frequent than from the New.

### 3 The Delivery of the Sermon

Sermons generally were delivered in church. Sermons honoring martyrs were probably recited in the martyria and near their graves. Periodically the location of the sermon delivery was noted in the manuscript.<sup>71</sup> The place for preaching the sermon in the church was the apse, where the bishop's *cathedra* was located.<sup>72</sup> It was also called the "throne". Rarely, the *ambo* was used for the bishop's

65 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, vol. 1, pp. 117-27.

66 Gregory of Nazianz, *Orationes* 18, 39, ed. Migne, vol. 35, col. 1037.

67 John Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Ephesios commentarius*, 10, 2, ed. Migne, vol. 62, col. 77-78.

68 For these workshops see Vorster, "Spätantike Bildhauerwerkstätten in Rom". Statues were probably still found in churches in the beginning of the 6th century, see Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 104 for a text of Hypatius of Ephesos. See also a capital with Mary and the child Jesus Maria, dated in the 5th or the first half of the 6th century: Dresken-Weiland, "Ein Figuralkapitel".

69 Weigel, *Die Reliefsäulen*.

70 Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9, 1, 4, ed. Bidez/Hansen, pp. 390-91, see Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 51.

71 Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 722-24.

72 For the archaeological documentation see Dresken-Weiland, "Kathedra".



homily. The *ambo* was a raised platform with staircase, predominantly used for the Scripture lection and psalm singers. There are no preserved *ambos* dating from before the end of the 5th century. The predominant *ambo* type, probably created in Constantinople, shows two axial staircases, positioned across from each other. An important *ambo* with figural decoration is the *ambo* in Thessalonica, dated ca. 500 AD.<sup>73</sup>

Remarkably, the congregants were standing while listening to the sermon, and were not supposed to sit down on the floor, unless affected by age or illness.<sup>74</sup> The virgins stayed together in an area on their own, delineated by chancels.<sup>75</sup>

#### 4 The Function of Art in Churches

The role of images in churches has always been viewed in different ways. In the letter of Nilus to Olympiodorus cited above, Nilus mentioned in passing two contrasting points of view: on the one hand, images delight, but on the other hand, they also distract. These viewpoints are not restricted to Nilus' time.

When ecclesiastical persons address the function of visual art in churches, they generally attribute a didactic function to them. Images of the martyrdom in the sanctuaries of martyrs were meant to arouse the faithful to venerate the saints. For this purpose, visual art was unanimously assessed in a positive way. Other images in churches did not always enjoy such widespread approval. The well-known Canon 36 of the Synod of Elvira from the beginning of the 4th century made mention of images: "Pictures are not to be placed in churches, so that they do not become objects of worship and adoration."<sup>76</sup> This canon was apparently not accepted outside the borders of Spain. Obviously, Paulinus of Nola felt the need to justify the endowment with images of Felix's sanctuary in Cimitile, when he pronounced his *carmen* 27<sup>77</sup> on 14 January 403 AD:

It may be asked how we arrived at this decision, to paint, a rare custom, images of living beings on the holy houses. Hark and I will attempt briefly to expound the causes. What crowds the glory of St. Felix drives hither, is

<sup>73</sup> Warland, "Der Ambo aus Thessaloniki".

<sup>74</sup> Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 736-43.

<sup>75</sup> Wilpert, *Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen*, p. 40.

<sup>76</sup> *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.*

<sup>77</sup> For the dating see Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus*, pp. 192-93.



unknown to none; the majority of the crowd here, however, are peasant people, not devoid of religion, but not able to read.<sup>78</sup>

In the following passage, Paulinus recounted that the peasants were used to eating and drinking wine when celebrating the memory of the saints, which led to inebriation in the sanctuary. Paulinus did not blame the illiterate peasants, who were “in the false belief that the saints are glad when reeking wine is poured over their graves.”<sup>79</sup> He lamented, “If only, however, they would spend this joy with wholesome wishes and not intrude into the sacred houses with their beakers!”<sup>80</sup> Paulinus’ images were meant to instruct the peasants in their faith and to prevent them from excessive alcohol consumption:

Therefore it seemed us useful work gaily to embellish Felix’ houses all over with sacred paintings in order to see whether the spirit of the peasants would not be surprised by this spectacle and undergo the influence of the coloured sketches which are explained by inscriptions over them, so that the script may make clear what the hand has exhibited. Maybe that, when they all in turn show and reread to each other what has been painted, their thoughts will turn more slowly to eating, while they saturate themselves with a fast that is pleasing to the eyes, and perhaps a better habit will thus in their stupefaction take root in them, because of the painting artfully diverting their thoughts from their hunger. When one reads the saintly histories of chaste works, virtue induced by pious examples steals upon one; He who thirsts is quenched by sobriety, the result being a forgetting of the desire for too much wine. And while they pass the day by looking, most of the time the beakers are less frequently filled, because now that the time has been spent with all these wonderful things, but few hours are left for a meal.<sup>81</sup>

78 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 27, 543-48: *Forte requiratur quanam ratione gerendi sederit haec nobis sententia, pingere sanctas raro more domos animantibus adsimulatis. Accipite et paucis temptabo exponere causas. Quos agat huc sancti Felicis gloria coetus, obscurum nulli; sed turba frequentior hic est rusticitas non cassa fide neque docta legendi.* Text and English trans.: Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, pp. 62-63.

79 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 27, 566-67: *... male credula sanctos perfusis halante mero gaudere sepulchris.* Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, pp. 62-63.

80 *Carmen* 27, 558-60: *Verum utinam sanis agerent haec gaudia uotis nec sua liminibus miscerent pocula sanctis.* Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, pp. 62-63.

81 *Carmen* 27, 580-95: *Propterea uisum nobis opus utile totis Felicis domibus pictura ludere sancta, si forte adtonitas haec per spectacula mentes agestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra, quae super exprimitur titulis, ut littera monstret quod manus explicuit, dumque*

Whether the images helped to reduce the peasants' inebriation is beyond the scope of this study, but Paulinus' argument convinced even theologians like Epiphanius of Salamis.

Around the same time,<sup>82</sup> Nilus expressed a similar didactic and paraenetic function of church images in his letter to Olympiodorus:

... and to fill the holy church on both sides with pictures from the Old and New Testaments, executed by an excellent painter, so that the illiterate who are unable to read the Holy Scriptures, may, by gazing at the pictures, become mindful of the manly deeds of those who have genuinely served the true God, and may be roused to emulate those glorious and celebrated feats.<sup>83</sup>

The didactic function was not intended for the illiterate only. In the second half of the 5th century, when Severus of Antioch asked Zacharias to introduce him into Christianity, Zacharias took Severus to the church dedicated to Mary and explained, while looking together at the images, what he had learned from the Bible and the Church fathers.<sup>84</sup> He started with the book of Genesis and referred explicitly to a representation of Adam and Eve subsequent to the fall. Zacharias did not specify the other images in the church. It is possible that it was comprised of only Old Testament images.

The same function of images is also stressed by Gregory the Great († 604 AD) in two letters directed to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, dated in the years 599 and 600 AD.<sup>85</sup> The letter of 599 AD refers to the destruction of church images only briefly, executed by Serenus' confraternity. Therein Gregory asserted that it is not permissible to destroy images, because they instruct

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*omnes picta uicissim ostendunt releguntque sibi, uel tardius escae sint memores, dum grata oculis ieiunia pascunt, atque ita se melior stupefactis inserat usus, dum fallit pictura famem; sanctasque legenti historias castorum operum subrepat honestas exemplis inducta piis; potatur hianti sobrietas, nimii subeunt obliuia uini. Dumque diem ducunt spatio maiore tuentes, pocula rarescunt, quia per miracula tracto tempore iam paucae superant epulanti-bus horae.* Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, pp. 64-65.

82 For the dating see Cameron, "The authenticity", p. 191.

83 Trans. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 33.

84 See *Vita Severi*, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 2, pp. 48-51 (Syrian Text with French trans.); English trans. by Brock/Fitzgerald, *Two Early Lives*, pp. 58-60.

85 Gregory the Great, *Letters* 9, 209, ed. Norberg, p. 768, from July 599; *Letters* 11, 10, ed. Norberg, pp. 873-76, from October 600. See Sprigath, "Zum Vergleich von Scriptura und Pictura".

those who are not able to read. The demolition of images was repeated the next year, this time by Serenus himself.<sup>86</sup>

For indeed it had been reported to us that, inflamed with inconsiderate zeal, you have broken images of saints, with the excuse that they should not be adored. And indeed in that you have forbidden them to be adored, we altogether praise you; but we blame you for having broken them. Say, brother, which priest has ever been heard of as doing what you have done? If nothing else, should not even this thought have restrained you, not to despise other brothers, supposing that only you were holy and wise? It is one thing to adore a picture, but it is another to learn through the story of a picture what is to be adored. For what writing presents to readers, this picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; the illiterate read in it. For this reason and above all to the Gentiles, a picture is instead of reading. And this ought to have been attended too, especially by you who live among the Gentiles, lest, while inflamed inconsiderately by a right zeal, you should create offense to savage minds. It is not allowed to break what is not destined for adoration in churches, but which was collocated only for the instruction of the minds of the illiterate. And, seeing that antiquity has not without reason admitted the histories of saints to be painted in venerable places, if you had seasoned zeal with discretion, you would

86 Gregory the Great, *Letters* 11, 10, ed. Norberg, pp. 873-74: *Perlatum siquidem ad nos fuerat quod inconsiderato zelo succensus sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confringeres. Et quidam quia eas adorari uetisses omnino laudauimus, fregisse uero reprehendimus. Dic, Frater, a quo factum sacerdote aliquando auditum est quod fecisti? Si non aliud, uel illud te non debuit reuocare, ut despectis aliis fratribus solum te sanctum et esse crederes sapientem? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturae historiam quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes uident quod sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est. Quod magnopere a te, qui inter gentes habitas, attendi decuerat, ne, dum recto zelo incaute succenderis, ferocibus animis scandalum generares. Frangi ergo non debuit quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum. Et quia in locis uenerabilibus sanctorum depingi historias non sine ratione uetustas admisit, si zelum discretionem condissis, sine dubio et ea quae intendeabas salubriter obtinere et collectum gregem non dispergere, sed dispersum potius poteras congregare, ut pastoris in te merito nomen excelleret, non culpa dispersoris incumberet. Haec autem dum in hoc animi tui incaute nimis motu exsequeris, ita tuos scandalizasse filios perhiberis, ut maxima eorum pars a tua se comunione suspenderet. Quando ergo ad ouile dominicum errantes oues adducas, qui quas habes retinere non praeuales?*

undoubtedly have obtained what you were aiming at, and not scattered the collected flock, but rather gathered together a scattered one; that so the deserved renown of a shepherd might have distinguished you, instead of laying the blame of dispersing the flock upon you. But from having acted inconsiderately on the impulse of thy feelings, it is said that you have offended your children that the greatest part of them have suspended themselves from communion with you. When, then, will you bring the wandering sheep to the Lord's fold, not being able to retain those you have?<sup>87</sup>

Gregory's letter demonstrates the importance he considered images to have for the instruction of the faithful. He repeated his point several times and appealed to tradition by asserting that church pictures were an ancient fashion. The anger in Gregory's letter illustrates the acceptance and importance of images of saints in churches by the year 600 AD, and shows how much Serenus' destruction of images affected the Christian community. Interestingly, Gregory attributed an emotional function to images beyond their instructive function:

But let your fraternity carefully admonish that from the sight of the event portrayed they feel the heat of contriteness and that they bow themselves down in adoration of the One Almighty Holy Trinity.<sup>88</sup>

This picks up on the emotional reaction of the faithful awakened by the images of martyrdom, already described in this paper by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil and created by the depictions created by Prudentius.

In summary, the examples above show that positive value was placed by the patristics on church images. The historical examples also suggest that Old Testament aniconism was never widely observed in the context of decorating Christian churches.

## 5 "Preaching Preachers" and Latin Fathers

There are no authentic images of "preaching preachers" in early Christian art. Some images of Latin Church fathers can be found from the 5th century, but

87 Transl. by Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, pp. 134-35.

88 Gregory the Great, *Letters* 11, 10, ed. Norberg, p. 875: *Sed hoc sollicite fraternitas tua admo-neat ut ex uisione rei gestae ardorem compunctionis percipiant et in adoratione solius omni-potentis sacrae trinitatis humiliter prosternantur*. The trans. is Schaff, l.c., p. 135.

they do not represent specific iconography. There are two well-known examples: The first is the 5th-century<sup>89</sup> mosaic image of Ambrose in the mausoleum *San Vittore in ciel d'oro* near Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Ambrose is dressed as a cleric with a chasuble above his dalmatic.<sup>90</sup> He is flanked by the martyrs Gervase and Protase, and faces his predecessor Bishop Maternus and the two martyrs Felix and Nabor. The context of this image is the prestigious representation of a bishop. It is generally assumed that the individual features of the face were designed from a 4th-century portrait of Ambrose.<sup>91</sup>

The second example is a fresco found in a room below the *Sancta sanctorum* of the Lateran, probably painted at the beginning of the 6th century.<sup>92</sup> The fresco shows a sitting man, dressed in tunic and pallium. He is holding a scroll in his left hand and lifting his right hand in a speaking gesture. In front of him is an open book lying on a stand. This picture shows the traditional iconography of philosophers or persons of intellectual importance. It has been assumed that the image belongs to part of the Latin library of the Lateran.<sup>93</sup> Whether the image shows Augustine is not certain, because his name was not added, but the attribution is probable because the verse below him indicates that this person was the most important exponent of Latin theology,<sup>94</sup> an attribute which fits best the famous bishop of Hippo.<sup>95</sup>

The earliest representations of the Latin Church fathers are from the mid-12th century, preserved in the apse mosaic of San Clemente in Rome, and include Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory the Great.<sup>96</sup>

89 For different dating proposals see recently Foletti, "Physiognomic representations", pp. 62-63.

90 Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, p. 158.

91 Foletti, "Physiognomic representations", p. 66.

92 Bisconti, "L'affresco", p. 62.

93 Bisconti, "L'affresco", pp. 61-68; Cantino Wataghin, "Le biblioteche", pp. 54-55.

94 *Diuersi diuersa patres sed hic ... omnia dixit romano eloquio ... / mystica sensa tonans*. "Various fathers spoke about various themes, but this one said it all, proclaiming forcefully like thunder in Roman eloquence the mysteries of the Scriptures." Trans. by Pollmann, "Art and Authority: Three Paradigmatic Visualizations of Augustine of Hippo", p. 19.

95 This has already been proposed by Wilpert, "Il più antico ritratto di S. Agostino", pp. 1-3. See also Warland, "Das älteste Bildnis des hl. Augustinus? Zum Wandmalereifragment eines spätantiken Autors im Lateran", pp. 13-18.

96 Steger, "Die bildliche Darstellung".

## 6 Use of Images in Sermons

Why were images rarely mentioned in sermons?

There are several possibilities to explain why images are mentioned in sermons so rarely. While it is difficult to imagine a room used for Christian worship after the late-3rd century without any images, it is not possible to know whether all churches were adorned with images. It goes without saying that not all sermon themes throughout the year offered the opportunity to allude to church images. Another reason might be that the reference to images were discarded during the copying of the text, because the copyist considered them of no relevance for the content of the sermon and of no interest for future readers. The position of the preacher did not necessarily encourage him to notice images. He stood in the apse, with the ornamental apse to his back, and concentrated on the faithful before him, studying their attention and their reactions.<sup>97</sup> It is conceivable that he did not think about including images in his homily.

Finally, clergy do not seem to have been interested in art. The only clergy known to discuss iconographic programs was Paulinus and his awareness relates to his education and to his high social class in the Roman Empire. The only example known to me of clergy addressing an iconographic problem is the case of the Latin translation of Iona 4:6 by Jerome. He used *hedera* for the plant which God allowed to grow and shade the Prophet Jonah. The common folk recognized the plant from the images as a *cucurbita*, a squash, and protested in church when this translation was read.<sup>98</sup> Clerics, however, were aware of the pedagogical-didactic and even of the emotive function of pictures. This explains a passage from a letter of Ruricius of Limoges, bishop from 485 to 510 AD, to the noble Ceraunia. With this letter, Ruricius commissioned a painter and his apprentice for Ceraunia's use,

... so that from the painter's efforts you might gain an example for undertaking penitence and the newly assumed vestments of a new person, so that in you aged Adam might perish and He who vivifies might come forth.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 774-814.

<sup>98</sup> Dresken-Weiland, *Reliefierte Tischplatten*, p. 163; Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 783.

<sup>99</sup> Ruricius of Limoges, *ep.* 2, 12, ed. Mathisen, p. 160.

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## PART 2

### *Delivering, Listening to and Reading Sermons*





# Sermons, Audience, Preacher

*Eric Rebillard*

## 1 Introduction

The sheer number of sermons by Latin patristic preachers makes them a major body of evidence for the historians of Late Antiquity. More than 800 sermons of Augustine are preserved out of a total of 8,000 he probably preached.<sup>1</sup> A recent estimate suggests that in North Africa alone, during the four decades of Augustine's episcopate, some five million sermons were preached.<sup>2</sup> No historian would deny the importance of sermons as evidence, but a critical review of what sermons are evidence for is long overdue.

The first part of this chapter addresses some issues that have bogged down the use of sermons by historians: date, location, and composition of the audience. Though they should not be neglected, these issues are less important for a proper use of sermons than is most often realized. Indeed, as is described in the second and third parts of this chapter, a major paradigm shift has taken place over the last 20 years. From an approach that uses sermons as a source of historical information has arisen one that considers sermons in themselves as historical evidence.

## 2 Preliminary Matters: Date, Location, Audience

A first task facing historians who want to use sermons as evidence is that of dating them. Though in some cases it might be enough to consider globally the period during which a preacher was active,<sup>3</sup> in others it is helpful to establish a more precise date. As Hubert Drobner writes about Augustine's sermons: "A firm date can be established only by either a securely dated testimony from

1 See Drobner, "The transmission of Augustine's sermons", p. 98; 4,500 according to Mandouze, *Saint Augustin*, pp. 599-615; see Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, p. 417 n. 46.

2 Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, p. 412.

3 Most preserved sermons were preached by bishops, so that the dates of their episcopacy provide both a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem*; on the extension of the responsibility of preaching to priests, see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 537-45.

outside or a reference inside a sermon that can doubtlessly be connected to an outer securely dated fact.”<sup>4</sup> Needless to say, this is very rarely the case: according to Drobner, none of Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* can be dated in this way.<sup>5</sup> One needs not share Drobner’s general skepticism about the other methods used to date sermons.<sup>6</sup> His caveat, however, is a useful reminder for historians not to build too many hypotheses on top of hypothetical dates.<sup>7</sup>

Another preliminary piece of information that historians need to consider is location. In particular, location matters for determining the audience. As I will discuss issues related to audience below, let it suffice for now to point to the obvious difference between Augustine’s regular audience in Hippo Regius and the audience he faced in Carthage, where he preached quite often, or in any of the other cities where he was invited to preach. Location by default is the bishop’s seat. Other locations need to be firmly established in the manuscript tradition or in the sermons themselves.

Finally, the question of the makeup of the audience is a delicate, albeit important, one. In 1989 Ramsay MacMullen opened a critical discussion about the social composition of the body of listeners to the sermons that are preserved. He pointed out that the assumptions about life, such as ownership of slaves, made by 4th-century preachers match those of the well-to-do.<sup>8</sup> He also noted that urban churches were not big enough to accommodate any large proportion of the population.<sup>9</sup> MacMullen radicalized the positions defended in his 1989-paper in following publications to the point of sustaining the idea of the existence of two churches, the church of the preachers representing only 5 per cent of the population.<sup>10</sup> Philip Rousseau brought some nuance to the

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4 Drobner, “Chronology I”, p. 212.

5 Drobner, “Chronology I”, p. 212.

6 See Drobner, “Chronology II”, p. 66: “The bottom line is: any sermon without explicit and verifiable references to reliably and precisely dated external historical facts must be regarded as undated.” See Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, pp. v-ix, for a description of a dating method based on the use of scriptural texts and see Dolbeau, *Discorsi Nuovi*, pp. 845-48, for a balanced assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

7 In particular, historians should not use the dates compiled for Augustine’s sermons by Verbraken, *Études critiques* or tabulated in Fitzgerald, *Augustine through the Ages* with no further consideration of how the dates were established. Maier/Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin* remains in many cases a more reliable tool as dates are determined in relation to Augustine’s travels.

8 MacMullen, “The Preacher’s Audience”, pp. 508-09 for Latin preachers.

9 MacMullen, “The Preacher’s Audience”, p. 510.

10 See MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism* and MacMullen, *The Second Church*.



discussion by asking whether preachers “were able or even willing to awaken the understanding and enthusiasm of wide audiences.”<sup>11</sup> Ambrose serves as an example of a preacher who expresses concerns about making his preaching intelligible to a wider audience.<sup>12</sup> Michel Banniard explored this aspect further in Augustine and Gregory the Great.<sup>13</sup> There is no doubt that Latin patristic preachers, just as all good ancient orators, were aware of the necessity of adapting their speeches to diverse audiences. However this objection is somewhat missing the point made by MacMullen, who emphasized that the people *actually* attending sermons belonged to the top 5 per cent of the population. Despite bringing important nuances, Wendy Mayer has largely confirmed MacMullen’s findings about John Chrysostom and Leslie Dossey reached the same conclusion for Augustine’s audience: their sermons presume an urban, propertied audience.<sup>14</sup> Both also pointed out that the preacher’s audience was a bit more varied for the important liturgical meetings such as Easter.<sup>15</sup> Thus MacMullen’s conclusions about the audience of the 4th- and 5th-century sermons that we possess can be accepted, but with light qualifications.

However, what is true about the audience of Augustine in Hippo Regius or Carthage, or of Northern Italian bishops (Zeno of Verona, Gaudence of Brescia, and Maximus of Turin), is not necessarily true about all the sermons that were preached. Though their words are not in our possession, the teaching of the rural clergy should not be neglected. Leslie Dossey thoroughly looked for evidence about the preaching of the rural clergy in North Africa.<sup>16</sup> Her attempt to find in the vast corpus of anonymous African sermons the remnants of this preaching, is not very conclusive, as she herself pointed out.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, she suggested that the question of the original audience of the sermons we do still possess is probably not as important as it would seem. These sermons were collected in order to be reused whether they were read *verbatim* or shortened and/or adapted: “These were utilitarian texts, meant to be diffused.”<sup>18</sup> In the end, as Dossey posited, we should not assume that there was “a sharp divide

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11 Rousseau, “The preacher’s audience”, p. 392.

12 Rousseau, “The preacher’s audience”, pp. 395–400.

13 Banniard, *Viva voce*; see, in particular, pp. 38–40, the notion of “vertical communication”.

14 Mayer, “Who Came to Hear John Chrysostom Preach?” (see Mayer, “John Chrysostom”); also Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity*; for Augustine: Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 149–53.

15 Mayer, “Who Came to Hear John Chrysostom Preach?”, p. 77; Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, p. 150.

16 Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 153–62.

17 Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 162–71.

18 Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, p. 171.

between preaching in the cities and preaching in the villages.”<sup>19</sup> What Dossey has shown for North Africa is also true in 6th-century Gaul with the sermons of Caesarius and those he compiled for the purpose of providing the local, rural clergy with models they could use in their parishes.<sup>20</sup>

In sum, the question of audience is more complicated than it appears at first. Even the distinction between a primary audience (the audience for whom the sermon was composed originally) and secondary audiences (the varied audiences in front of whom the sermons could have been performed afterwards) is too simple, as most preachers would have been aware of these two audiences, and as most sermons were transmitted to us only in the form in which they have been collected for secondary, largely undetermined audiences.<sup>21</sup>

### 3 Sermons as a Source of Information

Sermons have long been recognized as one of our best sources of information about many aspects of the ancient liturgy, whether it is about the Liturgy of the Word itself,<sup>22</sup> the liturgical calendar and the daily lections,<sup>23</sup> the Easter cycle,<sup>24</sup> or the catechumenate.<sup>25</sup> It is, however, much more difficult to rely on the sermons for the interpretation of the material installation within the churches. For instance, Noël Duval cautioned against concluding from Augustine’s mention in one sermon of a reform of Aurelius imposing a separation between the sexes within the churches of Carthage, that the material organization of African churches changed in the 5th century. More than 100 churches are preserved well enough to allow archaeologists to describe their material installation and none attests to the existence of a material separation between the sexes.<sup>26</sup> This example can be used as a more general warning against matching texts and material evidence.

19 Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, p. 171.

20 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 229–32; Delage, *Sermons au peuple* 1, pp. 176–80.

21 See Drobner, “The transmission of Augustine’s sermons”, pp. 100–03, developing Dolbeau’s comments in “Nouveaux sermons VI”, pp. 421–23.

22 See Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop*, pp. 277–404.

23 For Augustine’s lectionary: Willis, *St. Augustine’s Lectionary* and Margoni-Kögler, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus*; on Peter Chrysologus, see Sottocornola, *L’anno liturgico nei sermoni di Pietro Crisologo*.

24 Lambot, “Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques” and Poque, *Sermons pour la Pâque* on Augustine; Jeanes, *The Day has come!* on Zeno of Verona.

25 See Harmless, “The Voice and the Word” for Augustine.

26 Duval, “Commentaire topographique et archéologique”, pp. 190–93 about Augustine, *Sermo* 359B, 5.

Historians have also long considered that sermons were a rich mine for information on social and cultural history. Sermons are a trove for *realia*, bits of information that are found nowhere else and that allow historians to document daily life. Thus in another sermon recently discovered, Augustine mentions that educated pagans deride uncultivated Christians who adore the columns in a church.<sup>27</sup> This gesture has been, among other possible interpretations,<sup>28</sup> compared to the kissing of the doorposts in entering the church, a reverential gesture attested from Syria to Campania.<sup>29</sup> As Peter Brown emphasizes, when Augustine ascribes this gesture to the *imperiti*, he displays his own authority rather than provides the historians with information about popular religious practices.<sup>30</sup> This is a good reminder that caution is required before searching sermons for evidence about “popular” piety. Not only is it impossible for the audience of sermons, as we have seen, to be described as “popular” without further qualifications, but the labeling of a practice as “popular” in ecclesiastical discourse has very little sociological meaning.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, sermons can be a source of evidence about historical events. Historians have mined them many times for allusions to events known through other sources. Augustine echoed the preoccupations of his audience, especially in Carthage, after the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410.<sup>32</sup> Incursions of “barbarian” groups are mentioned in the sermons of Maximus of Turin.<sup>33</sup> Generally speaking, however, as we have seen when we discussed dating sermons, precise allusions to historical events are rare. It is likely due in part to the later compilers who omitted details that did not make sense to their own audiences.<sup>34</sup>

More interestingly, sermons can sometimes provide evidence about events not documented in the historical records. Thus Julio Cesar Magalhães de Oliveira uses two sermons of Augustine for evincing an act of popular iconoclasm.<sup>35</sup> He reconstructs the following sequence of events: after a statue of Hercules was restored, a Christian mob desecrated it. The people also took over the streets to protest against the pagans and their idols. Finally, they went to the church to demand the active involvement of the clergy in their struggle against idolatry. Here again, however, it appears that it is delicate to extrapo-

27 Augustine, *Sermo* 198, 10.

28 See Duval, “Commentaire topographique et archéologique”, pp. 194-96.

29 Brown, “Augustine and a Practice of the *Imperiti*”.

30 Brown, “Augustine and a Practice of the *Imperiti*”, p. 374.

31 More generally on the ecclesiastical take on popular culture, see Gourevich, *La culture populaire au Moyen Âge*.

32 See Fredouille, *Sermons sur la chute de Rome*.

33 Courcelle, “Sur quelques textes littéraires relatifs aux grandes invasions”, pp. 32-34.

34 See Rebillard, “Sermones”, p. 791; Müller, “Augustine and His Congregation”, p. 301.

35 Magalhães de Oliveira, “*Vt maiores pagani non sint!*”, on Augustine, *Sermones* 24 and 279.

late from the sermons information on what was happening in the 'real' world outside the church. There is no evidence, for instance, that the acclamations of the crowd in the church were a spontaneous continuation of gatherings that would have taken place in the streets of Carthage earlier the same day.<sup>36</sup> In fact, it appears that Augustine had very deliberately provoked his audience to shout for the destruction of the statues.<sup>37</sup>

Using sermons as a source of information suffers, therefore, from a number of limitations. Too often the information is not detailed enough to be of use. More importantly, however, what some historians have contemplated as bits of information at their disposal reveals itself to be, in a way, not so dissimilar to what Barthes has described as effect of reality,<sup>38</sup> textual devices serving an ulterior purpose of the preacher.

## 4 Sermons and the Process of Communication

A major shift in recent scholarship has been to consider sermons as evidence on their own. Rather than mining sermons for information, scholars now study the act of preaching itself and the delivery of sermons as a process of communication.

### 4.1 *Sermons and Communication*

It is first important to understand the nature of the texts that are available to us. If we consider their performance, sermons occupy an intermediary position between oral and written communication.<sup>39</sup> The picture gets even more complex when we introduce their transmission.

In some cases, the written texts preserved were written after their performance. We know, for instance, that Augustine was mainly improvising his sermons after having meditated about the scriptural readings of the day. Sometimes stenographers took notes in shorthand during the delivery and then transcribed them in longhand before storing them in the bishop's library. This explains why Augustine's sermons are so filled with evidence of

<sup>36</sup> *Contra* Magalhães de Oliveira, "Vt maiores pagani non sint!", p. 247.

<sup>37</sup> Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity*, pp. 88-89 for this alternative reading.

<sup>38</sup> Barthes, "L'effet de réel".

<sup>39</sup> See some useful generalities about oral/aural culture in Rosenberg, "Beside Books", pp. 414-18.

spontaneity,<sup>40</sup> at least those that have not been stripped down during their transmission.<sup>41</sup> In other cases, sermons were put in written form after their delivery by the preacher himself. This seems to be what Gaudentius of Brescia did at the request of Benivolus, a rich parishioner who had missed the bishop's preaching during the Easter cycle.<sup>42</sup> No authentic sermon of Ambrose has been preserved, but many of his treatises bear the traces of reuse of material from his preaching.<sup>43</sup> In still other cases, sermons were composed and written by one person and delivered by others. Caesarius of Arles, as we have seen,<sup>44</sup> collected sermons for the use of his rural clergy.

What is common to all these sermons is that they were composed for a specific audience, about which historians usually know something.<sup>45</sup> The importance of the audience for the speaker, which was obvious for ancient rhetoricians, became again a central concern in the New Rhetoric. However, while ancient rhetoricians have mainly given general rules about the adaptation of the speaker to the audience, the New Rhetoric developed a sophisticated set of tools for analyzing how argumentation works and how the working of the argumentation leads to the audience's views.<sup>46</sup> Though in most cases we have no direct record of the texts as they were actually delivered, sermons, more than other texts, bear traces of the process of communication itself. Thus we need to understand what we can learn about this process through the evidence of the sermons.

40 See Deferrari, "St. Augustine's method of composing and delivering Sermons" and Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 606-11 (Olivar also collects data about many other preachers pp. 589-640).

41 See above n. 21 and Dolbeau's comments in "Nouveaux sermons vi", pp. 421-23.

42 Gaudentius, *Tractatus*, Praef. 3-5, with the commentary of Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 915-18.

43 For instance, the *De Sacramentis* (see Mohrmann, "Le style oral du *De sacramentis* de saint Ambroise") or the *De beata uita* (see Nauroy, "La méthode de composition d'Ambroise de Milan"); see Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, pp. 435-66 for a systematic attempt at identifying material reused from preaching in Ambrose's treatises.

44 See above n. 20.

45 The development from the 6th century onwards of homiliaries is beyond our concern. These collections became a common tool for the training of clergy to the point that the composition of new sermons seemed to come to a stop. See McLaughlin, "The Word Eclipsed?", with a rather negative take on this development.

46 Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, pp. 13-62.

## 4.2 *Sermons and Public Speaking*

Before looking into this, we need to clarify a point that has often been raised in an unsatisfactory fashion. Patristic sermons, with which this volume is concerned, are quite distinctive when compared to later sermons,<sup>47</sup> but what about earlier ones? Many attempts have been made to trace the development of Christian preaching before the first preserved texts that explicitly claim to be sermons, i.e. Origen's various homilies.<sup>48</sup> The origin of the sermon as a form of teaching during the liturgical assembly is all the more controversial given that evidence is scarce and ambiguous. Its existence is first attested in the description by Justin Martyr of the Christian synaxis; Tertullian also mentions it half a century later.<sup>49</sup> Vain attempts have been made to trace it back to the time of Paul.<sup>50</sup> With the exception of Origen, the earliest collections of sermons date from the 4th century: the Cappadocian Fathers in the East,<sup>51</sup> Ambrose of Milan and Zeno of Verona in Italy.<sup>52</sup>

One of the issues that poisoned the quest for the origin of the sermons was the question of influences, whether it was that of the Jewish synagogal preaching or that of the Hellenistic philosophical teaching.<sup>53</sup> As the development of preaching coincides largely with the rise of the bishops, it is no surprise to see famous preachers flourishing in the second half of the 4th century. Once historians take this into consideration, the question of influence loses its relevance and the question that needs to be addressed is whether or not the sermon as a medium of communication finds parallels in the Greco-Roman cities.

Jaclyn Maxwell convincingly argues that it does in 4th-century Antioch, where public speaking by educated orators addressing listeners of various levels of education is part of the urban culture.<sup>54</sup> There is no reason to think that

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47 See McLaughlin, "The Word Eclipsed?" and, for a nuanced rehabilitation of the formulaic and plagiaristic sermons, Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 23-25.

48 See a list in Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 66.

49 Justin Martyr, *Apology* 1, 67, ed. Falls, pp. 106-07; Tertullian, *De anima* 9, 4, pp. 188-89; see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 47-48.

50 See Stowers, "Social Status, Public Speaking and Private Teaching", p. 70 on such attempts being "pathetic examples of special pleading".

51 See Van Dam, *Becoming Christian*, pp. 99-150.

52 See chapters 7 and 20 in this volume. Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, p. 409 n. 2 mentions with caution Optatus of Milevis for Africa. It should be noted, however, that none of the sermons attributed to Optatus in the manuscripts seem to be authentic (see Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 328-30), so that there is no formal attestation of his preaching.

53 See Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching*, for a recent "search for the origins" with older bibliography.

54 Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication*, pp. 42-64.

the situation is different in a city like Carthage and in many other cities of the Roman empire. After all, it is no accident if preachers often compare the spectacle in the church with the spectacle in the theaters.<sup>55</sup>

In several passages, Augustine alludes to contexts in which a pagan theological discourse was addressed to a broader audience than the educated few. In particular, it seems that his preaching against the cult of statues is in part a response to such a discourse.<sup>56</sup>

Christian preaching, therefore, as it is known to us in an urban context, does not seem to be a new creation, but rather to participate to the wider culture of public speaking.

### 4.3 *The Effect of Preaching*

The next question is that of the effect of preaching. Brent Shaw recently presented a strong case for the role of sermons in inciting sectarian hatred in North Africa.<sup>57</sup> He pointed to the example of the campaign by the bishop of Minorca, Severus, against the Jews that ended in the burning of a synagogue. Indeed, the chronology shows that between the arrival of the relics of Stephen on the island, which are supposed to have sparked immediate hatred against the Jews, and the destruction of the synagogue, Severus preached for nearly a year and a half against the Jews.<sup>58</sup> This is a rare case where the effect of preaching can be measured to some extent. Unfortunately, the sermons themselves contain very little evidence for measuring their impact on the audience beyond notations about immediate responses such as clapping or groaning.<sup>59</sup> In particular, it is quite impossible to evaluate the long-term impact of Christian sermons upon their audience. The explicit goal of the preachers is to change habits and practices, to teach different, new values. Whether they succeeded or not is beyond the historian's reach.

### 4.4 *The Views of the Audience*

What is not beyond reach, however, is what takes place in the process of communication itself. The preachers need to persuade and this constrains them to make room in their discourse for the views of their audience. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca write: "the unfolding as well as the starting point of the

55 Hugoniot, "Les spectacles de l'Afrique romaine"; Poque, "Spectacles et festins"; Lim, "Augustine and Roman Public Spectacles".

56 Rebillard, "Augustin et le culte des statues", pp. 305-07.

57 Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, pp. 436-40.

58 Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca*, pp. 23-25; Shaw, *Sacred Violence*, p. 437.

59 See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 786-811.



argumentation presuppose the agreement of the audience".<sup>60</sup> Indeed, they add: "from start to finish, analysis of argumentation is concerned with what is supposed to be accepted by the hearers".<sup>61</sup> Thus through the analysis of argumentation historians can reconstruct the views of the audience.

For instance, Augustine, in his sermons, very often voices the attitudes of his audience through questions and answers. Theodore De Bruyn has admirably described how it works in the sermons on the sack of Rome: "On the one hand these questions are presented in a way that allows Augustine to construe the terms on which they should be understood and answered.... But on the other hand the questions attest to the presence of views which diverge from the perspective that Augustine sets out in the sermons."<sup>62</sup> In other words, though the preacher manipulates his audience by presenting it with a script, through a careful reading, historians can deconstruct the script and reach the multiple views of the audience.<sup>63</sup>

It is important to remember that the intention of the preacher was not to engage in a dialogue with his audience, contrary to what is often said.<sup>64</sup> Though an actual dialogue sometimes took place in the course of delivery,<sup>65</sup> the ultimate goal of the preacher was to control the discourse and not to elaborate a compromise with his audience. Nevertheless, the dialogic nature of sermons has long been acknowledged. It is now established that it is vain to seek a generic dependence on diatribe, which probably should not be presented as a genre in itself.<sup>66</sup> However, many features of the sermons can appropriately be described under this rubric. Indeed, the preacher makes his speech a conversa-

60 Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, p. 65.

61 Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, p. 65.

62 De Bruyn, "Augustine's Sermons on the Sack of Rome", pp. 420-21.

63 See Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity*, p. 63. Such an approach is not compatible with the suggestion made by Rosenberg, "Beyond Books", pp. 422-24, that we ought to think in terms of "community" or "congregation" rather than "audience". Such a statement assumes that the listeners shared "a marked degree of identity, an affinity, and a body of knowledge" (p. 424). See below for evidence that this is a very idealistic view of the "audience".

64 The point is very clearly made by Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 27-28 (see Bailey, "These are not men", p. 29). For sermons as 'dialogue', see the often quoted title of Mandouze, *Saint Augustin*, chapter 11 on sermons: "Dialogues avec la foule."

65 See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 786-96.

66 On sermons and diatribe, see Marrou, "La diatribe Chrétienne"; Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*; Uthemann, "Forms of Communication in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala", pp. 140-51.



tion with the audience by introducing fictitious interjectors and fictitious dialogues. Karl-Heinz Uthemann has very nicely analyzed such rhetorical strategies. The preacher uses interjections by fictitious persons as a springboard for his own counter-arguments that he in turn presents as an expression of consensus, thus binding his audience to his discourse.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4.5 *Christianity and "Totalizing Discourse"*

The end result is sometimes presented as a "totalizing discourse", which subsumes or excludes other discourses.<sup>68</sup> One should note, however, that this "totalizing discourse" is as much a product of good rhetoric as it is one of Christianity. Furthermore, just as the fictitious interjections and dialogues do not represent "real" objections, whether that of the audience or that of the outside groups that are drawn into the discourse, the consensus rhetorically built by the preacher does not necessarily translate into social reality outside the sermon.

Indeed, in addition to becoming aware that there are other voices and other views, which can be carefully uncovered by deconstructing the way the preacher makes his speech a conversation, historians need also take into account that there is not one, unified audience response. As Isabella Sandwell has suggested in a few recent studies, an approach informed by cognitive science cannot assume, as ancient orators did, that the speaker could trigger specific representations in the mind of his audience.<sup>69</sup> It is not reasonable to think that all members of a preacher's audience shared the same set of cultural references, especially in the period with which we are concerned. Thus response to preaching could vary between members of the audience and most likely did not conform to the preacher's expectations.

Just as a careful reading of the constructed discourse allows historians to reconstruct the views of the audience, a careful consideration of the cultural knowledge of the different segments of the audience allows them to map out the different possible responses.

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67 Uthemann, "Forms of Communication in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala", p. 162.

68 On Foucault's notion and its application to ancient Christianity, see Cameron, "Redrawing the Map" and Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*; see De Bruyn, "Augustine's Sermons on the Sack of Rome".

69 Sandwell, "How to teach Genesis 1.1-19" and "A milky text suitable for children".

## 5 Conclusion

New discoveries of texts and a paradigm shift in their study have stimulated a renewed interest in sermons among historians. It is still possible to mine them for the sort of concrete details about daily life and concerns that are so absent in most of our textual evidence. Literary theory has taught historians how to handle these details not just as bits of information awaiting discovery, but as part of a rhetorical construct whose ultimate goal is not to inform modern historians. A careful reading of sermons – once their date, location, and primary audience have been determined – can uncover the traces of a process of communication that is always dynamic and involves both the preacher and his audience. Gregory Bateson suggested abandoning the image of the telegraph in favor of that of the orchestra for understanding communication.<sup>70</sup> This is an invitation to historians, when they study how Christianity shaped the later Roman empire and was shaped by it, to search in sermons for the multiple views that too often elude them in other types of texts. Unpacking the representations of the preachers, but also the multiple representations of their audiences, and mapping how they influenced each other is no doubt what sermons are the best type of evidence for.

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<sup>70</sup> See Winkin, *La nouvelle communication*, pp. 13-26.

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# Rhetoric in the Patristic Sermons of Late Antiquity

Geoffrey D. Dunn

## 1 Definitions and Context

In the New Testament preaching is associated primarily with evangelization (Matth. 11:5; Luc. 1:19; 4:18; 7:22; 9:6; 16:16; Act. 8:12, 35; 11:20; 13:32; 14:7, 15; 16:10; Gal. 1:9; Hebr. 4:2; Apoc. 10:7; 14:6). This is not surprising since the Greek verb (εὐαγγελίζομαι) we translate as preaching or proclaiming the good news is the source of the English “evangelize”. Of course we have Paul all too modestly or disingenuously claiming in 1 Corinthians 2 that when people converted after hearing him preach, he did not rely upon the eloquence of his words or rhetorical skill or human wisdom but upon God’s power (1 Cor. 2:13). On other occasions the verb διαλέγομαι is used in the sense of a discourse, discuss, argument or address delivered to non-believers or believers (Marc. 9:34; Act. 17:2, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8-9; 24:12; Hebr. 12:5; Iudae 9). However, this latter verb is used when Paul preached to a Christian community in a liturgical setting where bread was broken (Act. 20:7), where the purpose was not conversion.

I mention the New Testament only to show that defining the genre of the homily or sermon (and I shall use the terms interchangeably) as a record of preaching is not as simple as it may first appear. Just what kind of preaching qualifies? When preaching moved more from the evangelical or missionary to the liturgical setting how did this affect its purpose? How do we distinguish sometimes between a homily and a treatise or a letter that is designed to convert or instruct?<sup>1</sup> Just what is the liturgical homily meant to achieve?<sup>2</sup>

1 Wilson, *A Concise History of Preaching*, p. 54, lists Cyprian’s treatises as sermons, exhortations and scriptural proof texts, noting that in the early Church the lines between them are not clear. Dunn-Wilson, *A Mirror for the Church*, pp. 33-47, seems to list everything composed by the Apologists as sermons.

2 Mayer, “John Chrysostom”, pp. 123-34, lists five questions to ask when trying to discern the audience of an early Christian homily. The point I wish to make here is that question 4 (how – the question of rhetorical styles and techniques) is closely related to question 5 (why – motive for preaching and listening to preaching). In terms of motive, a homilist always has a purpose in mind. This chapter is most interested in her last question and in



It is my contention that, despite Paul's protestation, classical rhetoric provides a useful tool for resolving this dilemma, for one of the strengths of classical rhetoric is its interest in genre and purpose. Since very few preachers tell us explicitly about their own understanding of the nature of the sermon we have to discern that from reading their homilies. My definition here is that a homily or sermon is a record of preaching, whether for didactic, hortatory, or epideictic purposes, addressed primarily to believers and delivered orally *in a liturgical setting*, principally the Eucharistic setting. I shall outline the classical rhetorical context in order to comment on Augustine's theoretical understanding of the use of rhetoric in Christian preaching, before considering some examples from the Latin West. What we shall discover, although the sampling will be limited, is that some preachers and homilies were more overtly rhetorical than others and that on the whole homilies were designed to instruct and move the congregations to adopt a course of action in their future lives that fitted better with Christian values.

## 2 Classical Rhetoric

It is not at all surprising that, of all the early Christian literary genres, classical rhetoric should have its greatest impact on that of preaching.<sup>3</sup> This is not to deny the significance of the Jewish tradition upon Christian understandings of preaching, but it is not my concern here.<sup>4</sup> Despite there being rules about rhetoric, those rules could be constructed with a great deal of variety. Here we cannot hope to capture the infinite subtleties of different systems, but some general points can be made. Cicero provided great insight into how rhetoric was understood in the generations before the birth of Jesus. In *De oratore* of 55 BC he had assigned three tasks for the orator: "Thus for purposes of persuasion the art of speaking relies wholly upon three things: the proof of our allegations, the winning of our hearers' favour, and the rousing of their feelings to whatever impulse our case may require."<sup>5</sup> At the start of *De optimo genere oratorum* in 46

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rhetorical rather than social terms. While this involves questions of audience my interest is not in trying to determine the preacher's audience as it is with trying to determine what the preacher wanted his audience to do in light of the sermon having been preached. On audience see MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience".

3 Osborn, *Folly of God*, pp. 71-74.

4 Osborn, *Folly of God*, pp. 109-80.

5 Cicero, *De or.* 2, 27, 115, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 281: *Ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: ut probemus uera esse, quae defendimus; ut conciliemus eos nobis, qui audiunt; ut animos eorum, ad quemcumque causa postulabit motum, uocemus.*



BC he wrote that “[t]he supreme orator, then, is the one whose speech instructs, delights and moves the minds of his audience.”<sup>6</sup> Around the same time in *Brutus* he had written much the same: “Now there are three things in my opinion which the orator should effect: instruct his listener, give him pleasure, stir his emotions.”<sup>7</sup> More than a century later Quintilian would repeat this.<sup>8</sup> In *Orator*, however, also written around 46 BC, Cicero wrote:

The man of eloquence whom we seek ... will be one who is able to speak in court or in deliberative bodies so as to prove, to please and to sway or persuade. To prove is the first necessity, to please is charm, to sway is victory....<sup>9</sup>

In most of these other works we see that the tasks of instructing, delighting, and moving the audience (where the third verb is *mouere* or *permouere*) were subservient to the overall purpose of persuasion (*persuadere*), whereas in *De Oratore* there is the hint that persuasion (*flectere*) was simply one task alongside *docere* and *delectare* (in *De oratore* listed as *conciliare*).<sup>10</sup> The famous tutor of Alexander the Great had written in about 330 BC that the proofs furnished by the speaker himself “... are of three kinds. The first depends upon the moral character of the speaker, the second upon putting the hearer into a certain

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One may note the use of *probare* here. At *De or.* 2, 28, 121, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 284, he wrote: ... *ad eas tres res, quae ad fidem faciendam solae ualent, ducatur oratio, ut et conciliantur animi et doceantur et moueantur*. Something similar may be found at *De or.* 2, 77, 310, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 434: ... *tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perduci-mus, aut docendo aut conciliando aut permouendo...*

6 Cicero, *De opt. gen.* 1, 3, trans. Hubbell, p. 357: *Optimus est enim orator qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permouet*.

7 Cicero, *Brut.* 49, 185, trans. Hendrickson, p. 157: *Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio, quae sint efficienda dicendo: ut doceatur is apud quem dicitur, ut delectetur, ut moueatur uehementius*.

8 Quintilian, *Inst.* 3, 5, 2, trans. Butler, p. 396: *Tria sunt item, quae praestare debeat orator, ut doceat, moueat, delectet*; 8, *prooemium*, 7, trans. Butler, p. 180: *Oratoris officium docendi, mouendi, delectandi partibus contineri ...*; and 12, 2, 11, trans. Butler, pp. 386-88: ... *quia non docere modo, sed mouere etiam ac delectare audientes debet orator...*

9 Cicero, *Orat.* 21, 69, trans. Hubbell, p. 357: *Erit igitur eloquens ... is qui in foro causisque ciuilibus ita dicit, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare necessitatis est, delectare suauitatis, flectere uictoriae...*

10 One does not wish to make too much out of this since *flectere* does have the sense of “move a person’s feelings” as well as “change direction or thinking”.

frame of mind, the third upon the speech itself, in so far as it proves or seems to prove.”<sup>11</sup>

This is the well-known threefold division of the forms of proof into *ethos* (the ethical), *pathos* (the emotional), and *logos* (the rational).<sup>12</sup> One concerns the speaker, one the audience, and the third the speech itself.

Aristotle also stated that there were three kinds of rhetoric, depending upon three different audiences: one is a spectator, one is a judge of things in the past and one is a judge of things in the future, to which corresponds epideictic, forensic, and deliberative oratory.<sup>13</sup>

Further, to each of these a special time is appropriate: to the deliberative the future, for the speaker, whether he exhorts or dissuades, always advises about things to come; to the forensic the past, for it is always in reference to things done that one party accuses and the other defends; to the epideictic most appropriately the present, for it is the existing condition of things that all those who praise or blame have in view. It is not uncommon, however, for epideictic speakers to avail themselves of other times, of the past by way of recalling it, or of the future by way of anticipating it.<sup>14</sup>

11 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 2, 3 (1356a), trans. Freese, pp. 16-17: ... τρία εἶδη ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἡθελί τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναι πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. See Grimaldi, *Aristotle, Rhetoric* 1, pp. 38-40.

12 Kennedy, *Aristotle, On Rhetoric*, p. 37 n. 40, observes that this shorthand is a convenience, although it does not represent exactly what Aristotle wrote. See Wisse, *Ethos and Pathos from Aristotle to Cicero*; Brinton, “Pathos and the ‘Appeal to Emotion’”; Fortenbaugh, “Aristotle on Persuasion through Character”; and Rorty, “Structuring Rhetoric”, pp. 8-23.

13 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 3, 2 (1358b), trans. Freese, p. 32. Mirhady, “Aristotle, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* and the *tria genera causarum*”, p. 62; and Kennedy, *Aristotle, On Rhetoric*, p. 48 n. 77, both note that Aristotle is not entirely consistent here. While here Aristotle notes that the spectator is only a judge of the speaker’s ability (ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως), later, at 2, 18, 1 (1391b), trans. Freese, p. 262, Aristotle will see the audience of epideictic oratory as judges. See Kennedy, “The Genres of Rhetoric”; and Duffy, “The Platonic Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric”. The element of judgement in epideictic rhetoric is the decision of the audience, and it flows from whether or not they have been persuaded that the subject of the speech is worthy of the praise claimed for them by the speaker.

14 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 3, 4 (1358b), trans. Freese, pp. 32-34: Χρόνοι δὲ ἑκάστου εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν συμβουλευόντι ὁ μέλλων (περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐσομένων συμβουλεύει ἢ προτρέπων ἢ ἀποτρέπων), τῷ δὲ δικαζομένῳ ὁ γενόμενος (περὶ γὰρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰεὶ ὁ μὲν κατηγορεῖ ὁ δὲ ἀπολογεῖται), τῷ δ’ ἐπιδεικτικῷ κυριώτατος μὲν ὁ παρὼν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπαινοῦσιν ἢ ψέγουσι πάντες, προσχρόνται δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ γενόμενα ἀναμνησκόντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προεικάζοντες.

In deliberative rhetoric speakers argued about advantage, expediency, and disadvantage in order to persuade people about courses of action to adopt or not.<sup>15</sup> In epideictic rhetoric speakers dealt with virtue and vice, nobility and baseness and sought to persuade audiences that either they or the subject of their speeches possessed such qualities.<sup>16</sup> In forensic rhetoric speakers dealt with justice and injustice and sought to persuade about whether someone had done something or not.<sup>17</sup> This was accepted by later rhetoricians, with Quintilian noting that there had been debate about the number of rhetorical *genera*, and he entered into some discussion about whether epideictic was better called *laudatium* or *demonstratium* rather than epideictic or encomiastic. He concluded that all three types or genres of oratory dealt in part with the matter at hand and in part with display, even though by his time epideictic had become principally an occasion for the orator to display his skills rather than engage in any persuasion.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, Cicero, towards the end of 46 BC had stated in

15 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 4-8 (1359a-66a), trans. Freese, pp. 38-88.

16 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 9 (1366a-68a), trans. Freese, pp. 90-104. That Aristotle saw epideictic as being concerned with persuasion (in which case people had to make some judgement) is revealed in his words: ... ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἄλλον ἀξιόπιστον δυνήσόμεθα ποιεῖν πρὸς ἀρετήν. (1, 9, 1).

17 Aristotle, *Rh.* 1, 10-15 (1368a-77b), trans. Freese, pp. 104-66.

18 Quintilian, *Inst.* 3, 4, 1-16, trans. Butler, pp. 390-96; and 3, 7, 1-28, trans. Butler, pp. 464-78. See *Rhet. Her.* 1, 2, 2, trans. Caplan, p. 4 (with forensic from 1, 3, 4-2, 31, 50, trans. Caplan, pp. 8-152; deliberative from 3, 2, 2-3, 5, 9, trans. Caplan, pp. 156-72; and epideictic from 3, 6, 10-3, 8, 15, trans. Caplan, pp. 172-84); Cicero, *Inu. rhet.* 1, 5, 7, trans. Hubbell, pp. 14-16 (with forensic from 2, 4, 13-2, 51, 154, trans. Hubbell, pp. 176-322; deliberative from 2, 51, 155-2, 58, 176, trans. Hubbell, pp. 322-42; and epideictic from 2, 59, 177-78, trans. Hubbell, pp. 342-44); Cicero, *Orat.* 11, 37-13, 42, trans. Hubbell, pp. 332-38; Cicero, *De or.* 1, 31, 141, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 98; and Cicero, *Part. or.* 20, 69-39, 138, trans. Rackham, pp. 362-418. While Aristotle had considered deliberative rhetoric to be the principal *genus*, for Quintilian it was forensic. At 3, 4, 7, trans. Butler, p. 392, Quintilian suggested that only forensic oratory involved judges and that the other two did not, and that the other two were concerned with the past and the future: *praeterita laudamus aut uituperamus, de futuris deliberamus*. This is a particularly idiosyncratic view about the time reference for forensic oratory, although, as Quintilian observed at 3, 4, 16, trans. Butler, p. 396, each of the three sometimes involved aspects of the other two. On the reduction of epideictic oratory to entertainment see Quintilian, *Inst.* 3, 5, 3, trans. Butler, p. 398. At 3, 7, 1, trans. Butler, p. 464, Quintilian accused Aristotle of being partly responsible for depriving epideictic oratory of any practical purpose. See Hinks, "Tria genera causarum", pp. 170-76; Oravec, "Observation' in Aristotle's Theory of Epideictic"; and Carter, "The Ritual Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric"; Solmsen, "The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric", p. 42; Wisse, *Ethos and Pathos from Aristotle to Cicero*; Calboli Montefusco, "Aristotle and Cicero on the *officia oratoris*"; Schütrumpf, "Non-Logical Means of Persuasion"; Garver, *Aristotle's Rhetoric*;

*De partitione oratoria* that audiences could be either hearers (presumably referring to epideictic) or arbitrators (in forensic and deliberative situations) and that the orators aimed either at giving pleasure (in the first case) or causing the audience to make a decision (in the second).<sup>19</sup>

This question of genre is particularly relevant for Christian homiletics in addressing the question of the purpose of the sermon. I have argued elsewhere that, whereas for much of Christian history the homily was considered a deliberative exercise – i.e. it was designed to persuade people to adopt or refrain from a particular action in the future –, for Catholic homiletics in particular the Second Vatican Council ushered in a new understanding of the homily as epideictic (in the practical sense of the term rather than simply as displaying the speaker's skill or entertaining the listeners) – i.e. as something designed to persuade people to offer God thanks (the other purpose – blame – not being relevant) in the present moment (i.e., in the Liturgy of the Eucharist to follow) for the great deeds God had performed in the past (and which had just been recalled in the scriptural readings of the Liturgy of the Word).<sup>20</sup> In other words the task of the modern preacher, in the Catholic tradition, is not simply to praise God for some salvific deed, but to persuade a congregation that God is worthy of praise, which is based upon veracity and grace of the deed in the past and which has an implication for the behaviour of the congregation into the future. We shall consider below whether early Christian Latin homilies fall into the category of deliberative in theme or epideictic (either as pure display and entertainment or persuasive of praise).

Quintilian noted that most rhetoricians accepted that there were five parts or faculties to oratory: invention (*inuentio* – the discovery of arguments, what will be said), arrangement (*dispositio* – the structure of a speech, how it will be organized), expression (*elocutio* – the style of language, how it will be said), memory (*memoria*), and delivery (*actio*).<sup>21</sup> By the time of Roman oratory

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Carey, "Rhetorical Means of Persuasion"; and Kirby, "Ciceronian Rhetoric", p. 16. In the world of the Second Sophistic and of school *declamationes* this denigration of epideictic as merely for entertainment was complete. See Bonner, *Roman Declamation*; Anderson, *The Second Sophistic*; Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome*, pp. 85-99; and Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, pp. 230-56.

19 Cicero, *Part. or.* 3, 10, trans. Rackham, p. 318.

20 Dunn, "Aristotle and the Art of Preaching".

21 Quintilian, *Inst.* 3, 3, 1, trans. Butler, p. 382. See also *Rhet. Her.* 1, 2, 3, trans. Caplan, p. 6 (invention is considered as part of arrangement: arrangement of forensic speeches: 1, 3, 5-2, 31, 50, trans. Caplan, pp. 10-152; arrangement of deliberative speeches: 3, 1, 1-3, 5, 9, trans. Caplan, pp. 156-72; and arrangement of epideictic speeches: 3, 6, 10-3, 8, 15, trans. Caplan, pp. 172-84; although there are general comments on arrangement: 3, 9, 16-3, 10, 18,

invention had largely become a matter of Hermagoran *stasis*-theory:<sup>22</sup> in working out the point at issue in a judicial speech. In one system the possibilities for the point at issue were: conjectural (questions of fact), legal (questions of textual interpretation), or juridical (questions of quality and competence),<sup>23</sup> while in Cicero they were: conjectural (questions of fact), definitive (questions of definition), qualitative (questions of importance or quality), or procedural (questions of competence).<sup>24</sup>

With regard to arrangement there could be disagreement about into how many parts a speech could or ought to be divided, but there was general agreement that it was usual to have an introduction (*exordium*), a statement of facts (*narratio*), point at issue (*diuisio* or *partitio* or *propositio*),<sup>25</sup> confirmation and refutation (*confirmatio* and *refutatio* or *reprehensio* or *confutatio*), and a conclusion (*peroratio* or *conclusio*).<sup>26</sup> With regard to style the ancient rhetoricians

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trans. Caplan, pp. 184-88; delivery: 3, 11, 19-3, 15, 27, trans. Caplan, pp. 188-204; and memory: 3, 16, 28-3, 24, 40, trans. Caplan, pp. 204-24; and a lengthy discussion on style: 4, 1, 1-4, 56, 69, trans. Caplan, pp. 228-410); Cicero, *Inu. rhet.* 1, 7, 9, trans. Hubbell, pp. 18-20; Cicero, *Part. or.* 2, 5-7, 26, trans. Rackham, pp. 312-30; Cicero, *Orat.* 14, 43, trans. Hubbell, p. 338 (invention: 14, 44-15, 49, trans. Hubbell pp. 338-42; arrangement: 15, 50, trans. Hubbell, p. 342; delivery: 17, 54-18, 60, trans. Hubbell, pp. 344-50; and style: 19, 61-71, 236, trans. Hubbell, pp. 350-508); and Cicero, *De or.* 1, 31, 142, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 98. On memory and delivery see Olbricht, "Delivery and Memory". Since we are dealing with the written records of early Christian homilies, these performative aspects need not concern us.

22 See Nadeau, "Classical Systems of Stases in Greek"; Braet, "The Classical Doctrine of *status* and the Rhetorical Theory of Argumentation"; Heath, "The Substructure of *Stasis*-Theory from Hermagoras to Hermogenes"; and Heath, "Invention".

23 *Rhet. Her.* 1, 11, 18-1, 17, 27, trans. Caplan, pp. 32-54.

24 Cicero, *Inu. rhet.* 1, 8, 10-1, 11, 16, trans. Hubbell, pp. 20-32; 2, 4, 14-2, 39, 115, trans. Hubbell, pp. 178-284; Cicero, *Part. or.* 18, 62-19, 66, trans. Rackham, pp. 356-60; Cicero, *Orat.* 14, 45, trans. Hubbell, pp. 338-40; and Cicero, *De or.* 2, 25, 105-2, 35, 151, trans. Sutton/Rackham, pp. 274-306. Quintilian, *Inst.* 3, 6, 66-67, trans. Butler, p. 442, decided that there were three rational *status*: conjectural, qualitative, and definitive, and that what had once been considered the one legal *status*, ought to be considered simply a question. For a comparison of these different assessments of *stasis*-theory see Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos*, pp. 98-102.

25 On the disagreement among rhetoricians about what to name this part and of what it should consist see Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos*, pp. 66-68.

26 *Rhet. Her.* 1, 3, 4, trans. Caplan, pp. 8-10 (with *exordium* from 1, 3, 5-1, 7, 11, trans. Caplan, pp. 10-22; *narratio* from 1, 8, 12-1, 10, 16, trans. Caplan, pp. 22-28; *diuisio* in 1, 10, 17, trans. Caplan, p. 30; *confirmatio* and *confutatio* from 1, 10, 18-2, 29, 46, trans. Caplan, pp. 32-144; and *conclusio* from 2, 30, 47-2, 31, 50, trans. Caplan, pp. 144-52); Cicero, *Inu. rhet.* 1, 15, 20-1, 56, 109 (with *exordium* from 1, 15, 20-1, 18, 26, trans. Hubbell, pp. 40-52; *narratio* from 1, 19, 27-1, 21, 30, trans. Hubbell, pp. 54-62; *partitio* from 1, 22, 31-1, 23, 33, trans. Hubbell, pp. 62-68;

emphasized taste (correctness of speech and clarity of expression), artistic composition (harmonious sounds), and distinction (ornamentation through tropes, figures of speech and figures of thought), all of which could produce grand, middle, and simple styles.<sup>27</sup>

With this overview in mind, we may turn now to look at the influence of classical rhetoric on Christian preaching in the Latin West in terms of a theoretical consideration that comes from Augustine's explicit comments about the utility of rhetoric for Christian activity and a practical consideration from a number of homiletic examples.

### 3 Rhetorical Theory of Christian Preaching

At the start of the Christian Latin tradition, Tertullian has not left us anything that was decidedly what today we call homilies, since, if we accept that he was not a presbyter and did not preside at liturgies, we would not expect him to have preached.<sup>28</sup> In very few of his works do we know anything about its occasion, in terms of how an audience received it. Yet, he did recommend the study of rhetoric,<sup>29</sup> and his treatises (pamphlets I would call them), like homilies, display rhetorical purpose; further, he did refer to what happened in the liturgy in terms of the address given to the congregation. He mentions its purpose as being "words of encouragement, of correction, and holy censure."<sup>30</sup> This suggests he saw the homily as having a deliberative focus, but does not really offer us a developed theory of liturgical preaching.

To find an early Christian writer who is more revealing about his own sense of what preaching is about we have to turn to another North African some two

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*confirmatio* from 1, 24, 34-1, 41, 77, trans. Hubbell, pp. 68-122; *reprehensio* from 1, 42, 78-1, 51, 96, trans. Hubbell, pp. 122-46; *digressio* at 1, 51, 97, trans. Hubbell, p. 146; and *conclusio* from 1, 52, 98-1, 56, 109, trans. Hubbell, pp. 146-62); Cicero, *Part. or.* 8, 27-17, 60, trans. Rackham, pp. 330-56; Cicero, *De or.* 1, 31, 143, trans. Sutton/Rackham, p. 98; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 4, 1, 1-6, 1, 55 (with *exordium* from 4, 1, 1-79, trans. Butler, pp. 6-48; *narratio* from 4, 2, 1-132, trans. Butler, pp. 48-120; *digressio* from 4, 3, 1-17, trans. Butler, pp. 120-30; *propositio* and *partitio* from 4, 4, 1-4, 5, 28, trans. Butler, pp. 130-50; *confirmatio* and *refutatio* from 5, 1, 1-5, 14, 35, trans. Butler, pp. 156-368; and *peroratio* from 6, 1, 1-55, trans. Butler, pp. 382-416). See Wuellner, "Arrangement".

27 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 8, 11-4, 55, 69, trans. Caplan, pp. 252-408; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 8, 1, 1-9, 4, 147, trans. Butler, pp. 194-590. See Rowe, "Style", pp. 121-57.

28 Barnes, *Tertullian*, p. 11. Cf. Osborn, *Folly of God*, pp. 379-81.

29 Tertullian, *De idol.* 10, 5, ed. Reifferscheid/Wissowa, pp. 1109-10.

30 Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, 3, ed. Dekkers, p. 150.

centuries later. Augustine is unusual among early Christian Latin writers in that he acknowledged explicitly his indebtedness to classical rhetoric and its importance for the Christian preacher. Written in two periods at the beginning and end of his episcopal career, *De doctrina christiana* is a handbook of how to interpret the Scriptures (in the first three books, which equates to *inuentio*) and how to present those insights (in the fourth book, which equates to *elocutio*).<sup>31</sup> Early in *De doctrina christiana* Augustine observed that logic and rhetoric were useless unless they led to the truth, and that many people could find the truth without their help.<sup>32</sup> Later, he would argue that since rhetoric was all about persuasion, whether what was being discussed was true or false, those who supported the truth ought to have the same skills as those who sought to persuade someone to believe the false.<sup>33</sup> Although he asserted that he was not going to repeat the rules of rhetoric, we can gain some sense of his understanding of them from several comments he made.<sup>34</sup> It has to be admitted that even though he was commenting on Christian dealing (*tractandarum*) with the Scriptures,<sup>35</sup> Augustine's comments are not exclusively or even explicitly about liturgical preaching; they could apply equally to the writer of commentaries and the teacher of catechumens. Indeed, we may suspect that he had those roles more in mind than that of the preacher in a Eucharistic liturgy (although at one point he did refer to sermons),<sup>36</sup> when he wrote about helping people understand the Scriptures and put them into practice.<sup>37</sup> Of course, the treatise is of relevance to liturgical preaching in that the homily reflects upon the Scripture that had been presented to the congregation.<sup>38</sup> A theoretical understanding of the purpose of preaching specifically in the liturgical setting is missing in this treatise as elsewhere in early Christian litera-

31 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 1, 1, 1, ed. Martin, p. 6; and 4, 1, 1, ed. Martin, p. 116. See Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, pp. 267–70; Bouhot, “Augustin prédicateur d’après le *De doctrina christiana*”; and Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine’s Sermones ad Populum*, pp. 18–19.

32 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 2, 37, 55, ed. Martin, pp. 70–71. On the significance of this passage see Fulkerson, “Augustine’s Attitude toward Rhetoric”, pp. 108–11, who takes a more negative view on Augustine’s attitude towards rhetoric than I do. The point is repeated at 4, 3, 5, ed. Martin, p. 119.

33 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 2, 3, ed. Martin, p. 117.

34 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 1, 2, ed. Martin, pp. 116–17.

35 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* pr., 1, ed. Martin, p. 1.

36 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 8, 22, ed. Martin, p. 131.

37 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* pr., 8, ed. Martin, p. 5: ... *ita ego quoque, si non solum ea, quae intellego, sed etiam intellegendo ea, quae obseruent, prodidero, culpari ab eis profecto non debeo.*

38 For more on identifying the audience of the early Christian homily see the chapter by Pauline Allen in this volume.



ture. After having commented that in some settings all that is required is to instruct the audience in order that they learn, Augustine writes about other settings:

But if the listeners are to be moved rather than instructed, so as not to become sluggish in acting upon what they know, and so as to give a real assent to things they admit are true, more forceful kinds of speaking are called for. Here what is necessary is words that implore, that rebuke, that stir, that check, and whatever other styles may avail to move the audience's mind and spirits.<sup>39</sup>

What kind of "acting", to use Augustine's term, is necessary in response to such stirring up of emotions is not specified, but can be imagined easily. He clearly knew Cicero's *De inuentione*, from which he quoted.<sup>40</sup> Augustine wrote of the three aims of a preacher as being to instruct, delight, and move, and that the first is fulfilled in what is said and the other two in how it is said.<sup>41</sup> In this he was citing Cicero, *De oratore* 21. Yet, in saying so he showed himself more in tune with the original Aristotelian concept when he stated that these three aims were designed to persuade a person of the truth.<sup>42</sup> Within this trio of aims, that of instructing was higher than the other two, although they were not to be discounted.<sup>43</sup> Moving people to act was sometimes necessary because even people who know what to do, do not always do it.<sup>44</sup> Augustine identified a simple style with instruction, a middle style with delectation, and the grand

39 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 4, 6, ed. Martin, pp. 119-20: *Si uero, qui audiunt, mouendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo, quod iam sciunt, agendo non torpeant et rebus assensum, quas ueras esse fatentur, accommodent, maioribus dicendi uiribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coerciones et quaecumque alia ualent ad commouendos animos, sunt necessaria.* English trans. in Hill, *Saint Augustine. Teaching Christianity.*

40 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 5, 7, ed. Martin, p. 120; and Cicero, *Inu. rhet.* 1, 1, 1, trans. Hubbell, p. 2.

41 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 12, 27, ed. Martin, p. 135.

42 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 14, 30, ed. Martin, p. 137.

43 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 11, 26, ed. Martin, p. 134: *Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat, quod horrebat, aut ut fiat, quod pigebat, sed ut appareat quod latebat. Quod tamen si fiat insuauiter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos peruenit fructus, qui ea quae discenda sunt, quamuis abiecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant.*

44 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 12, 28, ed. Martin, pp. 135-36: *Et fortasse rebus ipsis cognitis ita mouebuntur ut eos non opus sit maioribus eloquentiae uiribus iam moueri. Quod tamen cum opus est, faciendum est....* Augustine did not deny that moving an audience was important, what he asserted simply was that sometimes teaching them was sufficient to move them to action without employing specific rhetorical techniques to rouse their emotions.



style with swaying.<sup>45</sup> With the praise of God, which Augustine seems to acknowledge as the preacher's highest task and which suggests an epideictic purpose, a middle style is appropriate if people accept the need to praise God and the grand style is needed if people do not accept such a need to praise God alone and need to be moved to do so.<sup>46</sup> So we can see that Augustine did not address directly the question of interest in this chapter, viz. whether liturgical preaching had more of a deliberative or epideictic purpose.<sup>47</sup> In commenting upon one of his homilies, which seems not to have survived, Augustine referred both to his deliberative task of trying to dissuade the people of Caesarea in Mauretania from civil war, and of trying to turn (*conuerti*) "their hearts and tongues to giving thanks to God."<sup>48</sup> Of course, the two are not to be separated entirely, as Augustine pointed out.<sup>49</sup> Augustine's rhetoric in his homilies has been well studied and will not be repeated or re-examined here.<sup>50</sup> Instead,

45 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 17, 34, ed. Martin, p. 141.

46 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 19, 38, ed. Martin, p. 144: *Porro cum laudatur deus siue de se ipso siue de operibus suis, quanta facies pulchrae ac splendidae dictionis oboritur ei, qui potest quantum potest laudare, quem nemo conuenienter laudat, nemo quomodocumque non laudat! At si non colatur aut cum illo uel etiam prae illo colantur idola siue daemonia siue quaecumque creatura, quantum hoc malum sit, atque ut ab hoc malo auertantur homines, debet utique granditer dici.*

47 As I pointed out above, I believe that seeing epideictic oratory as simply engaged in delighting an audience and not persuading them to praise (or blame) the subject of the speech, was one of the reasons why early Christian preachers might not have considered epideictic to be a purpose for liturgical preaching.

48 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 24, 53, ed. Martin, p. 159: *Moxque sermone finito ad agendas deo gratias corda atque ora conuerti.*

49 Augustine, *De doct. chr.* 4, 24, 54, ed. Martin, p. 160: *Nam et laudes et uituperationes quando eloquenter dicuntur, cum sint in genere temperato, sic afficiunt quosdam, ut non solum in laudibus et uituperationibus eloquentia delectentur, uerum et ipsi laudabiliter appetant fugiantque uituperabiliter uiuere;* and 4, 26, 57, ed. Martin, pp. 162-63. Interestingly, Augustine again gives the impression that he accepts that epideictic in homilies was only to delight the audience (rather than persuade them to join in the preacher's praise or blame) when he used the verb *delectentur*. See also 4, 25, 55, ed. Martin, p. 161: *... persuadet in genere temperato pulchre ornateque se dicere: quo fine nobis quid opus est? Appetant eum, qui lingua gloriantur, et se in panegiricis talibusque dictionibus iactant, ubi nec docendus nec ad aliquid agendum mouendus, sed tantummodo est delectandus auditor.* The task of persuading an audience that the speaker is speaking eloquently while he is offering praise is a very different one from the task I have outlined for epideictic in the understanding of the homily, which flows from the Second Vatican Council.

50 See Oroz Reta, *La retórica en los Sermones de S. Agustín*; Mohrmann, "Das Wortspiel in den augustinischen Sermones"; Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature*, pp. 89-99; Verwilghen, "Rhétorique et prédication chez saint

the opportunity will be taken to look at the oratory of several other Latin preachers of Late Antiquity. On the basis of a limited number of examples it will be dangerous to draw definitive conclusions about the understanding of the purpose of liturgical preaching in rhetorical terms in early Christian preachers, but some indications may be revealed, which could be helpful.

#### 4 Rhetorical Practice of Christian Preaching – Maximus of Turin<sup>51</sup>

A sermon on the anniversary of a martyr's death would be a good occasion to engage in epideictic rhetoric either in praising God for working powerfully in the life of the martyr or in praising the martyr him- or herself for their fidelity or bravery. Yet, it could also be a deliberative occasion for urging the congregation to imitate the heroic virtues of the saint being celebrated. Here I wish to consider two of the homilies of Maximus of Turin, who died in the early decades of the 5th century and who has 106 preserved authentic homilies: one (*Sermo* 10) preached on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Cyprian of Carthage and the other (*Sermo* 11) a few days later (presumably on the Sunday following 14 September for whatever year the homilies were preached). It is evidence of the high regard in which Cyprian was held in Late Antiquity beyond the shores of Africa.<sup>52</sup> Maximus linked Cyprian's martyrdom with the coming of the grape harvest. We know from calendar illustrations, like *Chronographus anni CCCLIII* 6, that September was regarded as the month for the grape harvest.<sup>53</sup> This enabled him in both homilies to engage in allegory (one of the tropes),<sup>54</sup> equating both the death itself and the benefits that flowed from his death for the community with the new wine that comes from the harvest. In *Sermo* 10 Maximus linked the flow of wine from the squeezing of grapes with the flow of blood from the martyrdom of saints.<sup>55</sup> Three pas-

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Augustin"; Drobner, "I Would Rather Not Be Wearisome to You"; Harrison, "The Rhetoric of Scripture and Preaching"; Martin, "Vox Pauli"; and Vannier, "Augustin prédicateur dans les Homélies sur l'Évangile de S. Jean".

51 For more on Maximus of Turin see the chapter by Clemens Weidmann in this volume. On s. 10, see specifically p. 142 and n. 56 (in the chapter by Pauline Allen), and pp. 352 and 360 (in the chapter by Clemens Weidmann).

52 Dunn, "The Reception of the Martyrdom of Cyprian of Carthage".

53 Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 103-06, and figs. 20 and 48. One may also note that on the mosaic of the months and seasons of the year, found in El Jem (ancient Thysdrus), now in the Sousse Museum, September shows two men crushing grapes. See Blanchard-Lemée/Ennaïfer/Slim/Slim, *Mosaics of Roman Africa*, pp. 45 and 47.

54 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 34, 46, trans. Caplan, p. 344; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 8, 6, 44-57, trans. Butler, pp. 326-34.

55 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 35.

sages of Scripture are produced to link martyrdom with drinking from the cup (Ps. 23[22]:5; Matth. 26:39; and Ps. 116[115]:13[4]), where noxious humours are burnt off by the heat of the wine, paralleling the diluting of sin by suffering.<sup>56</sup> As grapes hang on the vine, Christ hung on the cross and as Joshua and Caleb carried back grapes from Canaan on a pole (Num. 13:28) so Jews and Christians preceded (and could not see what was behind them) and followed (and thus had their eyes always fixed upon) the Christ who was carried.<sup>57</sup>

There are two points of interest to me here: one textual and the other rhetorical. The first is that it cannot be mere coincidence or natural observation that made Maximus use grapes and wine as his allegory for the martyrdom of Cyprian. The Carthaginian bishop, in responding to other bishops, some of whom used water alone in the Eucharistic cup instead of wine and water,<sup>58</sup> was the first Christian writer to use the statement in the Septuagint version of Ps. 22:5 about the cup that inebriates in a Eucharistic context<sup>59</sup> to argue that it is *optimus* because it leads to a sobriety whereby the human mind is turned away from earthly to heavenly things.<sup>60</sup> This is precisely the point made by Maximus when he spoke about the inebriation of the cup and the noxious humours being burnt off by the heat of the wine, although he then developed and applied it to the situation of Cyprian's own martyrdom where the draining of the cup dilutes sin.<sup>61</sup> Even though Maximus used a different *Vetus Latina* version than did Cyprian of the psalm text (with *praeclarus*, which in medical use referred to potency or efficaciousness, for *optimus*),<sup>62</sup> the point about inebriation suggests not just that Maximus had been influenced by the Cyprianic legacy (which could have come to him via Ambrose), but that he actually knew Cyprian's letter and found it a source of inspiration for his homiletic allegory.<sup>63</sup>

56 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 35.

57 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 35-36.

58 See Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, vol. 3, pp. 286-91; and Craig, "Potency, not Preciousness", pp. 299-302, for the context of this letter.

59 See Craig, "Potency, not Preciousness", pp. 302-09, for other early Christian uses of the imagery and its dependence upon Cyprian.

60 Cyprian of Carthage, *Ep.* 63, 11, 2-3, ed. Diercks, 3C, pp. 403-04.

61 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 35: *Recte ergo martyrium uindemiis conparatur; habet enim et ebrietatem suam, habet et calicem suum, de quo dicit propheta David: Et calix tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est.... Recte, inquam, calix martyrio conparatur, quia sicut calix cum bibitur, omnis umor noxius uini calore decoquitur, ita et martyrii poculum cum hauritur, omnes peccatorum faeces passionis gloria temperantur.*

62 Craig, "Potency, not Preciousness", pp. 296 and 306.

63 Although Craig, "Potency, not Preciousness", pp. 307-08, refers to *praeclaro poculo* as coming from a Pentecost homily of Maximus (sometimes attributed to Augustine), this hom-

The second point of interest is that it is hard to determine a rhetorical genre for the homily. If anything it has a forensic focus, but even this is weak. The audience is meant to believe that martyrs enjoy spiritual fruits of everlasting life, although little effort is spent to convince them that this is the case, except through the cleverness or appeal of the allegory. Even when Maximus says, "[t]he salvation of martyrdom, then, is a kind of wine that rejoices the heart, warms the faith, and purifies the soul ...",<sup>64</sup> which could lead to a deliberative call to imitate the martyrs, which, given that they were living in a post-Constantinian world, would have had to have been a spiritualized kind of martyrdom, a deliberative notion is not laid before the congregation. Even when referring to Nun and Caleb, and making a contrast between Jews and Christians, Maximus ends the homily (at least as far as this preserved ending is the real end of the homily) with a declaration of the fact that Christians, as the other people, "... hasten to come to him on a straight way."<sup>65</sup> A declaration is hardly sufficient to persuade people of the need to imitate it. The persuasive element and rhetorical features of this homily, apart from the use of the allegories, are particularly weak. This stands in marked contrast with the homilies preached by Augustine on the same occasion around the same time.<sup>66</sup>

The same is not quite true of the homily that followed a few days later (*Sermo* 11). Having summarized part of his previous address,<sup>67</sup> Maximus referred to Is. 5:7 and Gal. 3:7 to determine that his congregation was the vineyard of the Lord and then he urged them to produce sweet fruit, not bitter fruit or thorns (recalling Is. 5:2).<sup>68</sup> If they did, they would be like the Jews.<sup>69</sup> He ends the homily by stating that not giving to the poor would be one way of producing vinegar or thorns.<sup>70</sup> Apart from this deliberative purpose, and the

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ily is found today in neither of the current editions of the homilies of Augustine or Maximus. Given that Augustine and Ambrose (upon whom Maximus was dependent in his homilies) used both *calix* and *poculum*, this scriptural quotation in that homily does not help us in any way to determine its real author.

64 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 35: *Vinum ergo quoddam salutare martyrii est, quod cordi laetitiam, praestat calorem fidei animae puritatem....*

65 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 10, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 36: *... directo cursu festinat adtingere.*

66 Augustine, *Serm.* 309-13, *Patrologia Latina*, 38, col. 1410-25; 313A-B (Denis 14-15), Morin, pp. 65-74; 313C-E (Guelf. 26-28), Morin, pp. 529-35; 313F (Denis 22), Morin, pp. 133-35.

67 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 11, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 38.

68 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 11, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 38.

69 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 11, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 39: *... hoc est ne spinas quas domino Iudaei cruentis manibus inposuerunt, nos iniquis sensibus adponamus et conpungamus eum non asperitate sentum sed operum prauitate!*

70 Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 11, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 39: *Ergo, fratres, uidete ne uinea uestra*

alliteration in this closing section, there is very little that is overtly polished or rhetorical about this homily. Apart from the clever allegory derived from Cyprian himself and applied to his feast day, there is little flair in the two homilies of Maximus we have considered here.

## 5 Rhetorical Practice of Christian Preaching – Quoduultdeus

There is a group of twelve homilies excised early in the 20th century by Germain Morin from the authentic homilies of Augustine and attributed to Quoduultdeus, the recently-appointed bishop of Carthage at the time of its capture by the Vandals under Geiseric in 439. Quoduultdeus spent the remaining decade or so of his life in Naples and might be the same person as the deacon who corresponded with Augustine in 428-29.<sup>71</sup> Prosper Schepens reached the same conclusion, and Desiderius Franses and René Braun, the editors of Quoduultdeus' texts, accepted that attribution, while others have not.<sup>72</sup> In the face of the Vandal invasions, Quoduultdeus preached deliberately calling people to repentance and trying to explain why God was letting evil happen to them.<sup>73</sup> The three credal homilies (*De symbolo ad catecumenos I, II, and III*) are accepted as genuinely his,<sup>74</sup> and were delivered during Lent on the occasion of the scrutiny when the creed was delivered to the elect (*competentes*), i.e. catechumens chosen for initiation at Easter.<sup>75</sup> Here I shall examine the third. The particular liturgical context of this homily determines much of its purpose, structure, and style. If the congregation were only the elect, who were still ineligible to participate in the reception of communion, one would not expect an epideictic purpose to the homily, since they could not enter into the thanksgiving element of the Eucharistic liturgy. However, they could have been asked to give God thanks for the gift of the faith they had just professed, though this is not a feature of the homily. Instead, there is a strong deliberative

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*non uuas faciat sed spinas; ne uindemia uestra non uinum adferat sed acetum! Quisque enim uindemiam legit et pauperibus non largitur, ille acetum colligit non uinum.*

71 See G. Morin, "Pour une future édition", pp. 156-62; Augustine, *Ep.* 222-24, ed. Goldbacher, vol. 57, pp. 446-54. This correspondence led to Augustine writing *De haer.*

72 Schepens, "Les œuvres", pp. 76-78; Franses, *Die Werke*, pp. 11-36; and Braun, *Opera Quoduultdeo*, pp. VI-VII, who added a thirteenth homily to the group. Cf. Kappelmacher, "Echte und unechte Predigten Augustins"; and Simonetti, "Studi sulla letteratura cristiana", pp. 413-15, 421-22. See Van Slyke, *Quoduultdeus of Carthage*, pp. 48-58.

73 Eno, "Christian Reaction to Barbarian Invasions", pp. 152-57.

74 Finn, *Quoduultdeus*, p. 3.

75 Finn, "Quoduultdeus. The Preacher and the Audience", pp. 44-50.

focus in this homily as the preacher engaged in all three tasks of instructing, delighting, and moving his congregation. Quoduultdeus announced his intention of explaining the exorcisms and creed in order to increase understanding.<sup>76</sup> Yet, this was not an end in itself. Better understanding was to lead to better living.<sup>77</sup> Scattered throughout the homily are calls to act in the future like a Christian ought to act.<sup>78</sup> They are given in the context of what is advantageous to believers and what could be disadvantageous to those who fail to act accordingly.

The structure of the homily derives from the liturgical ritual (consideration of the exorcism and scrutiny in 3, 1, 3-21 and the creed in 3, 2, 1-3, 13, 7 – God the creator [3, 2, 1-3, 3, 17], the virgin birth of the Son [3, 4, 1-22], his crucifixion [3, 5, 1-24], resurrection [3, 6, 1-10], ascension [3, 7, 1-5], and second coming [3, 8, 1-8], the Spirit [3, 9, 1-11], the forgiveness of sins [3, 10, 1-2], the resurrection of the flesh [3, 11, 1-3, 12, 5], and the church [3, 13, 1-7]).

What is perhaps most striking in this homily is its style. In particular we find various figures of speech of repetition. There is frequent epanaphora (*repetitio*) where the same word or phrase is used to start successive sentences. The author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* noted that this gave charm and vigour to a speech, while Quintilian noted that this helped fix a point in the audience's mind.<sup>79</sup> We find it first combined with antithesis (*contrario*),<sup>80</sup> when he says: "If God is your master, go after him; if the world, go after it. If God is chosen, let him be served according to his will; if the world is chosen, why does the heart pretend accommodation to God?"<sup>81</sup> There is also some antistrophe (*conuersio*) as well, with the repetition of the last phrases in the first two statements,<sup>82</sup>

76 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 1, 7, ed. Braun, p. 349: *Ipsas sententias sacratissimi symboli adiuvante domino exponendas suscepimus, ut quid singulae contineant uestris sensibus intinemus.*

77 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 1, 12, ed. Braun, p. 350: ... *non in uobis post renuntiationem [the devil] inueniat opera sua, ne iure uos attrahat in seruitutem.*

78 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 2, 1, ed. Braun, p. 351; 3, 4, 21, ed. Braun, p. 355: *Amate quod estis, seruare quod accepistis*; 3, 5, 9, ed. Braun, p. 356: *Transite a bono ad melius ...*; 3, 7, 5, ed. Braun, p. 359; 3, 8, 8, ed. Braun, p. 360: *Corrigamur, dum tempus est emendemur; bonas causas habeamus, ut futuram diem iudicii non timeamus*; and 3, 13, 1, ed. Braun, p. 363.

79 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 13, 19, trans. Caplan, p. 276; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 2, 4, trans. Butler, p. 376; and 9, 3, 30, trans. Butler, p. 462.

80 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 15, 21, trans. Caplan, p. 282; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 81, trans. Butler, p. 494.

81 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 1, 14-15, ed. Braun, p. 350: *Si deus est, ite post illum: si mundus est, ite post illum. Si deus eligitur, seruiatur illi secundum ipsius uoluntatem: si mundus eligitur, utquid fictum cor quasi deo accommodatur?* English trans. in T.M. Finn, *The Credal Homilies.*

82 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 13, 19, trans. Caplan, pp. 276-78; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 4, 3, 30, trans. Butler, p. 462.

which here amounts to interlacement (*complexio*), the combination of both epanaphora and antistrophe.<sup>83</sup> At the end of the section on the exorcisms we find another example of epanaphora with the repeated *ecce*, antistrophe with the repeated *mundus*, antithesis between *dulcis* and *amarus*, and hypophora (*subiectio*),<sup>84</sup> where questions are addressed to the world as though an adversary, which could be an example of personification (*conformatio*), where someone absent or something inanimate is addressed or speaks.<sup>85</sup> There is even alliteration and assonance with *amarus alimenta mentiris*:

Behold, how the world is in ruins; behold, how God has filled the world with such great misfortunes; behold, how bitter the world is, and yet it is loved! What would we do if it were sweet? O wicked world, perjuring yourself before the weak; what would you do were you to last? If you were sweet, whom would you not deceive? If you were bitter, what food would you not spoil?<sup>86</sup>

While this could have resulted in an awkward and jarring piece of overworked prose, the Latin here reads smoothly, which suggests great oratorical skill.

At the beginning of the section on the creed we find chiasmus between the verbs *credere* and *uidere*.<sup>87</sup> Then there is more epanaphora with the questions introduced by the repeated *nonne*.<sup>88</sup> There is a variety of epanaphora with the repeated use of *rex* (coupled with the contrast between *mortalis* and *immortalis*, and *uisibilis* and *inuisibilis*).<sup>89</sup> There is another example with a brief series of questions about the Spirit.<sup>90</sup> The final example of repetition is interlace-

83 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 14, 20, trans. Caplan, p. 278; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 4, 3, 31, trans. Butler, p. 462.

84 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 23, 33, trans. Caplan, p. 310; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 98, trans. Butler, p. 502

85 *Rhet. Her.* 4, 53, 66, trans. Caplan, p. 398; and Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 2, 30-37, trans. Butler, pp. 390-94.

86 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 1, 19-20, ed. Braun, p. 350: *Ecce ruinosus est mundus, ecce tantis calamitatibus repleuit deus mundum, ecce amarus est mundus, et sic amatur! Quid faceremus, si dulcis esset? O munde immunde, teneris periens; quid faceres si maneres? Quem non deciperes dulcis, si amarus alimenta mentiris?*

87 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 2, 2, ed. Braun, p. 351: *Si nunc uideres, non crederes: ideo credis, quia non uides; sed ita crede, ut uideas.*

88 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 2, 6, ed. Braun, p. 351: *Nonne faciem eius respicis, cum in eius unigenito filio credis? Nonne manus eius uides, cum uniuersam creaturam attendis? Nonne os eius audis, quando praecepta eius recitari aduertis?*

89 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 2, 15, ed. Braun, p. 352: *Rex terrenus, ideo mortalis, quia uisibilis: rex caelestis immortalis, et inuisibilis. Rex terrenus cum nihil creauerit, omnia tamen in potestate accepit....*

90 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 9, 6-8, ed. Braun, p. 361: *Aut quomodo Spiritum sanctum minorem praedicat etiam filio ... Quomodo deus non est, qui templum habet; aut quomodo minor est Christo, cuius membra templum habet?*



ment about the loving of life leading to seeking of eternal life.<sup>91</sup> Speaking of the virgin birth afforded Quoduultdeus the opportunity for antithesis,<sup>92</sup> as did a contrast between Christ and the devil,<sup>93</sup> and Jesus dying on the cross and rising (this last of which is coupled with epanaphora).<sup>94</sup> There is also the occasional sense of synonymy.<sup>95</sup> There is more personification when Quoduultdeus addressed the entire human race, the Jews, Herod, the faithful, Christ and the devil (where there is the opportunity for antithesis and near epanaphora), Arians, thieves and robbers, and the soul.<sup>96</sup>

Overall this is a particularly polished example of rhetorical style, with the patterns of repetition and contrast designed to reinforce insight among those still learning about Christianity and to rouse them to resolve in living what they were about to embrace at Easter.

## 6 Rhetorical Practice of Christian Preaching – Leo the Great<sup>97</sup>

Leo I (440-61) is the first of the Roman bishops whose homilies have been preserved. We have some from various feasts of the liturgical seasons, saints in the calendar, his own anniversary of election, fast days, and on scriptural texts not

91 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 12, 2, ed. Braun, p. 362: *Si amatur uita, quare non quaeritur uera? Si amatur uita, talis quaeratur quae nunquam finiatur. Et si amatur, quare non quaeritur?*

92 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 4, 7, ed. Braun, p. 354: *Parit mater et uirgo, feta et intacta: nascitur filius sine homine patre, qui fecit et ipsam matrem.*

93 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 5, 9, ed. Braun, p. 356: ... *dum diabolus captiuat, Christus liberat; diabolus decipit, Christus redimit; diabolus occidit, Christus restituit.*

94 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 5, 21-23, ed. Braun, p. 358: *Dum in cruce pependit, falsa uictoria Iudaeorum; dum de sepulcro surrexit, uera confusio Iudaeorum, et sempiterna uictoria Christianorum. Dum in cruce pependit, maesti, contristati, dispersique discipuli: dum de sepulcro surrexit, gaudentes, una in domo sunt congregati. Dum in cruce pependit, diffidentia discipulorum: dum de sepulcro surrexit, congregatio gentium. Dum in cruce pependit, timore negauit Petrus: dum de sepulcro surrexit, amore totus credidit mundus.*

95 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 4, 21, ed. Braun, p. 355: *Amate quod estis, seruare quod accepistis.*

96 Quoduultdeus, *De symb.* 3, 2, 16, ed. Braun, p. 352; 3, 4, 12, ed. Braun, p. 355; 3, 4, 16, ed. Braun, p. 355; 3, 4, 22, ed. Braun, p. 355; 3, 5, 6-7, ed. Braun, p. 356: *Ille [the devil] dicebat: Si mihi consenseritis, dabo uobis uitam istam temporalem; Christus dicebat: Si a me non discenseritis, nec temporalem perdetis, et aeternam accipietis. Diabolus dicebat: Nolite perdere istam lucem; Christus dicebat: Ego qui feci et istam, dabo meliorem; 3, 9, 9, ed. Braun, p. 361; 3, 13, 5, ed. Braun, p. 363; 3, 9, 11, ed. Braun, p. 361; and 3, 11, 4, ed. Braun, p. 362.*

97 For more on Leo I see the chapter in this volume by Bronwen Neil.



associated with particular occasions (as far as we can tell). I wish to consider first Leo's brief homily associated with the commemoration of Rome's deliverance from Alaric in August 410.<sup>98</sup> In 1973 René Dolle dated *Sermo* 84 (71 in his edition) to just after the feast of Peter and Paul (29 June) in 455 after the two-week plunder of Rome by the Vandals under Geiseric came to an end due to Leo's intercession.<sup>99</sup> Also in 1973 Antoine Chavassee instead dated the homily to the anniversary of Alaric's siege in August 442, after a treaty had been signed between Rome and Geiseric and when Christians in Rome felt safe and therefore neglected to participate in the annual commemoration, a point Leo criticized in the homily.<sup>100</sup> This latter date has won acceptance among scholars.<sup>101</sup> In part the dating relates to the position of the homily within what may be a chronological sequence in some of the manuscripts and in part to the reference within the homily to circus games (which could be either to the *Ludi Apollinares* in early July or *Ludi soli et lunae* in August).<sup>102</sup>

I would add one qualification to this, but it is an important one. A reading of the homily indicates that it was not delivered on the occasion of the anniversary itself, but shortly thereafter.<sup>103</sup> If the commemoration had been on the actual day of the anniversary (either the day of capture on 24 August or, more likely, the day the pillage ended on 28 August, which was a Friday), then Leo could well have been preaching on the following Sunday (30 August) complaining about the poor attendance two days before (rather than saying that the commemoration itself was celebrated on the first Sunday following the actual commemorative date). Thus, we have two homilies to consider, the one that would have taken place on 28 August and the preserved one on 30 August.

98 On these events see Dunn, "The Care of the Poor in Rome and Alaric's Sieges"; and Dunn, "Innocent I, Alaric, and Honorius".

99 R. Dolle (ed.), *Léon le Grand* 4, p. 66 n. 2. On s. 84, see also pp. 327 and 343 in this volume (in the chapter by Bronwen Neil).

100 Chavassee, *Sancti Leonis magni*, pp. 523-25.

101 Wessel, *Leo the Great*, p. 374; Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 118-19; and Salzman, "Leo the Great", pp. 191-92. Of course, if the commemoration had been established in 410 and had been observed annually since then (formalized from 414 when Honorius visited Rome), as Salzman speculates, we have no evidence of it until Leo's time.

102 Reference to these games is in *Chronographus anni CCCLIII* 6, ed. Mommsen, pp. 270-71. See Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 119-30; and Burgess, "The Chronograph of 354".

103 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 1, ed. Chavassee, p. 525: ... *ipsa paucorum qui adfuerunt raritas demonstrauit*.... While the English translation of Freeland and Conway, *St. Leo the Great: Sermons*, p. 360, renders the perfect *demonstrauit* in the past ("who were present"), Neil, *Leo the Great*, p. 120, translates it in the present tense ("who are present"). My argument rests upon accepting the perfect as a past tense here.

I have chosen to consider this homily not so much because of what it tells us about Leo's use of rhetoric in preaching (although it does contain elements of a rhetorical style) but because of Leo's insights into the purpose of liturgical preaching. From the very start of this homily Leo informs us that the congregation would come together for the commemoration as an act of thanksgiving to God both for having been chastised and liberated.<sup>104</sup> This reveals an epideictic understanding of the purpose of the homily on such an occasion as to move people to offer that thanksgiving. Indeed, the point of the annual commemoration was to remind people that Rome had been spared by the prayers of the saints petitioning God's mercy, not by any circus games or astrological predetermination.<sup>105</sup>

Interestingly, however, on this occasion, a couple of days later, Leo's preaching has a more deliberative focus: he wanted to persuade people that in the future more of them needed to participate in such a commemoration than had turned up and to repent of their having failed to turn up this year, by reminding them of the parable of the cleansing of the ten lepers in Luc. 17:11-19.<sup>106</sup> He wanted them to benefit (*utamur*), which is an obvious indication of a deliberative theme. Of course, they were to turn up in the future in order to render thanks to God. The homily is too short to have much of a discernible structure, but it does seem to have something of a *narratio* at the beginning, in which Leo referred back to the poorly attended commemoration and the fact that people not only failed to participate but had been at the circus instead, before he outlines in what could be called a brief *confirmatio* the implicit benefit to the city of future participation in the commemoration (the city will continue to be spared in the future) and the explicit benefit to the believers (they will not be marked before God with ingratitude),<sup>107</sup> as well as the implicit loss if they do

104 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 1, ed. Chavassee, p. 525: ... *qua ob diem castigationis et liberationis nostrae, cunctus fidelium populus ad agendas deo gratias confluebat....*

105 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 1, ed. Chavassee, pp. 525-26: *Quis a caede defendit? Ludus Circensium, an cura sanctorum, quorum utique precibus diuinae censurae flexa sententia est, ut qui merebamur iram seruaremur ad ueniam?*; and 84, 2, ed. Chavassee, p. 526: ... *et liberationem nostram, non sicut opinantur impii, stellarum effectibus, sed ineffabili omnipotentis dei misericordiae deputantes, qui corda furentium barbarorum mitigare dignatus est, ad tanti uos beneficii memoriam toto fidei uigore conferte.*

106 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 2, ed. Chavassee, p. 526: *Tangat, obsecro, dilectissimi, cor uestrum illa sententia saluatoris, qui eum decem leprosos misericordiae uirtute mundasset, unum tantum ex eis dixit ad agendas gratias reuertisse, significans uidelicet de ingratis quod huic pietatis officio....*

107 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 2, ed. Chavassee, p. 526: *Ne ergo ista ingratorum nota etiam uobis, dilectissimi, possit adscribi, reuertimini ad dominum, intellegentes mirabilia quae in nobis est dignatus operari....*

not (the unspecified danger of failing to be grateful, which would include future devastation to the city and personal loss of salvation).<sup>108</sup>

In terms of Leo's rhetorical style, it has already been noted by others that in general his was a simple and direct style, devoid of much ornamentation and allegory, and that he loved balanced phrases and starkly contrasting pairs.<sup>109</sup> Some of this might have to do with his theology, where, in his Christmas and Lenten homilies for example, Leo wanted to balance the divine and human natures of Christ, with a contrast between majestic and lowly, passable and impassable, pride and humility, obedience and disobedience, life and death.<sup>110</sup> We see a little of that antithesis (*contentio*)<sup>111</sup> here when he spoke of "no remorse at reproof nor gladness in pardon" (*nec de correptione compungi, nec de remissione laetari*). We find a series of rhetorical questions, one of the figures of thought,<sup>112</sup> in which he repeats himself but in different words, which may be taken as an example of synonymy (*interpretatio*), another figure of speech,<sup>113</sup> with each question starting with *quis* (an example of epanaphora [*repetitio*])<sup>114</sup>.<sup>115</sup>

As a second example from Leo, I wish to consider one of the September fast homilies. As one would expect, Leo's purpose was deliberative: he wanted to encourage his congregation to adopt fasting as a practice in order to embrace almsgiving to the poor, which in turn provided them with personal salvation.<sup>116</sup> Freeland and Conway note that the September fasts emphasize the corporate dimension of such activity.<sup>117</sup> David Stökl Ben Ezra has pointed to the parallels between these fasts and the Jewish observance of Yom Kippur.<sup>118</sup>

As my example I choose *Sermo* 94, which could be dated to 458.<sup>119</sup> Leo makes quite clear in the opening sentence that he is engaged in deliberative

108 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 1, ed. Chavassee, p. 525; *Magnum enim periculum est esse homines ingratos deo, et per obliuionem beneficiorum eius nec de correptione compungi, nec de remissione laetari*.

109 Halliwell, *The Style of Pope St Leo the Great*, pp. 92-95; Murphy, "The Sermons of Pope Leo the Great", pp. 185-86; and Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 15-16.

110 Dunn, "Divine Impassibility"; and Dunn, "Suffering Humanity".

111 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 81-84, trans. Butler, pp. 494-96.

112 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 2, 6-16, trans. Butler, pp. 376-82.

113 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 98, trans. Butler, p. 502, did not consider this to be a figure at all.

114 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 30, trans. Butler, p. 462.

115 Leo I, *Sermo* 84, 1, ed. Chavassee, p. 525; *Quis hanc urbem reformauit salutis? Quis a captiuitate eruit? Quis a caede defendit?*

116 Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 18-21 and 23-24; Wessel, *Leo the Great*, pp. 203-07 and Neil, "Leo I on Poverty".

117 Freeland/Conway, *St. Leo the Great*, p. 360.

118 Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, pp. 312-17.

119 Chavassee, *Sancti Leonis magni*, pp. CXCVIII-CXCIX.

rhetoric when he refers to his homily as *nostra cohortatio*.<sup>120</sup> On this occasion he praises most of them (*plurimos uestrum*) for not needing to be exhorted, perhaps in an attempt to shame the rest of the congregation into imitating the others and to ensure that those who have been diligent in the past do not abandon their efforts this year. The focus in this year was that just as the body needs fasting, so too does the soul: "... because it is right to give resistance not only to the desires of the flesh, but to the ambitions of the spirit also..."<sup>121</sup> The worst food for the soul and poison for the heart is described as dishonest wealth, pride, and revenge.<sup>122</sup> To fix the interior disposition would remedy the exterior desire. Leo's focus was very much on the future days of the September fast that lay before his congregation and he urged them to behave in a certain way: "If there is present any love of vainglory or any root of avarice or germ of hatred, let the soul take nothing of such food, but, intent on the delights of virtue, let it place heavenly feasts before earthly pleasure."<sup>123</sup> Like many homilies the purpose was about moral admonition and correcting or promoting Christian behaviour. The main focus here is on the expediency of personal purification. It is only towards the end of the homily that Leo connects fasting with almsgiving as the means of overcoming sin (brought about *fragilitate carnis et cupiditatum pollutione*).<sup>124</sup> As usual with Leo, almsgiving was seen as conferring a twofold benefit: one to the recipient and one to the donor.<sup>125</sup> In case we need reminding, Leo finished with another jussive: *ieiunemus*.<sup>126</sup> The purpose of his homily, as with all those preached on the topic of fasting and almsgiving, was deliberative: Leo sought to persuade his congregation to adopt and implement expedient action in the future.

The second sentence of the homily has one of Leo's neatly-crafted and well-balanced expressions with the *interpretatio* of *traditio* and *consuetudo*, *decreuit* and *firmauit*, *eruditio* and *pietas* (the weakest of the examples), and *ignorat*

120 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 1, ed. Chavasse, p. 577.

121 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 1, ed. Chavasse, p. 578: ... *quia non solum carnis desiderijs, sed etiam animi cupiditatibus conuenit repugnari...*

122 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 1, ed. Chavasse, p. 578: *Pessimus enim animae cibus est uelle quod non licet; et noxia cordis delectatio est, quae aut turpi lucro pascitur, aut superbia extollitur, aut ultione laetatur.*

123 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 2, ed. Chavasse, pp. 578-79: *Ac si quis amor uanae gloriae, si qua radix auaritiae, si quod inest uirus inuidiae, nihil talium anima sumat escarum, sed uirtutum intenta delicijs, caelestes epulas terrenae praeferat uoluptati.*

124 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 3, ed. Chavasse, p. 580.

125 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 4, ed. Chavasse, p. 580: ... *et gaudia tribuens, quo es laetificandus, accipies.*

126 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 4, ed. Chavasse, p. 580.

and *praetermittit*.<sup>127</sup> A little later we find the same thing: "Fast from contradiction, abstain from opposition."<sup>128</sup> There is an example of antithesis (*contentio*) when he says: "... that we should cling to the truth and hold back from falsehood. We cannot lay hold on what has been promised, unless we have guarded what was ordered."<sup>129</sup> We find a nice example of reciprocal change (*commutatio* or ἀντιμεταβολή),<sup>130</sup> another figure of speech, in Leo's statement: "Do what I love, love what I do."<sup>131</sup> What is to be noted in particular, from all these stylistic observations, is that the frequent use of the imperative informs us of Leo's deliberative purpose.

With regard to the Aristotelian division of the means of persuasion into *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*, it has to be admitted that, in these two examples at least, Leo devoted nearly all of his energy to *logos*, the rationality of his argument. He does not refer to his *ethos* as a speaker, except implicitly in *Sermo* 84, where he placed himself among the few who had participated in the commemoration of the deliverance of Rome and who was able to resist the allure of circus entertainment. In terms of fasting and almsgiving he does not refer to himself in any way as one who fasts or gives alms, either personally or as Roman bishop. He did not persuade the Roman Church through his own example. In terms of *pathos*, there is little in these two homilies that is rousing.

If we look at the tasks of the orator in terms of *docere*, *delectare*, and *mouere*, again we can see that Leo was concerned to instruct, and, through his particular balanced style, to delight his audience, but whether he succeeded in moving or persuading them (depending upon how we define that third task) principally through logical means alone is debatable. The benefit of almsgiving to the poor could have been demonstrated more effectively through their portrayal as real people in desperate need, but it was not, and the benefit to the donors could have been couched in graphic terms of what they stood to lose if they failed to help, but it was not. The need to thank God for the deliverance of Rome in 410 could have been put more persuasively perhaps if Leo painted a vivid picture of the suffering Rome had endured when Alaric entered, but it was not. One is left with the impression of a preacher urging his congregation to action through

127 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 1, ed. Chavasse, p. 577: *Quod enim dudum et traditio decreuit et consuetudo firmauit, nec eruditio ignorat, nec pietas praetermittit.*

128 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 2, ed. Chavasse, p. 579: *Ieiunate ab aduersis, abstinete a contrariis.*

129 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 3, ed. Chavasse, p. 579: *... ut inhaereamus ueris et contineamus a uanis. Non enim adprehendi potest quod promittitur nisi custoditum fuerit quod iubetur.*

130 Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 3, 85, trans. Butler, p. 496.

131 Leo I, *Sermo* 94, 2, ed. Chavasse, p. 579: *Facite quod amo, amate quod facio.*

cold logic and a rather detached presence. His intellectualism may make good theological reading but perhaps poor stimulation.

## 7 Rhetorical Practice of Christian Preaching – Caesarius of Arles

Caesarius, bishop of Arles for most of the first half of the 6th century, saw himself as a disciple of Augustine of Hippo via his teacher, Julianus Pomerius.<sup>132</sup> His monastic outlook is very much in evidence in the more than 250 homilies that survive. Quite a few of his homilies were lifted directly from other sources, like Augustine, to which Caesarius attached an introduction or conclusion. Those who knew him well described him as skilled in speaking, able to employ analogies, and familiar with sacred writings both new and old, such that he could employ any number of examples from them.<sup>133</sup> In their opinion his preaching was deliberative, designed to reform the lives of Christians in his church.

Discussing the impermanence of the present and proving the eternity of happiness, he motivated some with sweet speech and terrified others with sharper language. Some he corrected with threats, others with encouragement. Some he restrained from vices through love, others through threat of punishment. He warned some in a general sense through proverbs, and reproached others more harshly by calling on God as a witness. So that they would follow his warnings, he tearfully threatened them with eternal punishment. He preached in accordance with what he knew of each man's virtues, character, or vices, so that he might incite the good to glory and call back the wicked from punishment. Like a good physician he provided different remedies for different ailments; he did not offer what would please the patient, but rather what would cure him. He did not consider the wishes of the sick, but fittingly desired to heal the infirm.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 75-82.

<sup>133</sup> Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii* 1, 16, ed. Morin, p. 302.

<sup>134</sup> Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii* 1, 17, ed. Morin, pp. 302-03: *Mox uero armis sanctae praedictionis arreptis, de umbra praesentium disputans, de perennitate beatitudinis persuadens, alios dulci inuitauit alloquio, alios acriore deterruit, alios minando, alios blandiendo cor-rexit, alios per caritatem, alios per distractionem reuocauit a uitiiis, alios quasi in prouerbiis generaliter monens, alios asperius et sub contestatione diuina increpans, ut monita sequerentur, aeterna cum lacrimis supplicia minabatur, prout singulorum nouerat aut uirtutes aut mores aut uitia, ita praedicationem proferebat, ut et bonos incitaret ad gloriam, et malos reuocaret a poena. Sicut bonus medicus diuersis uulneribus diuersa medicamina*

In terms of the three proofs of Aristotle, we see *Vita Caesarii* highlighting the *logos* of his argument and the *pathos* he tried to stir in his audience to reform their lives. Further, this work frequently turned to Caesarius' *ethos* as embodying the virtues about which he preached, even though it does not connect that with what he preached. In terms of the three tasks of an orator, we can see that those who knew Caesarius saw him as engaged in instruction, delectation, and stirring the emotions, just as Augustine had urged in *De doctrina christiana*, based upon his reading of the rhetorical theorists. In this section we shall illustrate the accuracy of their assessment of Caesarius' preaching with reference to one of his homilies as a test case.

Let us consider *Sermo* 78, which once was associated with Augustine, but which Morin argued is completely Caesarius' alone. It is one of those concerned with admonishing the congregation with how to behave in church. It opens with a *narratio* relating how a few days previously (*ante aliquot dies*) Caesarius had given advice (*consilium*) – an indication of a deliberative theme – to those whose feet hurt (*qui aut pedes dolent*) that they could sit silently while the Scripture was being read.<sup>135</sup> From there he described the current problem (*nunc*): many of the younger women (*filiae*), even if there is nothing wrong with them, want to lie down as soon as the readings begin as though in bed (*quasi in lectulis suis ita iacere uolunt*). What is worse, they gossip (*otiosis fabulis occuparent*) such that neither they nor others can hear what is being read.<sup>136</sup>

From there Caesarius urged a change in practice. He begged (*rogo*) and warned (*commoneo*) them with what he called fatherly care not to lie down on the ground unless they are seriously unwell and even then not to lie down but to sit and listen attentively to what is being read.<sup>137</sup> This amounts to a *propositio*.

What follows for the rest of the homily is *confirmatio*, addressed more widely to the whole assembly (*fratres uel sorores*). Just as the body of Christ received in the Eucharist is received with utmost care, so too the word of God, which is of no less importance, should be received with the same care.<sup>138</sup> Just as, young women would stand and be eager to receive jewellery, they ought to do so for the word of God.<sup>139</sup> Caesarius is offended that he, who has spiritual

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*prouidebat, offerens non quod unumquemque delectaret, sed potius quod curaret; non inspiciens uoluntatem aegrotis sed sanitatem desiderans competenter infirmis.*

135 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 1, ed. Morin, p. 323. For Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, see also the chapter by Nicolas De Maeyer and Gert Partoens, pp. 204 and 209.

136 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 1, ed. Morin, p. 323.

137 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 1, ed. Morin, p. 323.

138 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 2, ed. Morin, pp. 323–24.

139 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 3, ed. Morin, p. 324.



riches to offer, is being ignored.<sup>140</sup> To listen attentively is to be adorned, just as to give alms is to receive adornment. Arguments from expediency are coupled with those threatening harm if the advice is not adopted. Physical adornment leads to lust, while without spiritual adornment the souls of the dead will be refused entry into heaven for that is the required wedding garment of the gospel parable (Matth. 22:1-14). Then, surprising perhaps for a champion of Augustine's anti-Pelagianism, we find the preacher saying that because of the adornment of good works, people will be welcomed into heaven.<sup>141</sup>

Caesarius turned back to exhorting his target audience. Just as a mother seeks to dress her daughter in finery, so he urged the young women to allow him to dress them in spiritual finery.<sup>142</sup> In appealing to them and stirring their resolve Caesarius used synonymy,<sup>143</sup> followed by a series of questions. The sermon ends with a *peroratio*, appealing to the young women's desires for lasting personal reward to submit and to pass on his admonitions to those who were not in attendance.<sup>144</sup>

## 8 Conclusion

Bishops well-schooled in the Roman educational system knew the precepts of classical rhetoric on how to speak persuasively, which we see in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. To a greater or lesser extent they employed that in their preaching. While the two homilies of Maximus of Turin relating to the anniversary of the martyrdom of Cyprian of Carthage show very few rhetorical features, that of Quoduultdeus on the occasion of the handing over of the creed is replete with rhetorical skill that creates a pleasing effect. Leo I's homily on the anniversary of the departure of the Goths after the sack of Rome has epideictic elements to it in that the Roman bishop sought to move his congregation to praise God for the city's deliverance, while the homily we have examined for the September fast is very deliberative, urging people to both fasting and almsgiving. In both we find Leo's love of balanced phrases, which is

140 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 3, ed. Morin, p. 324: *Sed non est iustum, ut spiritalia ministrantes superflui iudicemur.*

141 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 3, ed. Morin, p. 324: *... sed magis pro ornamentis bonorum operum illa uox ad eum desiderabilis dirigatur: euge serue bone et fidelis, intra in gaudium domini tui.*

142 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 4, ed. Morin, p. 324.

143 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 4, ed. Morin, p. 325: *... studeo dissuta consuere, conscissa sarcire, uulnerata curare, abluere sordida, reparare perditam, et ea quae sunt integra spiritalibus margaritis ornare.*

144 Caesarius, *Sermo* 78, 5, ed. Morin, p. 325.



his most characteristic rhetorical style. In Caesarius of Arles we find a preacher relentless in trying to reform the lives of his community through exhortation and threats.

While it is dangerous to draw too many conclusions about the individual preachers on the basis of such a limited number of examples, what we have considered here is sufficient to demonstrate the importance of classical rhetoric for the preacher himself and for us today in understanding the mindset of the preacher who stood before his congregation and sought to achieve something.

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# Impact, Influence, and Identity in Latin Preaching. The Cases of Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna

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## 1 Introduction

In this chapter I will be focusing on the preaching careers of two North Italian bishops, Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna and drawing comparisons with other Latin homilists in Late Antiquity. First I situate Maximus and Peter in their contexts and try to determine their identities as preachers and the identity of their audiences. A consideration of the preacher-audience relationship follows, before some of the preaching strategies of the two bishops are assessed. Then we look at the influence and impact of their preaching, and their efforts to build community and form Christian identity in their congregations.

## 2 Identities of Preacher and Audience

Biographical details for Maximus, the first bishop of Turin, who was not a native of the area,<sup>1</sup> are sparse: we can calculate that he was the first bishop of that city and died between 408 and 423.<sup>2</sup> Before his diocese was created, Turin was dependent on the see of Vercelli, and consequently the Christian community had only been recently constituted and the area was not thoroughly evangelized. Over 100 sermons of Maximus have survived, from the contents of which it is clear that paganism and semi-paganism were rife in the largely agricultural area around Turin at the time. Among the congregation were Christian land-owners who had problems with the practices of their pagan tenants.<sup>3</sup> In Boniface Ramsey's words, this was "a rural church, at once superstitious and

1 Maximus of Turin, s. 33, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 128.

2 See further Merkt, *Maximus 1.*, pp. 1-8.

3 See Merkt, *Maximus 1.*, pp. 69-144, on the progress of evangelisation in Turin and Piedmont in general.



devout, which must have loved its bishop while it often frustrated him.”<sup>4</sup> Maximus is acquainted with and freely uses Ambrose’s sermons,<sup>5</sup> but in contrast to the rich Milanese congregation depicted by Ambrose, the congregation in Turin appears to have lived in more modest circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

We turn now to Ravenna where in ca. 425 Peter was appointed bishop of a city which, from the early-5th century, was the political capital of the western empire, as well as an important port, allowing the assumption that the congregation was mixed, partly transient, and considerably more up-market than that of Turin. Peter was born at Imola (Emilia Romagna)<sup>7</sup> and probably also died there in ca. 450. Like Maximus he was thus not a native of his diocese. The epithet “Chrysologus” is first found in the *Life* written by the 9th-century abbot of Ravenna, Agnellus.<sup>8</sup> We have ca. 180 sermons from Peter, which are important testimonies to the liturgical life of Ravenna in the mid-5th century.<sup>9</sup> Empress Galla Placidia was a generous patron of the city and worked towards achieving metropolitan status for Ravenna before 431. Peter preached in front of her and because of the new status of Ravenna was suitably deferential to her and the church of Rome. Possibly Peter’s first sermon as bishop, in which the empress is described as “the mother of the Christian, eternal and faithful Empire,”<sup>10</sup> was delivered in the presence of Galla Placidia and the court. Peter appointed the first suffragans to the new metropolitan jurisdiction of Ravenna.<sup>11</sup> It was not unusual for him not to preach for an extended period, as revealed, for example, in a sermon where he attributes his silence to the heat of the season.<sup>12</sup> As for the identity of Peter’s audience, apart from laity and the occasional

4 Ramsey, *The Sermons of Saint Maximus of Turin*, p. 11.

5 See the list in Mutzenbecher’s edition, p. 443. For the authenticity and transmission of Peter’s homilies see Olivar, *Los sermones de san Pedro Crisólogo*, with previous literature on Peter as homilist.

6 Devoti, “Massimo di Torino e il suo pubblico”, p. 164. On Ambrose’s audiences see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 238–39; Graumann, “St Ambrose on the Art of Preaching”, pp. 587–600. Notwithstanding the status of Milan, both these scholars of Ambrose believe that the Milanese audiences contained ordinary, rather than well-educated, people.

7 Peter Chrysologus, s. 165, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 1017.

8 Deliyannis, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 24–27, pp. 170–75.

9 On which see in detail Sottocornola, *L’anno liturgico nei sermoni di Pietro Crisologo*, passim.

10 *Mater christiani perennis et fidelis imperii*. Peter Chrysologus, s. 130, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 798, line 35; trans. Palardy, vol. 3, p. 197. Cf. s. 85B, 3.

11 Peter Chrysologus, s. 130A, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 801–02; s. 165, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1017–18; s. 175, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1065–67.

12 Peter Chrysologus, s. 51, 1, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 284, line 3–5. On Peter’s down-times from preaching duties see Zangara, “I silenzi”, pp. 226–68.



imperial family member, there were catechumens,<sup>13</sup> both recently born (neophytes) and those born earlier,<sup>14</sup> other preachers/bishops, for example the suffragans of Ravenna,<sup>15</sup> and a visiting bishop of Aquileia.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike Augustine, Leo, or Gregory I, neither of these preachers was overly theological. Both rather tended to speak to their congregations in straightforward language with illustrations from everyday life, and preferred short sermons. Both also preached against a backdrop of influxes of foreign peoples and concomitant problems.<sup>17</sup>

### 3 Preacher-Audience Relationship<sup>18</sup>

First let us raise some methodological considerations in looking at the relationship between preacher and audience. In some cases it is difficult to determine this relationship, particularly when we are unsure whether a sermon was delivered live before a congregation or was a “desk homily,”<sup>19</sup> that is to say a piece composed in sermonic form and intended to be read rather than heard, or else to complement an incomplete series of sermons or commentaries. Since all preachers were exegetes in one way or another, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether exegetical works in sermonic form – for example those of Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome – were actually preached or not. Several of Jerome’s homilies on the Psalms seem to be desk homilies: they are erudite and use many Greek and Hebrew words, although there is the pretence of speaking

13 Peter Chrysologus, s. 61-70, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 341-55 and vol. 2, pp. 373-423.

14 Peter Chrysologus, s. 73, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 448-49.

15 Peter Chrysologus, s. 130A, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 801-02; s. 165, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1017-18; s. 175, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1065-67.

16 Peter Chrysologus, s. 130, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 797-99.

17 For Maximus see Merkt, *Maximus I.*, pp. 39-68; for Peter see Spinelli, “L’eco delle invasioni barbariche”, pp. 87-93.

18 A representative sample of studies devoted to the preacher-audience interaction (East and West) in the past few decades is: Devoti, “Massimo di Torino e il suo pubblico”; MacMullen, “The Preacher’s Audience”; Olivar, *La predicación*; Rebillard, “Interaction between the Preacher and the Audience”; Finn, “Quodvultdeus: Preacher and Audience”; Allen, “The Homilist and the Congregation”; Allen, “John Chrysostom’s Homilies on I and II Thessalonians”; Mayer, “John Chrysostom and His Audiences”; Cunningham/Allen, *Preacher and Audience*; Rousseau, “The Preacher’s Audience”; Müller, “Preacher: Augustine and His Congregation”.

19 For some pointers on distinguishing the two types of sermons, based on the preaching of Origen, see Junod, “Wodurch unterscheiden sich die Homilien des Origenes von seinen Kommentaren?”

to an audience because there are apostrophes of the congregation and of heretics, imaginary interlocutors, and so on.<sup>20</sup> This reminds us that it is easy enough to insert phrases or sentences to simulate real delivery and incidentally to confound later readers: what should we make, for example, of the question allegedly posed by Quoduultdeus of Carthage (437-54 AD) to his congregation: "At this point, being exhausted, what am I to say to exhausted people?"<sup>21</sup> In order to produce a complete commentary Augustine complemented his 119 sermons on the Psalms with another 86 that he dictated to a scribe in sermon form.<sup>22</sup> All these variables can complicate the task of determining the relationship between the preacher and an audience that is real, imagined, or hoped for.

Fortunately with Maximus and Peter we are on surer grounds with regard to their relationships with their congregations in that we have no clear indications that their sermons were not delivered live. One of the most noteworthy characteristics of both bishops is their refusal or reluctance to elucidate Scripture because of the negligence, misbehaviour, or lack of progress of the congregation, a stance which reinforces the impression of a live audience. For example, in a forthright vein Maximus relates how on the previous Sunday, instead of a sermon (*praedicatio*), he gave his congregation a severe dressing down (*increpatio*). Now he tells his audience that on account of their transgressions he is not going to explain the Gospel to them.<sup>23</sup> After one occasion on which Peter could not or would not preach, he praises his congregation in the following affective words for welcoming him back so emotionally.<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere it is clear that he has been unable to preach for some time because of the rigour of the fast; at the end he says that he has to curtail the sermon because of his fatigue.<sup>25</sup> On another occasion both the preacher and the audience have slumped because of the fast, and Peter has not preached to them.<sup>26</sup> At Easter

20 These examples are all taken from Jerome's *Tractatus in Psalmos*, ed. Morin. See *Tract. in psalm.* 82 (83), 12, p. 94, line 118-24 (apostrophe of congregation); *Tract. in psalm.* 83 (84), 12, pp. 107-08, line 167-68 (apostrophe of Manichee); *Tract. in psalm.* 88 (89), 2, p. 120, line 42-43 (imaginary interlocutor).

21 Quoduultdeus, *Adversus quinque haereses* 2, 8, 3, ed. Braun, p. 301, line 8-9: *quid adhuc dicam, fatigatus fatigatis?*; Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 397, thinks this was a real sermon; I am not so sure.

22 Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 933. See in more detail Müller/Fiedrowicz, "Enarrationes in Psalmos", col. 804-58.

23 Maximus of Turin, s. 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 10-12.

24 Peter Chrysologus, s. 86, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 535, line 92-95.

25 Peter Chrysologus, s. 75, 8, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 463, line 91-93.

26 Peter Chrysologus, s. 77, 1, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 469. Cf. Zangara, "I silenzi", pp. 228-29.

the preacher confesses that his preoccupation with the vigils has taken him away from preaching for a while,<sup>27</sup> and from s. 40, 1 we gather that during Lent he abandoned his normal preaching routine in order to instruct the catechumens. A more benign reason for not preaching is the bishop's absence, as when Maximus was called away by another church,<sup>28</sup> or when he had been away for several days at an episcopal meeting.<sup>29</sup> During another of his absences the audience, which contained some clerics, stopped going to church,<sup>30</sup> for which Maximus subsequently berated them as false friends; however, in the following sermon the preacher admits that his comments on the previous Sunday had been somewhat unpleasant.<sup>31</sup> Elsewhere, however, Maximus makes it clear that he recognizes the bishop's duty to preach,<sup>32</sup> a legal point belaboured by many preachers.

The report card for audience progress or lack of it is a frequent theme in both Maximus and Peter. When the former believes that they have made progress he proceeds to discuss Scripture with them in order to see how readily they seize upon what he says.<sup>33</sup> The lack of progress in the face of his many warnings leads him to bemoan the fact that the more he works among them the more frustrated he becomes,<sup>34</sup> and he asks why he should continue to preach to people from whom he receives practically nothing in return.<sup>35</sup> For his part the frustrated Peter says he could hardly believe it possible for his audience to change from their back-sliding if he did not know of the conversion of the apostle Paul against all the odds.<sup>36</sup>

There are various instances of preacher-audience interaction in Maximus' preaching.<sup>37</sup> Sometimes the interaction could be too close, if, for example at

27 Peter Chrysologus, s. 74, 1, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 451, line 3-4. Cf. also s. 75, 1 and 8, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 458, line 3-5, and p. 463, line 91-93.

28 Maximus of Turin, s. 19, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 71.

29 Maximus of Turin, s. 89, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 364.

30 Maximus of Turin, s. 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 327.

31 Maximus of Turin, s. 80, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 329.

32 Maximus of Turin, s. 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 327; s. 92, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher p. 371.

33 Maximus of Turin, s. 33, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 128, line 23-25. Cf. s. 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 327; s. 108, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 423.

34 Maximus of Turin, s. 30, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 117, line 3-4.

35 Maximus of Turin, s. 91, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 369, line 14-15.

36 Peter Chrysologus, s. 61, 1, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 341, line 3-5. As far as Maximus is concerned, Merkt, *Maximus I.*, p. 67, notes that for this bishop the well-being of the whole *ciuitas* of Turin was endangered not only by the non-Christians but also by Christians who did not behave in a Christian manner.

37 E.g. Maximus of Turin, s. 42, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 169; s. 91, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 369; s. 92, 1-2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 371-72.

the kiss of peace during Lent Maximus could smell food (and presumably drink) on the breath of one of his congregation.<sup>38</sup> With regard to the location of the preacher vis-à-vis the congregation, Peter himself tells us that sometimes he preached from the altar steps, at other times from his episcopal chair, depending on the season – we are not told whether it was the liturgical season (perhaps more intimately from the steps when addressing the neophytes) or the month of the year.<sup>39</sup> Other bishops like Augustine also preached standing.<sup>40</sup>

While there is no concrete evidence of either Maximus or Peter preaching at different churches in their cities, presumably there were different martyrial shrines, particularly if, for example, the relics of Apollinaris were housed in Ravenna;<sup>41</sup> Maximus preached in different places.<sup>42</sup> Martyrs' festivals may also have had a processional or stational element,<sup>43</sup> but unlike in other late-antique Christian centres we have no clear evidence for this in Turin or Ravenna at the time.

With these two preachers, as with many others in East and West, we do have evidence, however, of preacher-audience interaction outside the liturgical context. From his homily against the pagan antics of his congregation during a lunar eclipse it appears that Maximus enquired one evening about the shouting in the street and was told that some of his congregation were assisting the celestial phenomenon with their cries.<sup>44</sup> He also "hears" that some of the congregation fast only in every second week during Lent.<sup>45</sup> Whether the objections occurred in the course of the liturgical celebration or outside the church, it seems that Peter encountered resistance to the liturgical observance of the one-year baptismal anniversary and with the celebration of the feast of mid-Pentecost.<sup>46</sup> He uses special pleading with his audience to justify the (relatively new) feast of Epiphany, which may indicate opposition that was expressed

38 Maximus of Turin, s. 50, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 197-98.

39 Peter Chrysologus, s. 173, 2, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 1054-55, line 20-21.

40 See Müller, "Preacher: Augustine and His Congregation", pp. 297-309.

41 Petrus Chrysologus, s. 128, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 789-91.

42 Maximus of Turin, s. 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 327; possibly also s. 89, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 364.

43 On which see Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, esp. pp. 104-66 on Roman stational liturgy.

44 Maximus of Turin, s. 30, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 117-19.

45 Maximus of Turin, s. 50, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 197-98.

46 Peter Chrysologus, respectively s. 73, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 447-50; s. 85, 1, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 524 and s. 85A, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 527. On the origins and spread of this feast see Drobner, "Die Festpredigten der *Mesopentecoste*"; Drobner, "Wurzeln und Verbreitung".

outside the liturgical context.<sup>47</sup> This interaction between preacher and audience *ad extra* may have been more common than the surviving evidence suggests, for the biographer of Caesarius of Arles relates that before preaching the bishop greeted the faithful, said a prayer, then enquired about the physical and moral health of their compatriots and families.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4 Preaching Strategies

We have already seen something of the flattering, chiding, encouraging, and withdrawal of services used by both Maximus and Peter in their relationships with their congregations. The “less is better” strategy employed by both of them in their preaching produced some interesting results, particularly in the case of Peter, whose manifesto regarding the level of language to be used in a sermon concords with the practice of Maximus:

We should speak to the populace in popular fashion. The parish ought to be addressed by ordinary speech. Matters necessary to all people should be spoken about as people in general speak. Natural language is dear to simple souls and sweet to the learned. A teacher should speak words which will profit all. Therefore, today let the learned grant pardon for commonplace language.<sup>49</sup>

If we take this at face value, the apparently across-the-board, one-size-fits-all language is quite different from the various levels of language advocated by Augustine and Caesarius of Arles and from the well-developed, differentiated, psychological approach to various audiences that we encounter in Gregory I, where a great variety of preaching styles is enjoined.<sup>50</sup>

Ostensibly Peter was constantly afraid of tiring his listeners (and maybe himself) by speaking too long. He therefore tended to break up his treatment of the scriptural passage or theme into several sermons, thus, for example, explaining that he preferred to cut his sermon in half in order not to trespass

<sup>47</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 157, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 976–79.

<sup>48</sup> Caesarius of Arles, *Life*, ed. Morin, p. 168, line 1–4.

<sup>49</sup> *Populis populariter est loquendum; communio compellanda est sermone communi; omnibus necessaria dicenda sunt more omnium. Naturalis lingua cara simplicibus, doctis, dulcis; docens loquatur omnibus profutura. Ergo hodie imperito uerbo ueniam dent periti.* Peter Chrysologus, s. 43, 1; ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 242, line 3–7; trans. Ganss, p. 90 (adapted).

<sup>50</sup> Gregory the Great, *Pastoral care* 3; ed. trans. Judic et al., pp. 258–533.

on the congregation's patience.<sup>51</sup> As a consequence of this strategy, quite often at the end of the sermon the audience is told that the preacher owes them the rest of the sermon, which will be forthcoming in due course. Peter habitually draws sermons to a close by saying that the matters to be explained are weighty and deserve to be left over for the next occasion,<sup>52</sup> a tactic which results again in many comments from the preacher to the audience about the desirable length of a sermon, and in a great deal of debt terminology.<sup>53</sup>

Imagery as a tool of the preacher abounds in Maximus.<sup>54</sup> Here, as Ramsey observes, Maximus borrows from the stock-in-trade images of the Latin homiletic genre, particularly from Ambrose;<sup>55</sup> we could also remark that occasionally he produces his own images, some of which are strikingly complex, of which I confine myself to just one, contained in a homily celebrating the anniversary of the martyr Cyprian.

The salvation of martyrdom, then, is a kind of wine that rejoices the heart, warms the faith, and purifies the soul; this is clearly the spiritual wine from that grape which hung upon the tree for the salvation of all. For as a cluster of grapes that will produce wine first hangs on the vine by the design of nature, so likewise Christ, when He is about to produce the spiritual wine of martyrdom, is fitted to the cross by divine providence.<sup>56</sup>

However, in both Maximus and Peter the imaginary dialogues and fanciful exegesis that we encounter so frequently as preaching strategies in their Greek counterparts<sup>57</sup> are quite limited. In Peter we find a dialogue between angels and the powers of the underworld during the resurrection, although this was

<sup>51</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 36, 1; ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 206, line 3-8.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Peter Chrysologus, s. 72B, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 440-44; s. 122, 8, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 737.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Peter Chrysologus, s. 122, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 732-37.

<sup>54</sup> Conroy, *Imagery in the Sermones of Maximus*, esp. pp. 215-27.

<sup>55</sup> Ramsey, *The Sermons of Saint Maximus of Turin*, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> *Vinum ergo quoddam salutare martyrii est, quod cordi laetitiam praestat calorem fidei animae puritatem; uinum plane est spiritale de illa uua quae pro salute omnium pependit in ligno. Sicut enim botrus redditurus uinum prius in uinea quadam naturae arte suspenditur, ita et Christus editurus uinum spiritale martyrii in cruce quadam prouidentia diuinitatis aptatur.* Maximus of Turin, s. 10, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 35, line 20-26; trans. Ramsey, p. 29.

<sup>57</sup> Some egregious examples are John Chrysostom, Proclus of Constantinople, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Severus of Antioch, and Leontius of Constantinople – not to mention the pseudonymous sermons.

one of the most common *topoi* in preaching and in apocryphal gospels,<sup>58</sup> and in another sermon a dialogue between Despair, Unbelief, and Corruption, whose mistress is Death (all are personified as feminine).<sup>59</sup> There is one (perhaps exaggeratedly) striking piece of fanciful exegesis in Chrysologus on the Annunciation: “a heavenly shower rained down on the fleece of the Virgin, falling ever so gently, and the whole wave of divinity hid itself in the absorbent fleece of our flesh, until that fleece would be squeezed on the yoke of the cross and pour out upon all the earth the rain of salvation....”<sup>60</sup>

Predictably, as in other sermons from East and West, the devil/Satan plays a role in the preaching of both homilists, particularly in Peter, where he is personified in order to warn the congregation away from various evils.<sup>61</sup> Once again, however, the personification of the devil is not as graphic as in eastern homilies.<sup>62</sup> Another strategy used for effect by Maximus and Peter is to impose a guilt-trip on the audience from time to time, for example when Peter declares he is unhappy attending dawn prayers and not seeing his “sons” there too.<sup>63</sup> A similar strategy is the eschatological argument, where the preacher advises his listeners to observe the Lord’s day if they wish to see the other Lord’s day, meaning the *parousia*,<sup>64</sup> and berates them for not rushing to meet the Lord, who is on his way.<sup>65</sup>

One of the most powerful strategies for preachers in both East and West was the theme of almsgiving.<sup>66</sup> In both Maximus and Peter we find the nexus between prayer, fasting, and almsgiving that is ubiquitous in Greek and Latin homiletic literature. For Maximus, who had an unusually stringent view of the Lenten fast,<sup>67</sup> almsgiving was like “water poured out upon the faint, as mois-

58 Peter Chrysologus, s. 65, 6, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 388-90; trans. Palardy, vol. 2, p. 264 (see also n. 13 ad loc.).

59 Peter Chrysologus, s. 118, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 714-18.

60 *Caelestis ergo imber uirgineum in uellus placido se fudit in lapsu, et tota diuinitatis unda bibulo se nostrae carnis celauit in uellere, donec patibulo crucis pressum terris omnibus pluuiam salutis effunderet....* Peter Chrysologus, s. 143, 5; ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 873, line 46-49; trans. Palardy, vol. 3, p. 238.

61 Peter Chrysologus, s. 2, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 21-25; s. 13, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 82-87; s. 27, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 154-59; s. 105, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 651-55. Cf. Maximus of Turin, s. 51, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 206-07.

62 A good example is Leontius of Constantinople; see the comments of Allen with Datema (trans.), *Leontius of Constantinople*, pp. 10-11.

63 Peter Chrysologus, s. 39, 5, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 223.

64 Peter Chrysologus, s. 105, 9, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 655, line 105-07.

65 Peter Chrysologus, s. 167, 4, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 1026, line 38-39.

66 See Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire*, passim.

67 See e.g. Maximus of Turin, s. 50A, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 202-03.



ture and refreshment to what is dried up",<sup>68</sup> and a cleansing of the soul (s. 22A, 4).<sup>69</sup> During the fasting period Maximus' congregation is urged to be at church at dawn and to seek out the martyrs' shrines, rather than to gather their slaves and dogs and go hunting for the day. In this same sermon the rigorist preacher surprises us by stating that the fast includes being gentle to slaves, amenable to those not of one's own household, and merciful to the poor.<sup>70</sup> But his severest comments are directed at those who, he has heard, fast for seven days then feast for the next seven.<sup>71</sup> Had Adam and Eve observed the fast in the Garden of Eden, he argues, humanity would not have been subject to sin.<sup>72</sup> In an intriguing passage on the topic of fasting Maximus warns against the posturing of monks and clerics:

And therefore almsgiving is good with fasting, so that it not be a kind of business whereby one may live sparingly or like that abstinence which monks and clerics flaunt: they do this for no other reason than for gain, whereas we do it for our salvation; they weaken their souls in order to make money, but we chastise our bodies for our souls' profit.<sup>73</sup>

It would be interesting to know whether the clergy and monks under fire were present in the congregation.

Among his 11 sermons on the fast<sup>74</sup> Peter Chrysologus has a particularly poignant message on almsgiving in a sermon where he insists that alms are especially needed because the hunger among the poor is of huge proportions (the famine of 439 or 449?), and that the large number of captives continues to expand (the result of Hunnic invasion in the late 440s?).<sup>75</sup> Also deliberately graphic is the depiction of a rich, selfish man who will be tormented in the

68 *Sicut aqua intermortuis sucus refrigerium arescentibus infundatur.* Maximus of Turin, s. 22, 1; ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 83, line 7-8; trans. Ramsey, pp. 53-54.

69 Maximus of Turin, s. 22A, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 89.

70 Maximus of Turin, s. 36, 2 and 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 141-43.

71 Maximus of Turin, s. 50, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 197-98.

72 Maximus of Turin, s. 50A, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 202-04.

73 *Atque ideo bona elemosina cum ieiunio, quasi non quoddam negotiationis genus est, ut tam parce uiuat, ut abstinencia sua monachos clericosque praecedat, nisi hoc interest, quod illi hoc quaestus causa faciunt nos salutis; illi pecuniae conpendio animas suas macerant, nos propter animarum lucrum nostra corpora castigamus.* Maximus of Turin, s. 36, 4; ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 143; trans. Ramsey, p. 89. Cf. Jerome, *ep.* 22, 34, 3, on false fasting of monks, ed. Hilberg, p. 197.

74 See further Spinelli, "Il ruolo sociale", pp. 143-56, p. 143 n. 2 with list of sermons on the fast.

75 Peter Chrysologus, s. 103, 7, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 644-45.



next life by the poor, hungry, strangers, and parents, whom he has refused to help.<sup>76</sup> Like Augustine and Leo, Peter describes the poor who receive alms as porters bearing the gifts of their benefactors to heaven,<sup>77</sup> but while Augustine stresses the nexus between fasting, prayer, and forgiveness,<sup>78</sup> Peter describes mercy and compassion as the wings of fasting, and he insists on this three-way relationship in order to build his community:

Brothers, when fasting is not fed on the food of compassion it gets hungry; when it is not given to drink from the cup of mercy it gets thirsty. Fasting gets cold and gives up when the coat of almsgiving does not cover it, when the clothing of kindness does not protect it.<sup>79</sup>

## 5 Impact and Influence

It was against preachers' interest to boast of their impact or influence: mostly they complain of having no effect. Like many other Greek and Latin homilists, Maximus and Peter tried to influence their congregations to avoid pagan practices, Jews, and heretics, while at the same time, where possible, trying to impact on these external groups.

Paganism is more pronounced in Maximus than in Peter, indicating the low level of evangelization that had been achieved in Turin.<sup>80</sup> In two sermons Maximus rails against his congregation's participation in pagan practices associated with a lunar eclipse and concomitant magical practices,<sup>81</sup> elsewhere he condemns pagan idols,<sup>82</sup> while during a sermon on Pentecost he observes that at Easter normally all the pagans are baptized.<sup>83</sup> The participation of his

<sup>76</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 104, 5, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 647-48.

<sup>77</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 7, 6, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 53-54.

<sup>78</sup> See in more detail P. Allen/E. Morgan, in Allen/Neil/Mayer, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity*, p. 131.

<sup>79</sup> *Misericordia et pietas ieiunii sunt alae, per quas tollitur et portatur ad caelum, sine quibus iacet et uolutatur in terra. Ieiunium sine misericordia simulacrum famis est, imago nulla est sanctitatis.* Peter Chrysologus, s. 8, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, p. 61, line 52-56; trans. Palardy, vol. 2, p. 44. See Spinelli, "Il ruolo sociale", pp. 149-50.

<sup>80</sup> See Merkt, *Maximus I.*, pp. 99-108.

<sup>81</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 30, 31, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 117-23.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Maximus of Turin, s. 42, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 169; s. 63, 1-2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 266-67; s. 92, 1-2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 371-72; s. 101, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 402; s. 107, 1-2, pp. 420-21; s. 108, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 423.

<sup>83</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 44, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 180, line 78.

congregation in the pagan celebrations of the Kalends (New Year)<sup>84</sup> and the lustrum<sup>85</sup> clearly worried him, perhaps because some of his congregation seem to be recent converts from paganism.<sup>86</sup> Another local problem was how Christian landlords dealt with the idol-worship of their pagan tenants,<sup>87</sup> and unlike the nebulous depiction of pagans (real or imagined) in other preachers such as Chromatius of Aquileia,<sup>88</sup> here we are given insights into pagan practices of the time.

For his part Chrysologus also warns his flock against taking part in the festival of the Kalends.<sup>89</sup> A series of sermons is addressed to people abandoning paganism for Christianity, in such numbers, if we are to believe the preacher, or because of late enrolment, that they have to be put into a fast-track catechetical programme.<sup>90</sup> Peter refers to a pagan convert to Christianity who every day sees other pagans becoming Christian once they have been exorcised;<sup>91</sup> perhaps there is some similarity here with the experience of Maximus' congregation. Peter's audience is urged actively to bring others to baptism: the master, his slave; the father, his son; the husband, his wife, and so on.<sup>92</sup>

We look now briefly at heretics, who are always presented by homilists as differentiated from the congregation, and indeed inimical to it. For Maximus the heretic is the fox,<sup>93</sup> and by implication the Arian.<sup>94</sup> The heresy to which Peter gives the greatest attention is also Arianism,<sup>95</sup> which is not surprising

84 Maximus of Turin, s. 63, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 266-67; s. 98, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 390-92. On Christian criticism of the Kalends, which included feasting and masquerades (seen by preachers as magical or demoniac), swearing of oaths, conferring on Janus the status of a divinity, soldiers parading as prostitutes, men cross-dressing, and so on, see Meslin, *La Fête des kalendes de janvier*, pp. 95-118.

85 Maximus of Turin, s. 105, 106, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 414-18.

86 Maximus of Turin, s. 73, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 306, line 47-48.

87 See Padovese, "La dottrina sociale", pp. 160-61; Merkt, *Maximus 1.*, pp. 102-03.

88 See further Sotinel, "L'évêque chrétien", pp. 169-71.

89 Peter Chrysologus, s. 155, 155A, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 961-69.

90 Peter Chrysologus, s. 56-62A, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 314-55.

91 Peter Chrysologus, s. 105, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 651-55.

92 Peter Chrysologus, s. 10, 5, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 70-71.

93 See e.g. Maximus of Turin, s. 41, 5, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 166-67. See Merkt, *Maximus 1.*, pp. 108-13, on heretics in Maximus.

94 Maximus of Turin, s. 26, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 101-03; s. 56, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 224-26; s. 58, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 232-34.

95 See Peter Chrysologus, s. 23, 2, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 135-36; s. 24, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 141-42; s. 60, 4, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 336-37; s. 84, 10, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 523; s. 88, 5, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 545-47; s. 144, 7, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 883-84 on Arians. On Arianism in Chrysolo-

given the extensive archaeological and art-historical evidence for the flourishing of Arianism in the city of Ravenna. In one sermon, Peter apostrophises a heretic who is clearly an Arian,<sup>96</sup> but in another place the heretic referred to could be either an Arian or perhaps a Nestorian.<sup>97</sup> The treatment of heretics in both Maximus and Peter is sparse in comparison with Augustine's polemics against Arians, Manichees, Donatists, and Pelagians, Leo I's against Manichees, or the litany of heretics and other outsiders that we find in a single sermon of Quoduultdeus of Carthage.<sup>98</sup>

With regard to Jews, Maximus is fond of emphasising the opposition of synagogue and church,<sup>99</sup> but he is also vitriolic with regard to Jews in general:

We ought to avoid, though, the companionship not only of the pagans but also of the Jews, with whom even a conversation is a great contamination. For with their artfulness they ingratiate themselves with people, get into homes, enter into the palaces of governors, and disturb the ears of judges and common folk, and the more shameless they are the more influential they are. And this is not something new as far as they are concerned: it is an inveterate and ancient evil.<sup>100</sup>

While these are deliberately adversarial remarks intended to bolster the identity and cohesion of Maximus' congregation, it is difficult to decide whether or not on the part of preacher and congregation these comments imply some

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gus' sermons see de Margerie, "L'Exégèse de Saint Pierre Chrysologue, théologien biblique", pp. 90-96.

96 Peter Chrysologus, s. 60, 4, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 336-37.

97 Peter Chrysologus, s. 142, 13, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 868.

98 Quoduultdeus of Carthage, *Adversus quinque haereses*, 1, 7-11, ed. Braun, pp. 261-62.

99 On the juxtaposition between church and synagogue see Padovese, "La dottrina sociale", 155; Merkt, *Maximus I.*, pp. 88-92. On the Jews in general in Maximus see Merkt, *Maximus I.*, pp. 88-99.

100 *Non solum autem gentilium sed et Iudaeorum consortia uitare debemus, quorum etiam confabulatio est magna pollutio. Hii etenim arte quadam insinuant se hominibus domos penetrant ingrediuntur praetoria aures iudicum et publicas inquietant, et ideo magis praeualent, quo magis sunt inpudentes. Hoc autem non recens in ipsis sed inueteratum et originarium malum est.* Maximus of Turin, s. 63, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 267, line 39-45; trans. Ramsey, p. 156. This passage does not seem to me to bear out Padovese's comments, "La dottrina sociale", p. 154, that such statements from Maximus reveal an anti-semitism that remains on a theological level.

knowledge of Jews,<sup>101</sup> who were not numerous in Turin at the time, unlike, for example, in Ambrose's Milan<sup>102</sup> and Chromatius' Aquileia.<sup>103</sup>

In Ravenna Jews were recent arrivals.<sup>104</sup> Like Maximus and other preachers, Peter is fond of juxtaposing synagogue and church, claiming that in turning away from the pagans the church has incurred the heavier burden of the synagogue,<sup>105</sup> that the synagogue joined forces with the pagan gods to reject Christ,<sup>106</sup> and that when Christ came he found no fruit of faith in the synagogue, which was immersed in deception bred from faithlessness.<sup>107</sup> In his rhetoric against Judaism, Peter shifts from fairly moderate comments<sup>108</sup> to the vitriolic,<sup>109</sup> and does not shy away from denouncing Pharisees as well.<sup>110</sup> The synagogue of heresy that he refers to may well have been Arianism.<sup>111</sup> Although he seems to feel he is going too far, Peter tells his congregation that envy "made the Jews into – if it is right to say it, if words can express it – slayers of God."<sup>112</sup> While not evincing any real knowledge of Jews, like Maximus Peter is much exercised by the (largely symbolic) role of the synagogue vis-à-vis the church, and his catechumens seem to be gentile, not Jewish.

More generally, on the topic of the influence and impact of sermons, and leaving aside the large number of sermons that have perished across the board, it is pertinent to ask about those bishops/preachers from whom we have no extant homilies. An early example is Cyprian,<sup>113</sup> but there are many others. For example, while Sidonius Apollinaris had a great reputation as a homilist, we do not have a single surviving sermon of his,<sup>114</sup> and from Paulinus of Nola we have

101 Ramsey, *The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin*, p. 10, thinks that they do; Merkt, *Maximus I.*, p. 94, thinks they do not.

102 On Ambrose's rather cardboard portrayal of local Jews, see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, p. 304 with n. 44.

103 See Merkt, *Maximus I.*, p. 97. On Chromatius and Jews see L. Cracco Ruggini, "Il vescovo Cromazio e gli Ebrei di Aquileia", passim; Sotinel, "L'évêque chrétien", pp. 164-69.

104 See Cracco Ruggini, "Ebrei e orientali", pp. 227-29.

105 Peter Chrysologus, s. 105, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 651-55.

106 Peter Chrysologus, s. 169, 5, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1037-38.

107 Peter Chrysologus, s. 106, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 657-63.

108 Peter Chrysologus, s. 97, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 597-601.

109 Peter Chrysologus, s. 31, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 178-81.

110 Peter Chrysologus, s. 99A, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 613-16.

111 Peter Chrysologus, s. 164, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1010-15.

112 *Iudaeos – haec si dici fas est, si capit sermo – fecit esse deicidas*. Peter Chrysologus, s. 172, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 1051, line 33-34; trans. Palardy, vol. 3, p. 321.

113 See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 267-71.

114 See Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 455.

only a single contested piece.<sup>115</sup> Even from the bishops of Rome, a well-established church whose archiving was superior to most, we sometimes have gaps, as in the case of Gelasius (492-96 AD), from whom not one sermon is extant.

The impact and influence of preachers were not restricted to their own congregations. Near-contemporary or later preachers had recourse to sermons of others, for example, Maximus of Turin to Ambrose, and Quoduultdeus and Caesarius of Arles to Augustine. The influence of the pseudonymous sermons of Chrysostom and Augustine extended far beyond the times of the homilists under whose name the works were transmitted. In a time when copyright was unknown, it was not unusual or shameful for a preacher to use the sermons of another, as Augustine explains,<sup>116</sup> and in fact Caesarius of Arles urges his clergy, including deacons, to do so, advising them to read out the sermons of others if they could not write one themselves.<sup>117</sup> For maximum impact Caesarius had his *admonitiones* copied and sent to parishes, with the recommendation that they be read out on important feast-days.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, impact could also be false, as when the homily of another preacher was subsumed under the name of a more famous orator: for example, s. 1 of Valerian of Cimiez was published among Augustine's authentic works before it was rightfully restored to him.<sup>119</sup>

The contemporary impact which both Maximus and Peter had on their congregations lay probably in their struggles against paganism and semi-paganism and in their efforts to build community and form identity. The consecration of new suffragan bishops during Peter's episcopate<sup>120</sup> may be seen as an expansion of the influence of Ravenna and a tribute to his role as bishop in a new and important diocese. The posthumous impact and indeed popularity of Maximus can be ascertained from the ca. 250 spurious homilies preserved under his name, while Peter's influence as a preacher can be seen from his posthumous soubriquet "Chrysologus" and the dozen inauthentic homilies attributed to him in the manuscript tradition.

<sup>115</sup> See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 324-25.

<sup>116</sup> Augustine, *The Christian Doctrine* 4, 29, ed. Naldini/Alici/Quacquarelli/Grech, trans. Tarulli, pp. 278-79.

<sup>117</sup> Caesarius of Arles, s. 1, 15, ed. Morin, vol. 1, pp. 254-58. See also Caesarius of Arles, *Life* 54, ed. Morin, pp. 223-24.

<sup>118</sup> Caesarius of Arles, s. 2, *praef.*, ed. Morin, vol. 1, p. 280.

<sup>119</sup> Augustine, *On the Good Works*, ed. Migne, vol. 40, col. 1219-22. See *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 687B, where it is argued that as early as Erasmus the correct attribution was made.

<sup>120</sup> See Peter Chrysologus, s. 130A, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 801-02; s. 165, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1017-18; s. 175, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1065-67.

## 6 Identity-formation and Community-building

Neither the diocese of Turin nor that of Ravenna was well established, as has been said, nor were the congregations homogeneous. Therefore, unlike the case of many other preachers, there was plenty of room for both bishops to insist on community-building and identity-formation, as well as reinforcing their own identity as pastors. Since both Maximus and Peter were outsider bishops in new bishoprics, community and identity were of paramount importance, both between bishops and congregations and within the congregations themselves.

Each community to whom our preachers delivered their homilies had insiders and outsiders, and one of the ways our two preachers, like those in the "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection, dealt with this was to draw boundaries, excluding some members and forcing more uniform behaviour on others.<sup>121</sup>

The presence or threat of barbarians was a unifying theme for both bishops, particularly for Maximus, who reminds his congregation that fasting, not retreating, is the best remedy against barbarians,<sup>122</sup> and in his four sermons dealing with barbarian invasions stresses the communal responsibility of the congregation in the face of the external threat.<sup>123</sup> For his part Peter refers to barbarians and to their captives.<sup>124</sup> This reminds us of how, in the face of Vandal invasion in Carthage and its vicinity, Quoduultdeus tried to prepare and unite his congregations for the dangers ahead by stressing morality and orthodoxy.<sup>125</sup> None of these bishops, however, appears as hard pressed as Valerian of Cimiez (d. ca. 460), for whose Gallic congregations captives and their ransom seem to have been part of everyday life.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>121</sup> See Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, p. 40.

<sup>122</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 99, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 394-96.

<sup>123</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 81-85, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 331-50. On this bracket of sermons see Chaffin, "Civic Values in Maximus of Turin", p. 1044. On barbarians in Maximus see further Maximus of Turin, s. 18, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 68-69; s. 83, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 339-41; s. 86, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 353 (where they are said to be allied with heretics).

<sup>124</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 47, 3-4, ed. Olivar, vol. 1, pp. 261-62; s. 103, 7, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 644-45. Cf. Spinelli, "L'eco delle invasioni barbariche", pp. 87-93, who finds allusions to barbarians in s. 6, 11, 20, 21, 43, 45.

<sup>125</sup> Quoduultdeus, *Homilies on the Barbaric Times I and II*, ed. Braun, pp. 423-37, 473-86. Cf. Eno, "Christian Reaction to the Barbarian Invasions", pp. 139-61.

<sup>126</sup> On ransoming see Valerian, s. 7, ed. Migne, vol. 52, col. 716CD; s. 9, ed. Migne, vol. 52, col. 721 D, 722 C (where ransoming is equated with almsgiving). On the bishop Valerian see Weiss, "La personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez", pp. 141-62; Weiss, "Valérien de Cimiez et Valère de Nice", pp. 109-46; Mathisen, "Petronius, Hilarius and Valerianus", pp. 106-12; Tibiletti, "Valeriano di Cimiez e la teologia dei Maestri Provenzali", pp. 513-32.

For Maximus and Peter, as for other Latin and Greek homilists in Late Antiquity, the community-building exercise had as its goal the unification of all the audience with the preacher by appealing to common goals, which, according to Lisa Bailey with reference to the “Eusebius Gallicanus” collection, are achieved by three main mechanisms:<sup>127</sup> 1. cult of the saints, 2. fusion of secular and religious models of leadership in the figure of the bishops, 3. creation of boundaries through the exclusion of some members and the enforcement of more uniform behaviour upon others. This does not really apply in its entirety to Maximus and Peter, as far as the surviving evidence enables us to judge. While the cult of the saints is quite prominent in Maximus, in Peter it plays only a minor role; there is not much to suggest that either bishop tried to fuse secular and religious models of leadership, although that was becoming a trend.<sup>128</sup> However, the exclusion of “others” – real or rhetorical – is palpable in both preachers, particularly in their treatment of paganism and semi-paganism, although the impact of both preachers seems to have been confined to pagans or paganising Christians. Philip Rousseau points out that in Maximus the “nexus between personal virtue and social identification” is confirmed in many ways.<sup>129</sup> Both preachers rely on shared values, expressed by Carol Harrison as “the rule of faith, the narrative of salvation, the double commandment, the Creed.”<sup>130</sup> Harrison writes perceptively of a “grammar of faith” and a “symbol-system” operating in late-antique Christian congregations.<sup>131</sup> This is shorthand for what the preacher affects to assume the congregation hold in common with each other and himself, a kind of insider knowledge or shared code.

Unfortunately Peter uses crude misogyny to build community with the males in his audience, although of course he was not the only preacher in Late Antiquity to do this. The men are warned that woman is the source of evil, the origin of sin, the gate to hell, and so forth.<sup>132</sup> And again he asks if even John the Baptist in the desert did not escape from women, who among the congregation will?<sup>133</sup>

On the basis of the “Eusebius Gallicanus” sermons, Lisa Bailey has emphasised the importance of feast days and local and regional saints’ days in forging

<sup>127</sup> See Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, p. 40.

<sup>128</sup> On this point see in general e.g. Sterk, *Renouncing the World*, passim; Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, passim.

<sup>129</sup> Rousseau, “Homily and Asceticism in the North Italian Episcopate”, p. 153.

<sup>130</sup> Harrison, *The Art of Listening*, p. 135.

<sup>131</sup> Harrison, *The Art of Listening*, p. 135.

<sup>132</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 79, 2, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, p. 484, line 21-23.

<sup>133</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 174, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, pp. 1060-64.



a community identity.<sup>134</sup> The treatment of local and regional martyrs and those from further afield is much more extensive in Maximus than in Peter.<sup>135</sup> In a sermon on the anniversary of three martyrs of Turin, Maximus speaks of their blood pouring out into the place that his congregation now frequents, and reminds those present that, while all martyrs deserved to be honoured, the ones whose relics they possess should be especially venerated by them,<sup>136</sup> for as well as protecting the congregation in this life, these local saints will be their defenders in the life to come. This brings everything very close to home, which of course was the preacher's intention. On the other hand Peter's surviving sermons reveal little about how he used the martyr-cult to build up his community. We have one sermon on the local saint, Apollinaris of Ravenna, whose relics were present; Peter reminds his congregation that "as a good shepherd he [Apollinaris] is at his post in the midst of his flock."<sup>137</sup> In addition the bishop of Ravenna probably preached on the foreign martyr Euphemia,<sup>138</sup> but this sermon was presumably of less interest to the people of his city. Far more prominent is the role of the local martyr of Cimiez (probably Pontius), whose presence and relics among the congregation are pressed into service by Bishop Valerian.<sup>139</sup>

As said before, neither Maximus in Turin nor Peter in Ravenna preached to a homogenous audience. The surviving sermons of both preachers, newly arrived in their recently-created dioceses, give us some idea of the localised character of the history, values, and problems of the dioceses of their two cities as well as the preachers' universalising discourse within the Christian Church at the beginning of the 5th century. Similarly, particularly in their discourses on fasting, almsgiving, and "others", we see the stress that both Maximus and

<sup>134</sup> Bailey, "Building Urban Christian Communities", pp. 1-24.

<sup>135</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 3, 2-3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 10-11 (Peter and Paul; cf. Zangara, "I sermoni di Massimo di Torino", pp. 107-38); s. 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 13-15 (Lawrence); s. 10, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 35-36 (Cyprian); s. 12, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 41-42 (local martyrs: Octavius, Aduentus, Solutor of Turin); s. 15, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 57-58 (regional martyrs: Cantus, Cantianus, Cantianilla). On Maximus' treatment of martyr sermons see Merkt, *Maximus I.*, pp. 243-66.

<sup>136</sup> Maximus of Turin, s. 12, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 41, line 26-28.

<sup>137</sup> *Vt bonus pastor suo medius adsistit in grege*. Peter Chrysologus, s. 128, 3, ed. Olivar, vol. 3, p. 791, line 38-40; trans. Palardy, vol. 3, pp. 193-94.

<sup>138</sup> Peter Chrysologus, s. 97, ed. Olivar, vol. 2, pp. 597-601. However, Euphemia was very popular in the West even before the Council of Chalcedon. There were sanctuaries and relics in Milan, Aquileia, and Nola: see Sottocornola, *L'anno liturgico*, pp. 300-01. There may also have been relics in Ravenna – see Palardy, vol. 3, p. 100 n. 2, p. 102 n. 6.

<sup>139</sup> Valerian, s. 16, ed. Migne, vol. 52, col. 741CD; s. 17, ed. Migne, vol. 52, col. 744D-745A, 745B.



Peter placed on the nexus between personal virtue and identification with the community of believers. In addition it is important to remember that much of this preaching was taking place against a background of invasions of foreign peoples, population displacement, ransoming captives, and famine, all of which adversities provided the preacher with abundant material for making an impact on his congregation, with a view to building community, identity, and solidarity among his flock.

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**PART 3**

***Latin Patristic Preachers***





## Ambrosius Mediolanensis

Camille Gerzaguet

Il y a un certain paradoxe à consacrer un chapitre à Ambroise dans un ouvrage dédié aux sermons patristiques de l'Occident puisqu'aucun sermon (ou presque) ni aucun homiliaire authentique de l'évêque de Milan n'ont, semble-t-il, été conservés.<sup>1</sup> Le paradoxe n'est peut-être qu'apparent et il permet, en tout cas, de s'interroger: pourquoi ne dispose-t-on pas de sermons ambrosiens, transmis à l'instar de ceux d'autres évêques, Augustin, Césaire etc., alors qu'Augustin lui-même a témoigné de l'importance et de l'art d'Ambroise dans ce domaine? Depuis le début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'historiographie ambrosienne, qui s'appuie en cela sur une hypothèse déjà formulée à la fin du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, considère que l'essentiel de la production littéraire d'Ambroise – actuellement un peu plus d'une quarantaine d'œuvres dont une vingtaine consiste en des traités d'exégèse – est issue de son activité homilétique.<sup>2</sup> Ainsi, les traités d'Ambroise reprendraient sous une forme retravaillée ses prédications. Autrement dit, les sermons seraient à la fois inexistantes et partout présents dans l'œuvre ambrosienne. Connaître et étudier la prédication d'Ambroise consisterait donc à traquer les vestiges homilétiques derrière les allusions à des lectures

1 En réalité, il y a cinq sermons conservés dans la correspondance d'Ambroise à sa sœur Marcelline, cf. *infra* pp. 163-64. Et exception faite peut-être du sermon fragmentaire *In natali Domini* (CPL 183), cf. *infra* p. 165. Ps.-Ambroise, *In natali Domini*, ed. Dekkers/Gaar, p. 183, et de l'extrait de sermon cité par Claudien Mamert, cf. *infra* p. 165, *De statu animae*, ed. Engelbrecht, pp. 131-33.

2 Hermant, *La vie de saint Ambroise*, p. 26 ("Éclaircissement"); Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 3, p. 502: "La plupart de ses livres sont formés de prédications légèrement remaniées et d'ordinaire encore facilement reconnaissables"; Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 4, p. 318: "Ses écrits en prose sont en très grande partie issus de prédications"; Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, p. 359: "Son enseignement catéchétique lui fournissait la matière de presque tous ses ouvrages. Après avoir parlé, il rédigeait, soit d'après ses propres notes et souvenirs, soit d'après un compte-rendu sténographique: il lui suffisait d'établir les préparations ou les sutures nécessaires et au prix de quelques remaniements", et p. 373: "Presque tous les ouvrages d'Ambroise ont été parlés avant d'être écrits". Voir aussi Nauroy, "L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambroise", pp. 375-76 (repris dans Nauroy (ed.), *Ambroise de Milan*, pp. 252-54). Pour une étude de détail des vestiges de sermons, voir par exemple Ambroise de Milan, *Jacob et la vie heureuse*, ed. Nauroy, pp. 33-58, et Mattei, "L'atelier d'Ambroise", pp. 44-51.

liturgiques et les adresses aux lecteurs, lecteurs qui auraient été en réalité d'abord des auditeurs. Cependant, comme cela a déjà été souligné, "ces restitutions de sermons par extraction sont dans l'ensemble plus ingénieuses que convaincantes".<sup>3</sup> Si l'aporie en matière de témoignage demeure donc un obstacle difficilement surmontable, on est toutefois assez renseigné sur la façon dont Ambroise concevait la prédication dans son rapport avec l'activité pastorale, à la fois par Ambroise lui-même et par Augustin. Par ailleurs, du point de vue de l'histoire des textes, de nombreux sermons aujourd'hui réattribués, notamment à Maxime de Turin, ont circulé sous le nom d'Ambroise dès l'Antiquité tardive et tout au long du Moyen Âge. Ce sont ces sermons que l'on a imprimés dans les éditions des *opera omnia* d'Ambroise à compter de la fin du 15<sup>e</sup> siècle.

## 1 "Ambroise prédicateur"

### 1.1 *L'Epistula 36 à Constantius, ou le "De doctrina christiana" d'Ambroise*<sup>4</sup>

Dans la lettre qu'il adresse à Constantius, évêque de Clatene, pour lui donner une série de conseils concernant la direction pastorale, et en particulier la prédication, Ambroise insiste sur deux points. Le premier concerne l'interprétation des Écritures. En effet, le prédicateur a reçu du Christ la grâce d'interpréter l'Écriture à différents niveaux, et doit insister en particulier sur le sens mystique (*spiritalis*) et le sens moral (*moralis*). L'océan, parce qu'il recèle des abîmes et qu'il est le lieu de confluence de tous les cours d'eau, est la métaphore de l'Écriture et de ses significations:

L'Écriture divine est un océan<sup>5</sup>: elle contient en elle les profondeurs des sens et les abysses des énigmes prophétiques. Dans cet océan de nombreux fleuves se sont déversés: il y a à la fois des rivières paisibles à l'eau transparente et des torrents issus de la fonte des neiges qui bondissent vers la vie éternelle; il y a à la fois des sermons bons comme des fèves au miel et des paroles agréables qui donnent, pour ainsi dire, à boire spirituellement aux esprits de ceux qui les écoutent, tout en les apaisant grâce

3 Savon, "Ambroise prédicateur", p. 34. La synthèse présentée dans ces pages est grandement redevable à cet article.

4 Nauroy, "L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambroise", p. 391 (repris dans Nauroy (ed.), *Ambroise de Milan*, p. 275).

5 Sur la métaphore de la mer appliquée à l'Écriture et ce passage en particulier, voir *ibid.*



à la douceur de leurs préceptes moraux. Ils sont donc différents les cours d'eau des Écritures divines. On y trouve de quoi boire dès à présent, après et à la fin.<sup>6</sup>

Le second conseil concerne le style des sermons. Ceux-ci doivent privilégier la clarté et la douceur – mais également être plus incisifs lorsque les circonstances le requièrent – et surtout ne pas être creux et sans utilité:

Que tes sermons soient donc comme l'eau qui coule à flot, qu'ils soient transparents et limpides pour verser de la délicatesse dans les oreilles des peuples par l'entremise de tes instructions morales et rendre les gens doux par la grâce de tes paroles: ils te suivront volontiers là où tu veux les mener. Si ton peuple ou certains individus se montrent enclins à la rébellion ou à la faute, que tes sermons aiguillonnent ceux qui les écoutent, qu'ils piquent vivement celui qui pense à mal: 'Car les discours du sage sont comme des aiguillons' (Eccle. 12:11). Le Seigneur Jésus aussi a aiguillonné Saul, parce qu'il était un persécuteur. Vois comme cet aiguillon fut salutaire: il a fait d'un persécuteur un apôtre par ces mots, 'il t'est difficile de te rebeller contre l'aiguillon' (Act. 9:5). Il y a aussi des sermons pareils à du lait, comme ceux que Paul a adressés aux Corinthiens. En effet, ceux qui ne peuvent manger une nourriture solide forment le tout début de leur intelligence en buvant du lait. Que les paroles que tu destines aux autres soient pleines de savoir; c'est pourquoi Salomon a dit: 'Les lèvres du sage sont des armes de savoir' (Prou. 14:3), et ailleurs: 'tes lèvres sont liées par le discernement' (Prou. 15:5), c'est-à-dire que tes sermons brillent de tout leur éclat, que ton savoir étincelle, que tes paroles et tes explications n'aient pas besoin du soutien d'autrui, mais que ta prédication se défende elle-même, pour ainsi dire, par ses propres armes et qu'aucune de tes paroles ne sorte en vain de tes lèvres et ne soit prononcée sans y avoir bien réfléchi.<sup>7</sup>

6 Ambroise, *Epistula* 36, 5-7, ed. Zelzer, pp. 5-6: *Mare est Scriptura diuina, habens in se sensus profundos et altitudinem prophetiarum aenigmatum, in quod mare plurima introierunt flumina. Sunt ergo et fluuii dulces et perspicui, sunt et fontes niuei, qui saliant in uitam aeternam; sunt et sermones boni, sicut faui mellis et gratae sententiae, quae animos audientium spiritali quodam potu irrigent et praeceptorum moralium suauitate mulceant. Diuersa igitur Scripturarum diuinarum fluentia. Habes quod primum bibas, habes quod secundum, habes quod postremum.*

7 Ambroise, *Epistula* 36, 5-7, ed. Zelzer, pp. 5-6: *Sint ergo sermones tui proflui, sint puri et dilucidi, ut morali disputatione suauitatem infundas populorum auribus et gratia uerborum tuorum plebem demulceas, ut uolens quo ducis sequatur. Quodsi aliqua uel in populo uel in*

### 1.2 *Le témoignage d'Augustin dans les Confessions*

Lors de son séjour à Milan, Augustin assista aux prédications d'Ambroise, mû par l'intérêt qu'il portait non pas à leur contenu mais à leur forme rhétorique (*ad dicendi modum*), cherchant d'abord à évaluer si Ambroise était à la hauteur de sa réputation d'homme éloquent.<sup>8</sup> La comparaison qu'il établit entre le manichéen Faustus et Ambroise accorde au premier plus d'esprit et de séduction, mais au second la *suauitas* et l'*eruditio*. Il se décrit comme suspendu aux lèvres de cet évêque qui parle si bien (*diserte*).<sup>9</sup>

## 2 Où trouver trace des sermons d'Ambroise?

### 2.1 *La classification de Palanque*

S'efforcer de retrouver la trace d'anciennes prédications dans les traités d'Ambroise est une entreprise délicate. On peut en trouver çà et là quelques indices (allusion à une lecture liturgique, doxographie, etc.), mais, en l'absence de point de comparaison tangible avec des sermons conservés, il est impossible d'évaluer la part de réécriture qui sépare les sermons originellement prêchés et les traités publiés. Palanque tenta néanmoins une classification des œuvres ambrosiennes, distinguant les sermons publiés tels quels, les prédications peu retouchées, les œuvres mixtes où sermons et pages rédigées s'entrelacent et, enfin, les traités composés sans stade oral antérieur.<sup>10</sup> Cette classification, si commode et séduisante qu'elle apparaisse, convainc cependant aujourd'hui assez peu.

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*aliquibus contumacia uel culpa est, sint sermones tui huiusmodi, ut audientem stimulent, compungant male conscium: 'Sermones enim sapientium tamquam stimuli'. Stimulauit et dominus Iesus Saulum, cum esset persecutor. Quam salutaris fuerit stimulus, considera, qui ex persecutore apostolum fecit dicendo: 'Durum est tibi ut aduersum stimulum calcitrare'. Sunt etiam sermones sicut lac, quos infudit Paulus Corinthiis. Qui enim fortiozem cibum epulari non queunt, succo lactis ingenii sui exercent infantiam. Alloquia tua plena intellectus sint, unde et Salomon ait: 'Arma intellectus labia sapientis', et alibi: 'Labia tua alligata sint sensu', id est fulgeat sermonum tuorum manifestatio, intellectus coruscet et alloquium tuum atque tractatus aliena non indigeat assertione, sed sermo tuus uelut armis suis sese ipse tueatur nec ullum uerbum tuum in uanum exeat et sine sensu prodeat (...).*

8 Augustin, *Confessiones* v, 23, ed. Skutella/Verheijen, pp. 70-71.

9 Augustin, *Confessiones* v, 23 et 24, ed. Skutella/Verheijen, pp. 70-71.

10 Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*, p. 465.

## 2.2 *L'authenticité des catéchèses du De sacramentis*

À compter de la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, puis dans la seconde moitié du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, un consensus s'est formé autour de l'authenticité ambrosienne des six catéchèses baptismales qui composent le *De sacramentis*, contre le refus de son attribution qui prévalait depuis la Réforme. La thèse de l'authenticité se double d'une hypothèse, celle de la nature textuelle de ces catéchèses: elles seraient "un rapport sténographique de sermons prononcés par l'évêque de Milan".<sup>11</sup> On a souligné, en effet, que la composition de certains passages du *De sacramentis* posait problème et que sa langue comportait nombre de traits oraux. Selon Giuseppe Lazzati, l'écart entre la qualité du style du *De sacramentis* et celle des autres œuvres d'Ambroise s'explique par son état premier, pour ainsi dire original: le *De sacramentis*, très proche par son contenu d'une œuvre ambrosienne dont l'authenticité ne fait pas débat, le *De mysteriis* (les deux textes donnent des explications sur l'initiation chrétienne), serait la version antérieure de ce dernier, c'est-à-dire avant sa révision pour publication.<sup>12</sup> Pour Lazzati, Ambroise ne se montrait pas si bon orateur dans ses prédications et il ne déployait son talent littéraire et son éloquence que dans la rédaction seconde de ses œuvres, destinée à publication. Toutefois, cette hypothèse, qui consiste à voir dans le *De sacramentis* le témoignage brut de la prédication ambrosienne, a été remise en question par Hervé Savon. Parmi les contre-arguments qu'il invoque, il souligne notamment que la langue et le style du *De sacramentis* sont à l'opposé des qualités décrites par Augustin, et il conclut: "ce n'est pas ce singulier opuscule qui pourra nous apprendre comment prêchait l'évêque de Milan".<sup>13</sup>

## 2.3 *Les sermons inclus dans les lettres à Marcelline*

Dans trois lettres adressées à sa sœur Marcelline, Ambroise transcrit quelques sermons. Ces sermons ont peut-être été remaniés; mais la part de réécriture demeure, là aussi, difficile à évaluer, dans la mesure où ces sermons sont inclus – pour quatre d'entre eux – dans la correspondance en dix livres d'Ambroise, et spécialement dans le livre X qui renferme les lettres ayant trait à la politique religieuse et qu'Ambroise a probablement revu avec un soin tout particulier.<sup>14</sup>

11 Mohrmann, "Le style oral du *De sacramentis* de saint Ambroise", p. 168, reprenant et approfondissant en cela une hypothèse formulée initialement par Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts*, p. 232.

12 Lazzati, "L'autenticità del *De Sacramentis* e la valutazione letteraria delle opere di S. Ambrogio", pp. 17-48.

13 Savon, "Ambroise prédicateur", p. 35.

14 Pour ces cinq sermons, nous reprenons la classification de Savon, dans *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église*, pp. 39-45.

*Serm. 1a, Audistis filii librum* (epist. 76 [M 20], 14-19); sur le prologue du livre de *Job*, qui est la lecture du Mercredi saint dans le rite ambrosien.

*Serm. 1b, Quam alta et profunda* (epist. 76 [M 20], 20-21); sur Psaume 78:1.

*Serm. 11, Liber lectus est* (epist. 76 [M 20], 25); sur le livre de Jonas (en particulier Ion. 4:9). Ne sont donnés qu'un résumé et la première phrase du sermon, *Liber lectus est, fratres, quo prophetatur quod peccatores in poenitentiam reuertantur*.

*Serm. III, Cum tam effusam* (epist. 77 [M 22], 3-13); sur Psaume 18:2-3 et Psaume 112:7.

*Serm. IV, Hesterno tractatui* (epist. 77 [M 22], 15-23); sur Psaume 112:7.

*Serm. V, In libro prophetico* (epist. extra coll. 1 [M 41], 2-26); sur Ier. 1:11 et Luc. 7:36-50.

Les deux premiers sermons furent prêchés lors de la semaine sainte de 386, quand l'impératrice Justine tenta de faire attribuer l'une des basiliques de Milan aux ariens. Ces sermons se caractérisent par la relation qu'ils établissent entre le passé biblique (la situation de *Job* pour le *Serm. 1a*) et le présent de l'Église (les attaques du parti arien, soutenu par Justine). Le *Serm. III* a été prononcé le 18 juin 386, lors du transfert des reliques des martyrs Gervais et Protas dans la *Basilica Ambrosiana*. Le *Serm. IV* fut prêché le lendemain. Le *Serm. V* a un statut différent: plus long que les autres sermons transcrits pour Marcelline, il est adressé au peuple milanais, mais aussi et surtout à Théodose qui a ordonné, contre le sentiment d'Ambroise, que la synagogue de Callinicum, incendiée par des chrétiens, soit reconstruite aux frais de l'État. Le sermon qui explique Ier. 1:11 (*Sume tibi baculum nucinum*, version du texte biblique qui ne correspond ni à l'hébreu ni à la LXX) et les versets du repas chez Simon de l'évangile de *Luc* (Luc 7, 36-50) fait allusion au geste de Théodose qu'Ambroise réprouve. Les cinq sermons conservés dans les lettres présentent tous la même caractéristique: l'application de l'exégèse à une situation ou à des événements politiques et religieux actuels. Il s'agit ici d'un effet lié au destinataire de ces sermons transcrits: Ambroise tenait sa sœur informée des événements qui rythmaient la vie politique et religieuse à Milan. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que ces sermons reflètent un dialogue entre le texte qui était lu pendant la liturgie et la situation qui était celle de la communauté milanaise.

### 3 *Sermones spurii*

Le détail des sermons attribués à Ambroise a été relevé dans la *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*<sup>15</sup>. Au total, ce sont près de deux cent quarante

15 Machielsen (ed.), *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, 1A, pp. 1-85.

sermons qui ont circulé sous son nom. Une série de sermons fut publiée pour la première fois au sein de l'*editio romana* (1579-87) de Sixte-Quint. Un siècle plus tard, les Mauristes Jacques Du Frische et Nicolas Le Nourry révisèrent ce corpus dans leur édition des *opera omnia* (1686-90), en conservant soixante-quatre pièces, en retranchant cinquante-quatre et en y ajoutant soixante-deux nouvelles. Certains sermons parus dans le t. v de l'*editio romana* furent réédités en 1970 par Paul Mercier et attribués à un auteur d'Italie du Nord du milieu du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>16</sup>. Il y a une table de concordance donnant les références de ces sermons dans l'*editio romana*, chez les Mauristes (avec référence dans la *PL*) et dans l'édition de P. Mercier dans la *Clavis*, pp. 3-6. La *Clavis* recense aussi les trois sermons contenus dans le *codex Sessorianus* 55 [= Roma, Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, 2099], datés des 5<sup>e</sup>-6<sup>e</sup> siècles (*CPPM* 132, 133, 134, pp. 61-62), trois fragments (*CPPM* 135, 136, 137, p. 62), cinquante-trois autres pièces éditées (*CPPM* 138-91, pp. 64-83), et trois inédites (*CPPM* 325, 326, 327, p. 84). Certains de ses sermons ont été rendus à leurs auteurs authentiques. C'est en particulier le cas de la totalité ou presque des quatre-vingt-neuf sermons de Maxime de Turin transmis en collections<sup>17</sup>. D'autres sermons possèdent des attributions pseudépigraphiques concurrentes, notamment sous le nom d'Augustin (cf. *CPPM*, p. 11-12).

Il faut encore signaler que l'authenticité d'un sermon, réduit à un fragment, *In natali Domini* (*CPL* 183), a été défendue par Pierre Courcelle et Henri Barré<sup>18</sup>, et que le sermon cité partiellement par Claudien Mamert dans le livre II du *De statu animae* a été peu étudié<sup>19</sup>.

Pour conclure sur l'homilétique d'Ambroise, puisque les "restitutions de sermons par extraction" ne donnent guère d'informations tangibles, on ne peut que former des vœux, comme par exemple celui de retrouver les sermons de celui-ci sur le livre de la *Sagesse* dont parle Cassiodore (*Inst.* 5, 5). Ils nous donneraient enfin des prédications ambrosiennes dans leur intégralité, sans résumé ni réécriture. Malheureusement, le seul élément dont nous disposons pour partir à leur recherche se résume à cette mention de Cassiodore qui signale par la même occasion des sermons d'Augustin sur le même sujet dont on n'a pas trouvé trace jusqu'ici : il n'est pas à exclure que Cassiodore ait pu être abusé par des sermons pseudépigraphiques...

16 *XIV homélies du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Mercier.

17 Maxime de Turin, *Sermones*, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. XXXVIII-XLI.

18 Courcelle, "Sur quelques fragments non identifiés", pp. 316-19. Barré, "Le sermon pseudo-augustinien *App. 121*", pp. 111-37.

19 Claudien Mamert, *De statu animae*, ed. Engelbrecht, pp. 131-33 ; Madec, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie*, pp. 260-62.

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# Les Sermons Ariens (Pseudo-Maximinus)

Rémi Gounelle

## 1 Introduction

Deux collections de sermons ariens (non nicéens) ont été conservées. Issues de milieux différents, elles constituent des documents exceptionnels sur des communautés pour lesquelles les témoignages de première main sont rares. Si ces sermons procurent d'importants matériaux sur le calendrier liturgique, les pratiques exégétiques et les élaborations doctrinales de ces communautés, elles ne fournissent pas d'informations sur les *realia* liés à la prédication (disposition dans l'Eglise, relation à l'auditoire, p. ex.), mais il n'y a pas lieu de supposer que les pratiques des communautés non nicéennes se distinguaient, sur ces questions, des pratiques des communautés nicéennes.

## 2 La collection de Vérone (Pseudo-Maximinus)

Le manuscrit LI(49) de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Vérone (auquel il faut rattacher le fol. R7v conservé à Venise dans la collection Giustiniani Recanati) contient vingt-cinq homélies sur les évangiles et quinze homélies festales. Si l'origine arienne des premières n'est pas assurée, les secondes, conservées aux fol. 1rv + 40r-77v, proviennent clairement d'un milieu non nicéen.

### 2.1 *Histoire de la recherche*

Une partie du contenu de ce manuscrit a été édité dès 1784 par B. Bruni sous le nom de Maxime de Turin,<sup>1</sup> mais les homélies festales n'ont été éditées qu'en 1914-16 par A. Spagnolo et C.H. Turner.<sup>2</sup> Cette édition, en partie fautive, a été remplacée par l'édition semi-diplomatique de R. Gryson qui fait autorité.<sup>3</sup>

Le caractère non nicéen des écrits contenus dans le manuscrit de Vérone n'est pas immédiatement apparu à ses premiers éditeurs. Il a été perçu en 1922

1 *Sancti Maximi episcopi Taurinensis opera*, ed. Bruni.

2 Spagnolo/Turner, "An Ancient Homiliary".

3 Gryson, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 1.



par B. Capelle,<sup>4</sup> qui attribua les écrits conservés dans le manuscrit de Vérone à un unique auteur et qui identifia ce dernier avec l'évêque arien Maximin; cet évêque d'une communauté peut-être d'Illyrie, né vers 360, s'est rendu en Afrique en 427 et y a débattu publiquement avec Augustin d'Hippone. La *Conlatio Augustini cum Maximino Arrianorum episcopi* est la transcription de cet entretien.

C'est justement en raison des parentés qu'il décelait entre les sermons de la collection de Vérone et ce texte, ainsi qu'avec la *Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium*, et en raison de la notice du manuscrit dans l'*Istoria Teologica* publiée par Maffei, notice qui laisse entendre que le nom de Maximin était lisible sur le manuscrit en 1742, que Capelle attribua ces homélies à Maximin.

Les conclusions de Capelle ont été acceptées par la recherche ultérieure (notamment par Turner<sup>5</sup> et par Meslin<sup>6</sup>); mais Gryson a montré que les textes attribués à Maximin par Capelle et Meslin ne peuvent être attribués à un même auteur.<sup>7</sup>

Au terme d'une analyse approfondie du manuscrit de Vérone, Gryson a émis l'hypothèse qu'il a été copié dans les années 350-500, peut-être en Italie du Nord (à Vérone même?).<sup>8</sup> Puisqu'il ne contient que des textes non nicéens modérés ou des écrits acceptables dans ce contexte théologique, et qu'il a été pourvu d'annotations gotiques,<sup>9</sup> il estime probable que ce recueil ait été réalisé pour une communauté non nicéenne qui ne s'estimait pas persécutée – c'est ce qui expliquerait le ton irénique des écrits recueillis dans ce *codex*, en particulier des homélies festales. Il est dès lors possible que ce manuscrit ait été réalisé durant la domination de Théodoric (493-533).<sup>10</sup>

L'origine géographique de ces écrits n'est pas assurée, car si ce manuscrit a probablement été copié en Italie du Nord, il contient des textes qui pourraient provenir d'Afrique du Nord, selon Gryson.

Si les gloses gotiques de ce *codex* ont rapidement attiré l'attention des spécialistes, il n'en est pas de même des sermons. Fait heureusement exception l'étude de Meslin, qui a montré que les sermons festaux de Vérone mêlaient

4 Capelle, "Un homélaire de l'évêque arien Maximin".

5 Turner, "On MS Veron. LI(49) of the works of Maxim[in]us".

6 Meslin, *Les ariens d'Occident* (335-430).

7 Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, pp. 21-28. P.-M. Hombert a relevé les parallèles des sermons festaux avec le *Sermo arrianorum anonymus* et la *Conlatio sancti Augustini cum Maximino*; ils sont aisément localisables par l'index de sa récente édition: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini contra arrianos opera*, ed. Hombert, p. 790.

8 Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, pp. 60-70.

9 Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, pp. 77-92.

10 Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, pp. 66-71.

usages orientaux et occidentaux, et que les usages spécifiquement occidentaux y étaient peu nombreux.

## 2.2 *Une collection complexe*

Nécessairement antérieures à la domination de Théodoric, les homélies festales pourraient avoir été rédigées dans la seconde moitié du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle; leur auteur pourrait avoir aussi composé les traités *Contre les Juifs* et *Contre les païens* transmis par le même manuscrit.<sup>11</sup>

Cinq grandes fêtes, explicitement nommées dans l'homélie VII, 1, constituent le cœur de l'ordo liturgique: Nativité, Épiphanie, Passion et résurrection (qui sont mêlées dans une unique célébration), Ascension, Pentecôte (qui est clairement distinguée de l'Ascension).

Les sept premiers sermons festaux transmis par le manuscrit suivent cet ordre: Nativité du Seigneur (I), Épiphanie (II), Pâques (III), Ascension (IV, V, VI), Pentecôte (VII). Huit sermons hagiographiques les suivent: Naissance des Enfants, i. e. Saint Innocents (VIII), Naissance de Jean-Baptiste (IX), Naissance de Saint Étienne (X), Passion des St. Pierre et Paul (XI), Naissance de St. Cyprien (XII), Naissance des Martyrs (XIII), Naissance de tous les martyrs (XIV-XV).

La genèse de cette collection pose divers problèmes. D'une part, il est clair que ces sermons n'ont pas été conservés dans leur ordonnancement initial; c'est particulièrement évident dans le cas du sermon sur Saint Étienne (X): placé, dans le manuscrit, entre une homélie sur la naissance de Jean-Baptiste et une autre sur la fête de Pierre et de Paul, il a en réalité été prononcé le lendemain de Noël, comme le montre son début: "Hier, nous avons célébré la naissance du Seigneur.... Aujourd'hui, nous célébrons la naissance [= le martyr] de saint Étienne" (X, 2).<sup>12</sup> Selon Meslin,<sup>13</sup> la Passion des St. Pierre et Paul (XI) et la fête des Innocents (VIII) étaient aussi célébrées entre Noël et l'Épiphanie, comme en Cappadoce. D'autre part, comme le note Gryson, "certaines pièces (ont) des allures de centons"<sup>14</sup> et la collection contient plusieurs doubles. Ainsi, les deux premiers sermons sur l'Ascension (IV, V) sont très similaires; les deux sermons sur la Naissance de tous les martyrs (XIV-XV) sont en revanche de tonalité différente.

On notera, enfin, que si la majorité de ces sermons est de taille modeste (2 à 3 pages dans l'édition de Gryson), les deux premières homélies (I-II) et la

<sup>11</sup> Gryson, *Scripta Arriana Latina* I, p. xx.

<sup>12</sup> *Collectio Veronensis* X, 2, ed. Gryson, *Scripta Arriana Latina* I, p. 75: *Hesterna die natalem domini celebravimus ... et hodie natalem sancti Stephani celebramus.*

<sup>13</sup> Meslin, *Les ariens d'Occident* (335-430), p. 402.

<sup>14</sup> Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, p. 28, repris dans *Scripta Arriana Latina* I, p. xx.

dernière (xv) frappent par leur taille (4, 5 – 5 pages). La longueur des sermons I-II peut s'expliquer par leur sujet: la naissance de Jésus, lieu sensible des discussions christologiques des 4e-5e siècles. L'ampleur du dernier sermon (xv) est plus difficile à expliquer, et ce d'autant plus que celui qui le précède (xiv) est beaucoup plus court, alors même qu'il porte sur le même sujet.

L'histoire de cette collection est donc complexe et difficile à reconstituer.

### 2.3 *Un prédicateur pédagogue*

De façon générale, le prédicateur est soucieux que son auditoire le comprenne: il commence son homélie en précisant l'objet de la fête du jour, explicite volontiers le cheminement de sa pensée et tisse des liens internes en recourant à l'expression *ut diximus* ("comme nous l'avons dit"). Ainsi dans le sermon xv, il cite *Eph.* 6:12-18 (§2). Après la citation, il invite ses fidèles à s'intéresser aux "armes spirituelles" mentionnées par l'apôtre, introduisant ainsi la perspective de son commentaire. Il reprend ensuite la citation pas en pas, en identifiant chaque élément cité par *inquit* ou *sequitur*, de sorte que la structure du commentaire est très claire et que la parole du prédicateur et celle de l'apôtre sont dans l'ensemble clairement distinguées. Après un premier élément de la citation (*Eph.* 6:14b) cité et commenté, le prédicateur le reprend et introduit l'élément suivant (*Eph.* 6:14b-c), qu'il commente immédiatement; après une phrase de conclusion, il reprend la suite de la citation (+ 6:15-16) et explicite à nouveau sa perspective: "comprend ce que sont ses flèches" (§3); ce développement lui permet de renouer explicitement avec le thème du sermon – on notera l'expression *ut diximus* – et d'introduire la fin de la citation paulienne (*Eph.* 6:17).

Il faut peut-être aussi attribuer à ce souci pédagogique le fréquent recours à des comparaisons. Dans plusieurs sermons, le prédicateur interprète le texte par le biais de questions ouvertes et insiste sur le mystère divin. Des expressions du type "vois le mystère" (*uide mysterium*) introduisent une lecture typologique de l'Ancien Testament, lu à la lumière du Nouveau.

Les multiples répétitions identifiées par Gryson dans l'apparat de son édition laissent penser que l'auteur de ces sermons avait de la peine à se renouveler. Les sermons XII à XV, tous consacrés aux martyrs, contiennent ainsi de très nombreux échos l'un de l'autre, ainsi que des reprises littérales d'expressions et de phrases d'une homélie à l'autre, sans qu'il soit possible de déterminer quel est le texte à la source de l'autre.

### 2.4 *Les sources du prédicateur*

L'auteur de ces sermons était bien formé et avait accès à une riche bibliothèque. C'est du moins ce que suggèrent les multiples citations et allusions

identifiées par Gryson et signalées dans l'apparat des sources de son édition. Ce précieux apparat doit toutefois être utilisé avec précaution. Ainsi en xv, 3 (fol. 74v, 22/24),<sup>15</sup> l'apparat laisse-t-il entendre que le texte du sermon présente un parallèle textuel avec la *Lettre* 58, 9 de Cyprien de Carthage, mais les lignes citées dans l'apparat correspondent à la citation biblique; il n'en reste pas moins que le prédicateur de ces homélies commente bien le texte d'*Eph.* 6 avec des accents proches de ceux de Cyprien, ce qu'indiquait déjà l'apparat à propos des lignes 74r, 21/75v, 2.

Nourri des Écritures, le prédicateur utilise ponctuellement des textes apocryphes. Ainsi le sermon xi parle-t-il du récit de la lévitation de Simon le magicien, transmis par le roman pseudo-clémentin; en son début figure une citation d'une "Écriture divine", qui compare les hérauts de la vérité avec les rayons du soleil; dans leur édition, Turner et Spagnolo<sup>16</sup> ont prudemment rapproché ce passage du *Testament de Lévi*, 14; suite à cette identification, que Meslin considère comme certaine,<sup>17</sup> le début du sermon xi est cité comme un fragment du *Testament de Lévi* dans la *Concordance latine des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament*<sup>18</sup> et dans la base de données *Latin Christian Texts* (Brepols); Verheyden a critiqué avec raison cette identification, relevant que le parallèle avec le *Testament de Lévi* est ténu et qu'il n'est absolument pas certain qu'il s'agisse d'une citation d'un texte apocryphe.<sup>19</sup> Malgré ces réserves, le début du sermon xi est cité comme un fragment d'un "apocryphe anonyme" dans la *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*.<sup>20</sup>

Parmi ses sources, le prédicateur semble apprécier particulièrement l'œuvre de Cyprien de Carthage; il reprend d'ailleurs un passage des actes de son martyre dans le sermon xv, 5. Les emprunts proviennent aussi bien de ses lettres que de traités (*De bono patientiae*, *De dominica oratione*, *Ad Fortunatum*, *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*, et Pseudo-Cyprien, *Quod idola dii non sint*) – sur l'emprunt au *De mortalitate*, cf. ci-dessous.

Le prédicateur cite également en un endroit les *Géorgiques* de Virgile (7, 3), sans en identifier la source; il est possible qu'il ait repris cet extrait, cité par Macrobe (*Saturnales*, 5) comme un exemple particulièrement réussi de mélange de styles, à une anthologie.

15 *Collectio Veronensis* xv, 3, ed. Gryson, *Scripta Arriana Latina* 1, pp. 88-89.

16 Spagnolo/Turner, "An Ancient Homiliary", p. 319.

17 Meslin, *Les ariens d'Occident* (335-430), p. 240.

18 Denis, *Concordance latine des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament*, p. 6310ab; la citation est faite sur la base de Spagnolo/Turner, "An Ancient Homiliary".

19 Verheyden, "Les pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament", pp. 413-14.

20 Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, pp. 214-15 (s. n. 271/1). Cf. aussi Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, vol. 2, p. 1287.

Deux sermons présentent des points de contact avec d'autres homélies, sans que le sens de la dépendance puisse être clairement déterminé. Le sermon x, 2 peut ainsi être rapproché d'un sermon sur saint Étienne qui a circulé sous le nom d'Augustin et de Fulgence.<sup>21</sup> Un passage du sermon xv, 1, qui cite et commente le §12 du *De mortalitate* de Cyprien de Carthage est extrêmement proche d'un sermon pseudo-augustinien *In natale B. Pauli Apostoli*;<sup>22</sup> on notera que, dans le sermon de la collection de Vérone, ce passage est introduit par "nous lisons qu'un saint a dit dans ses livres", ce qui est un aveu de l'emprunt à une source antérieure.

### 3 La collection de Munich

Le Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6329, propose un autre visage de la prédication dans une communauté non nicéenne. Découvert par R. Étaix, qui en a donné l'*editio princeps*,<sup>23</sup> cet ensemble de sermons figure dans une collection hétérogène de vingt-huit sermons (fol. 88r-192r), que précèdent les neuf premières homélies sur l'Évangile de Grégoire le Grand.

La collection se trouve de façon discontinue dans le ms. de Munich (fol. 120v-136v, 139v-147v, 156v-162v, et 166r-173r). Elle comprend quatre sermons sur la Naissance du Seigneur (VII, intitulé *De natiuitate Domini*, VIII, IX, X *De natale Domini*), trois sermons sur l'Épiphanie (XII, XIII, XIV), un sur le Carême (XVIII), un *In diebus Ieiuniorum* (XIX), deux sur Judas (XXI, XXII) et un sur la trahison du Seigneur (XXIII, *De traditione Domini*).

Étaix estime que les sermons XXI-XXIII ont été prêchés un Vendredi Saint, mais Gryson relève que le sermon XXII, bien qu'intitulé *Sur Judas*, est en fait une méditation sur la croix; il a donc très probablement été prêché un Vendredi saint, alors que les sermons XXI et XXIII ont dû être prononcés le Mercredi saint – consacré à l'arrestation de Jésus. Si tel est le cas, l'ordonnancement de la collection a été perturbé.

#### 3.1 Histoire de la recherche

Copiés par un copiste maîtrisant mal la langue latine ou disposant d'un modèle de très mauvaise qualité, ces sermons sont par endroit incompréhensibles.

21 Pseudo-Augustin, *Sermo* 215, 1 (= Pseudo-Fulgence, *Sermo* 2, 1), *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2145BC.

22 Pseudo-Augustin, *Sermo Mai* 55 (= Caillau II, App. 65), *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 2, p. 1163.

23 Étaix, "Sermons ariens inédits".

Étaix en a en conséquence donné une édition semi-diplomatique, avec, en regard, une proposition de restitution. Ce savant estime possible que certains de ces sermons soient partiellement lacunaires – les sermons XIX et XXII pourraient ainsi être acéphales.

Étaix a distingué, au sein de la collection, plusieurs sous-ensemble homogènes; il estime toutefois que ces sermons ont été écrits par un unique prédicateur, non-nicéen militant. Il relève que les parallèles internes pourraient certes être plus nombreux, mais que la brièveté et la diversité des textes ne permet pas d'en espérer davantage. Cette conclusion a été avalisée par Gryson,<sup>24</sup> qui a discuté dans le détail les conjectures prudemment avancées par Étaix.

Une nouvelle édition de ces textes, corrigeant les quelques erreurs de copie déparant l'édition de Étaix et tenant compte des conjectures de Gryson serait indispensable.

Étaix a proposé de situer la genèse de ces sermons au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au terme d'une analyse détaillée des citations bibliques et de la langue dans laquelle ils ont été écrits, Gryson attribue cet ensemble de sermons à un prédicateur goth ou connaissant le gotique, vivant dans la partie orientale de l'Illyricum dans les années 350-450. Cette localisation permet d'expliquer les nombreux traits hellénisant de ces homélies, qui ont bien été écrites en latin, mais par un prédicateur qui pensait en grec; manifestement polyglotte, ce théologien connaissait vraisemblablement les Ecritures sous une forme grecque, mais était aussi familier de la traduction gotique des évangiles.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2 *Un prédicateur dogmatique et polémique*

A l'exception de quatre sermons consacrés à la nativité (VII-X) et d'un de ceux sur Judas, ces sermons se caractérisent par une certaine concision. Le prédicateur, qui précise en tête de quelques sermons l'objet de la fête du jour (XII, XIV), procède le plus souvent à des exposés dogmatiques ou thématiques en lien avec les lectures du jour. Son argumentation repose généralement sur des citations et allusions qui s'enchaînent les unes après les autres – mais on notera, dans le sermon XVIII, 1, que le prédicateur distingue clairement trois citations (*dicit enim scriptura .... Alia scriptura enarrat dicens ... Tertia uero scriptura dicit ...*); le commentaire des versets prend fréquemment la forme de gloses.

Les prédications de type dogmatique sont de tonalité polémique. Le sermon XIII prend ainsi à partie d'une façon particulièrement vive "ceux qui disent que le Père, le Fils et l'Esprit saint sont une unique substance" (XIII, 1:

<sup>24</sup> Gryson, "Les sermons ariens latins du *Codex latinus monacensis* 6329".

<sup>25</sup> Gryson, "Les sermons ariens latins du *Codex latinus monacensis* 6329".

*qui unam dicunt esse substantiam Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum*). S'il n'est pas acéphale, ce sermon s'ouvre par un violent "Malheur à ceux qui ne croient pas en la vérité" (*Vē his qui non credunt ueritati*); après avoir renforcé cette accusation à l'aide des Psaumes (Ps. 71:5-6; 62:10), le prédicateur cherche une preuve de son rejet de la consubstantialité dans le verset du jour, tiré du Ps. 117:26-27; il argumente alors très brièvement en citant Matth. 1:23; Ps. 117:27; Phil. 2:7; Bar. 3:38; Matth. 3:17; Matth. 17:5; la citation de Bar. 3:38 est brièvement associée au baptême de Jésus, qui était au centre de la fête du jour. Suit ensuite un dialogue fictif (§2) entre le prédicateur et un adversaire convaincu que le Père, le Fils et l'Esprit sont égaux. Cet échange, au cours duquel l'interlocuteur fictif est successivement qualifié de "malheureux hérétique", d'"hérétique impie" et d'"hérétique incrédule", prend pour prétexte la colombe qui se manifeste le jour du baptême de Jésus et se conclut par des paroles du Christ, que le prédicateur se garde de commenter (Matth. 26:39.42; Ioh. 16:14). Se tournant ensuite vers ses fidèles, qualifiés de "chrétiens aimables", il procède pour finir à un rappel de la foi authentique, en partie fondée sur les Ecritures (1 Cor. 8:6; Matth. 3:17; Matth. 17:5).

Si tous les sermons de cette collection ne sont pas aussi virulents, il n'est pas rare que le prédicateur interpelle son auditoire et le mette en garde contre des déviations de la foi ou qu'il affirme la foi véritable de façon brutale; ainsi, dans le sermon IX, 1, la série de versets sur lesquels s'ouvre sa prédication se conclut-elle par un abrupt "Le Fils n'est donc pas l'égal du Père" (*Non est igitur Filius equalis Patri*).

Les sources de ce prédicateur n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une recherche approfondie. Gryson a toutefois repéré un parallèle textuel avec la *Didascalie des Apôtres* XXI, 14, 6 dans le sermon XXIII, 2.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Gryson, "Les sermons ariens latins du *Codex latinus monacensis* 6329", p. 344 n. 15, où la référence est toutefois inexacte.



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# Augustine of Hippo

*Shari Boodts and Anthony Dupont*

## 1 Introduction

Saint Augustine, 354-430 AD, was ordained as a priest by Bishop Valerius of Hippo between 390-91 AD. Valerius gave the young priest permission to preach, a privilege which at that time was normally reserved for bishops. Such an exception was likely made because Valerius needed help in the heated controversy with the Donatists: the bishop's mother tongue was Greek and he did not have sufficient confidence in his Latin to engage in debates. When Augustine succeeded Valerius on the *sedes* of Hippo around 396, he considered this preaching ministry to be one of his most important episcopal duties. His solicitude to deliver good sermons is attested to by the roughly 900 sermons extant today, which probably represent a mere ten percent of the sermons Augustine actually gave. Possidius of Calama, Augustine's biographer, notes that Augustine's preaching attracted large audiences and that his immediate environment profited more from his homilies than from his writings.<sup>1</sup>

Augustine preached invariably on Sundays and from time to time also on Saturdays and feast days. During specific liturgical periods he was known to preach on a daily basis, and sometimes more than once on the same day. His preaching activity was not solely confined to the Eucharist, but included the occasional sermon during other liturgical services such as evening prayer and vigils. Augustine preached primarily in Hippo, but also elsewhere when invited to do so by other bishops. He was a popular 'visiting preacher' in Carthage, for instance.<sup>2</sup>

Augustine's homiletic oeuvre is traditionally divided into three categories: *sermones*, *tractatus*, and *enarrationes*. The circa 580 *sermones ad populum* considered to be authentic are usually divided into four groups: *de scripturis* (s. 1-183), *de tempore* (s. 184-272), *de sanctis* (s. 273-340), *de diuersis* (s. 341-95). *Sermones* discovered at a later date – the so-called *post Maurinos reperti* – have been ascribed the number attached to related existing *sermones*, together with

1 Possidius Calamensis, *Life of Augustine*, ed. W. Geerlings, *Vita Augustini* (Augustinus. Opera-  
Werke, o), Paderborn 2005, 5, 2-5; 7, 3; 9, 1; 31, 9.

2 See Perler/Maier, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, for a reconstruction of Augustine's travels.

a distinguishing letter. Augustine created 124 *tractatus* on the Gospel of John and ten on the First Letter of John. He composed 205 *enarrationes* on the 150 Psalms. The most fundamental difference between the *sermones* and the *enarrationes/tractatus* is that the latter were later edited by Augustine. A number of the homilies in this second category, moreover, were never delivered. Some were dictated by Augustine as commentaries on the Scriptures, while others were put together as model sermon examples for other preachers and were never preached by Augustine to a congregation. Augustine himself stated at the end of his life that he intended to edit the *sermones* as well (*Retr.* 2, 67), but in reality he was never able to realize this plan. Additionally, there are also a few isolated sermons published by Augustine as separate tractates: *Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem*, *De disciplina Christiana*, *De excidio urbis Romae*, *De Symbolo ad catechumenis* and *De utilitate ieiunii*. This contribution will focus exclusively on Augustine's 'typical' sermons – mainly to be found in the *sermones ad populum* – and disregard the 'desktop sermons', which more closely resemble Augustine's literary treatises than his activity as a preacher.

## 2 Formal/Material

### 2.1 *The Transmission of the Sermones ad Populum*

The transmission of Augustine's sermons is due to the work of *notarii*, ancient stenographers or tachygraphs taking notes during the delivery of the sermons. These persons were either Augustine's own *notarii* or those of prosperous believers. The late-antique transmission of sermons based on such records did not take the form of an exhaustive body containing all texts, but mainly of a number of different collections. Though there are indications that Augustine edited some of his sermons after they were written down (cf. *supra*), he did not systematically organize them in collections himself. Even so, manuscripts containing large selections of sermons were available in the library at Hippo for visitors, who could copy them. Very early, during Augustine's lifetime, some of these compilations, as well as compilations derived from sources outside of Hippo (especially sermons preached in Carthage), crossed the Mediterranean to Europe, where they underwent further intentional and unintentional changes.

The sermon collections are traditionally divided into three groups:<sup>3</sup> (1) Antique collections, which go back more or less directly to African sources: *De*

3 Lambot, *Sermones de vetere Testamento*, pp. VII-XXXV; Verbraken, *Études critiques*, pp. 197-234; Verbraken/De Coninck/Coppieters 't Wallant/Demeulenaere/Dolbeau, *Sermones in Matthaeum I*, pp. VII-LXXVII.

*alleluia*,<sup>4</sup> *De paenitentia*, *Collectio Sessoriana*,<sup>5</sup> *Collectio Cartusiana*,<sup>6</sup> *Collectio Bobbiensis*, *Collectio Cluniacensis*, *Collectio Campana*,<sup>7</sup> *Collectio Colbertina*;<sup>8</sup> (2) Arlesian collections, named after Caesarius of Arles († 542 AD), who compiled large selections of Augustine's homiletic oeuvre and significantly adapted and intertwined the texts with his own sermons in order to provide sample material for the clergy of Southern Gaul: *Quinquaginta homiliae*,<sup>9</sup> *De bono coniugali*, *Collectio Lugdunensis*, the collection of Marmoutier; (3) Medieval collections, which mostly consist of material taken from the two previous categories: *De uerbis domini et apostoli*,<sup>10</sup> *De diuersis rebus*,<sup>11</sup> *De lapsu mundi*,<sup>12</sup> *Sancti Catholici Patres*,<sup>13</sup> *Collectio tripartita*,<sup>14</sup> *Collectio Bruxellensis*, *Collectorium of Roberto de' Bardi*.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the transmission in collections, Augustine's sermons have also been preserved in numerous eclectic manuscripts or *recueils mixtes*, which contain a unique combination of texts. A special category here is reserved for *homiliaria*.<sup>16</sup>

4 Lambot, "Collection antique de sermons de saint Augustin".

5 Wilmart, "Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de saint Augustin"; Partoens, "La collection de sermons augustinien *De uerbis Apostoli*", esp. pp. 329-38.

6 Lambot, *Sermones selecti*; Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons*; Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique*, pp. 23-70.

7 Cf. n. 6.

8 Bouhot, "N° 67 of the *Bulletin Augustinien pour 1980*".

9 Boodts, "The manuscript transmission of the *Quinquaginta homiliae*."

10 De Coninck/Coppieters 't Wallant/Demeulenaere, *La tradition manuscrite du recueil De uerbis Domini*; Boodts/Partoens, "The Manuscript Transmission of the *De uerbis Apostoli* Collection".

11 De Ghellinck, "Une édition ou une collection médiévale".

12 Boodts, "A new critical edition of Augustine's *sermo* 170".

13 Bouhot, "L'homélaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Sources et composition"; Bouhot, "L'homélaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Tradition manuscrite"; Bouhot, "L'homélaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Reconstitution de sa forme originale".

14 Wilmart, "La collection Tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin".

15 Pozzi, "La 'Tabula' di Jean de Fayt al 'Collectorium' di Roberto de' Bardi"; Pozzi, "Roberto de' Bardi e s. Agostino".

16 There are several patristic *homiliaria* of the 8th to 10th centuries in which Augustine plays a prominent role and which seem to have an African basis, e.g. Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 155 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 1598-99, copied around 750 for Fleury-sur-Loire, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1616 (8th century from Novare), Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3828 (9th century), and above all the *homiliarium* of Wolfenbüttel, which has been transmitted in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 12 [Guelf. 4096]. Several prominent lectionaries are based on a 7th-century *homiliarium* connected with the basilica of St. Peter in Rome: the *homiliarium* of Agimundus (Vat. lat. 3835/6, 8th century), a later version of

The first editions of larger corpora of Augustinian sermons focused mostly on pseudo-epigraphical material. The *Quinquaginta homiliae* were among the first to be edited in Cologne and Augsburg in 1470. The first major edition of Augustine's sermons, and the *editio princeps* for four of the five sermon collections it includes was published in 1494 in Basel by Johannes Amerbach. Subsequent important editions, largely based on Amerbach's, include those of Gering and Remboldt (Paris, 1498), and of Froben and Erasmus (Basel, 1528-29). Vlimmerius was responsible for the *editio princeps* of an additional forty-two sermons in his edition (Leuven, 1564), as well as several revisions, including the revision of the *theologi Louanienses* edition (Antwerp, 1576-77). Further significant contributions to the published corpus were made by Sirmond (Paris, 1631) and Vignier (1654). The most recent complete edition was produced by the French Benedictine congregation of Saint-Maur in 1683. This text, with slight modifications by the Brothers Gaume (Paris, 1836-39), found its way into Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 38 and 39.<sup>17</sup>

The elaborate system of classification of the sermon collections testifies to a grand research tradition, which is centered around four Benedictines, three of whom belonged to the Belgian community of Maredsous: G. Morin, A. Wilmart, C. Lambot, and P.-P. Verbraken. In addition to their groundwork, several more recent discoveries have shed new light on the transmission of the sermons. The most important of these is the discovery made by F. Dolbeau of twenty-six previously unknown sermons in the codex Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, 19.<sup>18</sup> Recently, in Erfurt, four completely new sermons and two which were previously known only in an abridged form, were found in the 12th-century manuscript Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 12<sup>o</sup>11.<sup>19</sup> At the time of the Maurist edition the authentic Augustinian sermons numbered 396. Research over the past century has increased this number by nearly 200 (fragments included) and additional discoveries in the future are very likely.

The state of the transmission is such that the majority of Augustinian sermons each have a unique transmission pattern, i.e., a presence in a combination of collections, eclectic witnesses and/or indirect sources that does not occur in an identical fashion for any other sermon. The most important aid to gain

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the St. Peter *homiliarium* (Vat. Arch. S. Pietro C 105, 9th-10th century), the *homiliarium* of bishop Egino of Verona (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillips 1676, 8th century), and the *homiliarium* of Alanus of Farfa.

17 See Partoens/Boodts/Eelen, "Sermones ad populum", for a more detailed overview of the editions of Augustine's sermons.

18 Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons*.

19 Schiller/Weber/Weidmann, "Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten"; Weidmann, "The Corpus of Augustinian Sermons Recently Discovered at Erfurt".

insight into the manuscript transmission of a particular text is the ongoing series published by the Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus* (1969-). For the majority of the *sermones ad populum*, Migne's *Patrologia Latina* still offers the most recent edition today. G. Morin published a new edition of all the *post Maurinos reperti* up to that point in 1930.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, there are also various editions of individual sermons published as journal articles. A new complete edition is currently underway in the *Corpus Christianorum's Series Latina*.<sup>21</sup> To locate the most recent edition of a sermon, the *Augustinus-Lexikon* offers a useful concordance.<sup>22</sup>

The vastness of the corpus and the current lack of a complete modern critical edition of the *sermones ad populum* implies a significant unevenness in the quality of the commonly used text of the sermons, a fact which present-day scholars should bear in mind. This is already the case in the 1683 Maurist edition. For those sermons for which the Maurist editors had a complete manuscript transmission, their edition is typically excellent. For example, the new critical edition of s. 171, which occupies columns 933-35 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 38, only needed to be adjusted in fifteen *loci*. Where the Maurists' knowledge of the transmission was incomplete, a large number of corrections can sometimes be required. The text of s. 180,<sup>23</sup> which occupied columns 972-79 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 38, was adjusted in 144 *loci*.

## 2.2 *The Chronology of the Sermons*

The dating and chronology of Augustine's homilies are the subject of a vivid scholarly debate. The first recent attempt to put together a complete chronology of the *Sermones ad populum* was undertaken by A. Kunzelmann in 1931.<sup>24</sup> He mainly based his chronology on the four controversies to which Augustine

<sup>20</sup> Morin, *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*.

<sup>21</sup> Modern critical editions of *sermones* 1-51, 51-70, 151-56, 157-83 have been published in, respectively, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 41, 41Aa, 41Ba, 41Bb. The publication of *sermones* 70-91 is in preparation.

<sup>22</sup> Mayer, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. 2, pp. xvi-xxiv. The entry on the *sermones ad populum* for the *Augustinus-Lexikon* is currently being prepared by F. Dolbeau.

<sup>23</sup> Boodts, "Augustine's *sermo* 180 on Iac. 5, 12".

<sup>24</sup> Kunzelmann, "Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus". For overview-chronologies of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, pp. 53-196. See also Verbraken, "Mise à jour du Fichier signalétique des Sermons de saint Augustin"; Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel*, pp. 116-29; Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, pp. 221-57; Pellegrino, "General Introduction", esp. pp. 138-63; Gryson/Fischer/Frede, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques Latins*, pp. 231-69. For the link between the

had responded: Manichaeism, Donatism, Arianism, and Pelagianism. He then employed a second point of distinction, namely homilies that contained an indication that they were preached while Augustine was either a priest or a bishop. Kunzelmann located the majority of the *sermones* within the Pelagian period, drafting his chronology within the context of the controversy primarily on content analysis. In addition to scriptural quotations, he employed two main criteria to situate anti-Pelagian *sermones* chronologically within the period of the controversy: the way in which reference is made to the Pelagians and the presence of traces of Augustine's doctrine of predestination. Evidence of concealment or the avoidance of explicit allusion to Pelagianism suggests, in his opinion, a date between 410-16 AD. An explicit reference suggests a post-416 AD date. Kunzelmann thus took 416 AD as a turning point. From this date onwards, Augustine referred to the Pelagians as heretical and his *sermones* contain traces of his doctrine of predestination. In the period from 416-17 AD, Augustine insisted that all human persons were deserving of punishment, and that the human virtues were God's gift from the outset. From 417-18 AD onwards, Augustine dealt with the theme of predestination and the *massa damnata*, and the Pelagians were referred to by name. For Kunzelmann, the presence of elements of Augustine's doctrine of predestination suggested 417-18 AD at the earliest, whereby emphasis on the idea that the *merita* are also *gratia* located the *sermo* in question between 417-20 AD. Kunzelmann listed a series of *sermones* that are anti-Pelagian in terms of content, but likely to be related to the beginning of the controversy, ca. 410-12 AD, on account of their cautious tone. In an additional series of sermons, Augustine's ideas on grace and original sin are more developed and thus to be dated between 412-16 AD.

Kunzelmann's method has been severely criticized. The most fundamental critique is related to Kunzelmann's content-related criteria. The absence of an explicit reference to Pelagianism is no guarantee of an early date and also runs the risk of relying on an *argumentum e silentio*. Recent research into the continuity of Augustine's thought on grace has demonstrated, furthermore, that many anti-Pelagian themes, such as original sin and divine grace, were already present prior to the controversy. For this reason it is virtually impossible to locate a given *sermo* within the said controversy on the mere basis of content. The fact that Augustine preached on the gratuity of grace does not mean that the sermon in which he did so is by definition anti-Pelagian.

The *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne* by P.-M. Hombert has put the issue of the chronology of Augustine's *sermones* on the agenda

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dating of Augustine's preaching activities in general and his travelling, see Perler/Maier, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*.

of scholarly debate again.<sup>25</sup> Hombert uses the method of dating works of Augustine drafted by A.-M. La Bonnardière, which consists in the tracing of parallel Scripture references.<sup>26</sup> Hombert insists that where concrete information, such as allusion to historical events, places, a specific audience and other *realia* is absent, we are left with nothing more than the systematic exploration of scriptural parallels to substantiate dating the *sermones*. The meticulous comparison of texts in terms of vocabulary and *orchestration scripturaire* allows us, he argues, to collect precise chronological data. Hombert is well aware that a chronological study based on internal criteria is not without its problems. First, he agrees that it is not possible to locate every theological theme and biblical reference. Second, he insists that we must account for the fact that the majority of Augustine's *sermones* have not been preserved. Third, he is aware that parallel concentrations of biblical references need not necessarily imply parallel dates. Finally, it is important to be on the lookout for statistic exceptions. If 95% of a given concentration can be located in a particular time period in Augustine's writings, it is possible that the date of the concentration under analysis is to be found among the other 5%. Hombert argues that this method can be applied appropriately to the sermons of Augustine if it is supported by the convergence of various pieces of information, an accumulation of evidence and a separate judgement on each individual sermon.

H.R. Drobner does not agree, however, and insists that clear dating can only be realized on the basis of established external dating or an internal allusion to a *sermo* that can be related to an externally datable fact.<sup>27</sup> "Unfortunately, not a single one of all the *Sermones ad populum* can definitely be dated by day, month and year. The maximum we have are firmly established *termini ante quem* and *termini post quem*, which, if they both apply to the same sermon, determine a reliable time range."<sup>28</sup> Drobner rejects arguments such as "similar content means similar date of composition" and "similar style means similar date of composition", as he can see no reason to deny that Augustine returned to certain topics later in his career or that he returned to a particular style years after first employing it.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*.

<sup>26</sup> La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*.

<sup>27</sup> Drobner, "The Chronology of St. Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*"; Drobner, "The Chronology of St. Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* II"; Drobner, "The Chronology of St. Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* III".

<sup>28</sup> Drobner, "The Chronology of St. Augustine's 'Sermones ad populum'", p. 212.

<sup>29</sup> *Contra* Dolbeau, Drobner also rejects the thesis that the sequence of *sermones* found in Possidius' *Indiculus* (cf. *infra*) can have any chronological value. According to Dolbeau,



In practice, Drobner's criteria result in concrete dating very rarely. The maintenance of a happy medium is perhaps the best policy. Where *realia* are present, they should be used. F. Dolbeau has argued that thematic parallels have the potential to generate results in terms of dating, but only if they are treated with the required caution and tested against other data.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3 *Pseudo-Material and Authenticity*

There are several hundred apocryphal sermons attributed to Augustine. I. Machielsen's *Clavis Patristica pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* provides an important tool for the identification of pseudo-Augustinian writings.<sup>31</sup> Inauthentic pieces have made their way into even some of the oldest collections of Augustine's sermons. Many sermons preached by early preachers like Heraclius, Quoduultdeus, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Caesarius of Arles have been transmitted under the name of Augustine.<sup>32</sup> One of the most popular series of pseudo-Augustinian sermons were the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, a 14th-century forgery in favor of the claim that the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine directly derived from communities formed by Augustine.<sup>33</sup> The collection was printed several times under the name of Augustine from 1477 onwards. It was Erasmus who recognized the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* as inauthentic. A highly influential pseudo-Augustinian sermon is the *Sermo contra Iudaeos, paganos, et Arianos*. The sermon is generally considered to be the work of Augustine's near-contemporary Quoduultdeus.<sup>34</sup> In their edition of the *sermones ad populum*, the Maurists inserted a separate category for the so-called *sermones dubii*, which contains s. 364-94.

Distinguishing the genuine from the pseudo material is an ongoing process. Scholars tasked with assessing the authenticity of a sermon can rely on a few sources contemporary to Augustine's time. Though Augustine did not create the volume on the sermons that he intended, his *Retractationes* contain useful information. The most important contemporary source, however, is the *Indiculus*, a list of Augustine's works that was added by Possidius to the *Vita Augustini* which he wrote shortly after Augustine's death. The list is divided

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sermons proximate to one another in the *Indiculus* were probably preached at more or less the same time. Chronology, in his opinion, is probably the structuring principle of the sequence found in the *Indiculus*. See Dolbeau, "Discussion of: H.R. Drobner".

30 Dolbeau, "Discussion of: H.R. Drobner".

31 Machielsen, *Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi*. Cf. Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins* (though inaccuracies are rife in this work).

32 Hamman, "La transmission des sermons de saint Augustin".

33 Saak, "On the origins of the OESA".

34 Sturges, "Pseudo-Augustinian Writings".



into ten sections. The first nine present Augustine's works as a body of mainly polemical works, listing in each section consecutively *libri/epistolae/tractatus*, the latter meaning sermons, though a relatively small number is mentioned in these first sections. The tenth section, however, containing *diuersi*, lists references to the *Enarrationes* and the *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis*, along with some 200 sermon titles (X<sup>6</sup>, 1-199.202).<sup>35</sup> A large part of these titles has been tentatively identified with sermons that have been transmitted to us. Obviously, the *Indiculus* does not list all known sermons by Augustine, but the criteria used for including a sermon remain elusive. In addition to this historical evidence for a sermon's authenticity, scholars use a number of intrinsic criteria. A systematic enumeration and a practical application of these criteria for Augustine may be found in C. Weidmann.<sup>36</sup>

A second avenue regarding research into pseudo-Augustinian sermons is the quest for authentic words and/or larger textual segments in otherwise inauthentic contexts. Many preachers in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages composed their own texts using authentic material. Most of these texts are either transmitted anonymously or attributed to Augustine. Examples used in recent research by C. Weidmann are the collections assembled by Caesarius of Arles and the African collection of "Pseudo-Fulgentius".<sup>37</sup> This type of research has yielded smaller additions to the text of a sermon,<sup>38</sup> but also longer passages. For instance, s. 167 was transmitted both as an Augustinian sermon in the *De uerbis apostoli* collection and also as *Caes.* 181, in which form it contains an additional paragraph of which C. Weidmann has convincingly proven the authenticity.<sup>39</sup>

### 3 Augustine's Preaching

#### 3.1 *Preparation, Style, and Structure*

Augustine did not write down his sermons in advance. Rather, he preached extemporaneously after preparing himself by reading Scripture and by prayer

35 Madec, "Possidius de Calama et les listes des œuvres d'Augustin"; Dolbeau, "La survie des œuvres d'Augustin".

36 Weidmann, "Sermo Mai 10".

37 Weidmann, "Discovering Augustine's Words in Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons".

38 E.g. in s. 178, preserved in the *De uerbis Apostoli* collection and in an adapted version by Caesarius of Arles, the latter preserved a phrase (*Praecedant magis quo secuturus es*) lost from the former collection through *saut du même au même*. Weidmann, "Discovering Augustine's Words in Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons", p. 45.

39 Weidmann, "Discovering Augustine's Words in Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons", pp. 46-49.

and reflection. The absence of formal preparation is evident from the liveliness of his sermons and the unexpected turns they often take. His relaxed homiletic style allowed him to respond to the mood and unforeseen reactions of his audience.

In order to ensure their accessibility, Augustine referred to concrete events and borrowed examples from everyday life in his sermons. He also demonstrated a preference for explaining matters in figurative language.<sup>40</sup> One of his favorite rhetorical figures was the *dialecticon*: a dialogue with an invented partner.<sup>41</sup> Augustine posed questions or appeals directly to the Lord himself, or the apostles, or to imaginary opponents. He also made use of humor, wordplay and other rhetorical devices.<sup>42</sup> In other words, he made full use of his erudi-

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40 Poque, *Le langage symbolique*.

41 *Sermo* 165 (Carthage, 417) contains a clear example of a *dialecticon*. In a pointed fictive dialogue Augustine observes that his "Pelagian opponent" – who accepts physical death to be a punishment for sin – still does not conclude that the death of new-born infants is caused by original sin. He has his opponent stubbornly insist that God creates the human persons as immortal. The death of new-born infants must thus be caused by personal sin, committed between conception and death. Augustine thus makes his opponents, the *novelli* (the "Pelagians") absurdly argue that the death of infants is the result of sins committed in the womb. Augustine's "opponents" claim in addition that newborn infants simply sin by being born. Augustine responds with an example. Infants that die in the womb have not sinned (by being born), yet they still die (s. 165, 8). His "opponent" responds that foetuses can sin *in utero*. This idea, however, cannot be associated with any known "Pelagian" protagonist. While it is possible that it stems from a hitherto unidentified supporter, it is also possible that it has its roots in unfounded rumor. But it seems more likely that we are dealing with a systematization concocted by the opponents of the "Pelagians", which the "Pelagians" themselves did not adhere to and may even have rejected. On the basis of a rhetorical analysis, Partoens has demonstrated that s. 165, 7-8, in which the so-called "Pelagian" claims are condemned, is more rhetorical and satirical by nature than polemic. In addition to the entire rhetorical structure of these paragraphs, the condemned positions are the result of a *reductio ad absurdum*, and do not represent positions actually maintained by the "Pelagians". See Partoens, "Augustine on Predestination, Immortal Babies and Sinning Foetuses".

42 By way of *casus*, Mayer summarizes the style figures employed by Augustine in his *sermones* dedicated to the protomartyr Stephen (s. 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 319A, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 382): "Alliteration: 82, Anapher: 53, Antithese: 68, Asyndeton: 30, Chiasmus: 14, Comparison: 2, Epipher: 10, Etymologie: 3, Geminatio: 2, Hendiadys: 3, Homoioteleuton: 1, Klimax: 3, Metapher: 11, Nominalstil: 14, Oxymoron: 9, Paronomasie: 7, Personifikation: 3, Randstellung: 56, rhetorische Frage: 26, Ringkomposition: 2, Sermocinatio: 13, Similitudo: 7, Sperrung: 21, Wortspiel: 2." Mayer, "Attende Stephanum conservum tuum", esp. p. 225. Cf. Oroz Reta, *La retórica en los Sermones de S. Agustín*.

tion to reach and convince his audience in an agreeable manner.<sup>43</sup> Augustine's desire to keep his sermons as simple as possible in terms of language, style and explanation, was not only motivated by practical, didactic goals rooted in his pastoral concern to be accessible to all, but it also had a theological motivation. According to Augustine, the simplicity of a sermon represented the imitation of Christ's humility.<sup>44</sup> In his *De doctrina christiana* Augustine presented two methods for the study of the Scriptures: the acquisition of insight into the Bible and the presentation thereof. Explaining the latter *modus proferendi*, Augustine made an appeal for eloquence and authenticity. Preachers should prepare their homilies with care, should live an exemplary life, and should commit themselves to prayer. In *De doctrina christiana* Augustine revealed himself to be loyal to his own rhetorical formation by advocating the use of classical rhetoric in the service of Christian proclamation. L. Mechlinsky argues that Augustine's sermons are constructed according to the rhetorical-stylistic structure of *prooemium*, *narratio*, *argumentatio*, and *peroratio*.<sup>45</sup> Somewhat more nuanced, A. Eelen distinguishes three primary structural types within the corpus of s. 157-83: (1) the classical *quaestio*-structure, (2) a hybrid form where the classical structure of the sermon is influenced by the Scripture reading that preceded the sermon, the liturgical context, related sermons, or other literary genres, and (3) a structure which follows that of an exegetical commentary.<sup>46</sup>

### 3.2 Content

G. Lawless offers a sketch of Augustine's understanding of the profile of the preacher:

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43 Mohrmann writes on Augustine's homiletic style and language: "... saint Augustin a consciemment créé un style homilétique qui devait répondre aux besoins de la prédication populaire. Dans ce style il recherche trois choses: en premier lieu et avant tout la clarté, puis l'expressivité, et en troisième lieu la gravité, l'onction." Augustine achieved the clarity he desired by using a stylized form of Latin that was spoken in cultivated circles but was also presumably accessible to the ordinary man and woman in the street on account of its relative simplicity. The use of style figures (especially parallelism and antithesis) granted Augustine's sermons an expressive character, while the contribution of biblical texts (quotations, allusions) guaranteed their gravity. Mohrmann, "Saint Augustin prédicateur", esp. pp. 396-400.

44 Berrouard, "Saint Augustin et le ministère de la prédication"; Schnitzler, *Zur Theologie der Verkündigung*.

45 Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi' in Augustins 'sermones ad populum'*.

46 Eelen, *Les sermons de saint Augustin sur les épîtres du Nouveau Testament*, esp. pp. 470-96. See also Van Neer, "Scripture as the Structuring Principle of Sermones 295 and 299B".

During the last decade of his eventful life, ... the bishop of Hippo offered two mature estimates, respectively, of a preacher and his responsibilities. In the first he furnished a succinctly instructive account of who a preacher is: "We are ministers of the Word, not ours, but God's, certainly, and our Lord's" (s. 114, 1). The second provided a detailed description, reflecting four decades of pastoral experience, of the preacher's task: "he (1) interprets and teaches the divine Scriptures; (2) defends right faith; (3) teaches everything that is good; (4) un-teaches anything evil; (5) endeavors to win over individuals hostile to truth; (6) arouses careless individuals; (7) impresses upon ignorant people what's happening; and (8) impresses upon them what to expect (*doc. Chr.* 4, 4, 6).<sup>47</sup>

C. Mohrmann points out with respect to the content of the sermons that Augustine dealt with all sorts of difficult subjects:

... tout ce que saint Augustin a traité dans ses travaux revient pratiquement dans sa prédication. Même les questions théologiques les plus difficiles et les plus abstraites, comme sa théologie trinitaire, sont discutées dans ses sermons. ... C'est un fait remarquable que ce prédicateur qui s'efforce de parler une langue simple et compréhensible, qui fait des concessions à ses auditeurs en ce qui concerne la forme extérieure de sa prédication, ne leur relâche rien quand il s'agit de la doctrine. La prédication augustinienne revêt un caractère nettement théologique et spéculatif.<sup>48</sup>

M. Pellegrino reviews a number of theological themes discussed in Augustine's sermons: Trinitarianism, Christology, pneumatology, ecclesiology, sacraments, the Eucharist, the forgiveness of sins, and eschatology. In this sense, Augustine's sermons are theologically informed and catechetical by nature.<sup>49</sup> Augustine's sermons also address questions related to the practice of living the Christian life.<sup>50</sup> A portion of Augustine's sermons have a polemical purpose and content, sometimes explicit and sometimes less so, rebuking the theology of the Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians, and others.

<sup>47</sup> Lawless, "Preaching", esp. p. 675.

<sup>48</sup> Mohrmann, "Saint Augustin prédicateur", esp. p. 402.

<sup>49</sup> Grasser, "La catéchèse d'Augustin dans le cadre liturgique".

<sup>50</sup> Pellegrino, "General Introduction", esp. pp. 56-83.

### 3.3 *Relation to Scripture*

G.G. Willis, S. Poque, A.-M. La Bonnardière, V. Saxer, and M. Margoni-Kögler have endeavored on the basis of Augustine's sermons to reconstruct his *lectionarium*.<sup>51</sup> It is evident that the Scriptures represent the essential point of the sermons and Augustine often referred to the liturgical Bible readings in his homilies. Augustine's theology is biblically inspired, as can be said of patristic theology as a whole. However, Augustine was free on ordinary days to choose a reading in function of the topic he wished to address. In this sense, the readings were sometimes no more than an occasion to draw attention to a theme. Nevertheless, Augustine's preaching was biblical to the core and none of his homilies are without biblical quotations. Indeed, certain biblical texts are ascribed an important place in his theology, particularly his "controversial theology", his debates with the Manicheans, Donatists, and Pelagians. References to Scripture in the sermons, however, were not always explicit. In fact, his choice of words often suggested that he was alluding to a particular biblical verse without naming it. Augustine also combined apparently unrelated verses because they carried the same meaning in his view. One pericope led to another based perhaps on nothing more than a shared word or a related theme. According to Augustine, exposition of the Bible should proceed according to the following set of rules. Every explanation of a text must be in accordance with the *regula fidei*. The Scriptures should be understood *spiritualiter* and not *carnaliter*. The biblical texts constitute a radical unity. The Bible thus has to be explained by the Bible. At the same time, the Bible should always be read from a Christian perspective and the Old Testament read allegorically and typologically in light of the New Testament. In addition to these theological instruments, based on the conviction that the Bible is inspired, Augustine also made use of philological instruments: respect for the text, comparison of variant codices, reference to Greek biblical texts, and the recognition that a given word can have a different meaning in a different context. Augustine details and elaborates these exegetical and hermeneutical principles in his *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.4 *Audience*

The public reacted to Augustine's words in a variety of different ways. Sometimes the audience was attentive and demonstrated their agreement with

<sup>51</sup> Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary*; Poque, *Augustin d'Hippone*; La Bonnardière, "La Bible liturgique de saint Augustin"; Saint Augustin, *L'année liturgique*, ed./trans. Saxer; Margoni-Kögler, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus*.

<sup>52</sup> Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur*.

acclamations and applause. At other times they were restless and distracted and demonstrated their annoyance at what was being preached. *Sermones* 293-94, preached in Carthage in the summer of 413 AD, aptly illustrate the latter. In these sermons, Augustine indicated that when unbaptized infants die, they suffer eternal damnation on account of original sin. The content of the two sermons shows that his audience did not agree with this position and actually protested. Augustine's listeners probably did not constitute a homogeneous group, but represented diverse social statuses, lifestyles, educational backgrounds, and intellectual perspectives. According to R. MacMullen, Augustine's listeners were for the most part well-to-do, although greater diversity was evident during the major liturgical feasts.<sup>53</sup> M. Pellegrino takes the social homogeneity of those who attended Augustine's sermons as his point of departure.<sup>54</sup> G. Partoens points out, however, that Augustine himself made regular reference to the intellectual and spiritual heterogeneity of his public.<sup>55</sup> It is probable that the majority of his listeners had little knowledge of classical literature, although their potential knowledge of the Bible should not be underestimated. C. Mohrmann argues on the basis of reactions from his listeners that the majority were generally able to follow the difficult theological and exegetical issues raised in the sermons. The North African public appears to have had a lively interest in theological matters.<sup>56</sup>

### 3.5 *Research Perspectives*

The study of the content of Augustine's sermons has a twofold importance. First, an analysis of the theological content of the sermons can provide insight into Augustine's pastoral and spiritual perspective on topics in philosophical theology. The primary difference between his doctrinal writings and his homilies is rooted in the latter's concrete liturgical context and their direct contact with a (mostly) sympathetic audience. The style of the sermons, the majority of which are occasional writings, reveals an additional difference: Augustine's pastoral and spiritual vision of philosophical theology and the practical application of doctrinal propositions. Second, the study of the sermons represents a complement to existing philosophical theological research into Augustine's thought. His sermons do not limit themselves to the spiritual and practical pastoral perspective, but engage on occasion with the topics in philosophical

53 MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience (AD 350-400)", esp. p. 505, pp. 508-10. See also Marin, "Aspetti dell'omiletica agostiniana".

54 Pellegrino, "General Introduction", esp. pp. 85-87.

55 Partoens, "Augustin als Prediger", esp. p. 245.

56 Mohrmann, "Saint Augustin prédicateur", esp. p. 402.

theology that he dealt with in his doctrinal writings. The difference lies in the fact that the homilies often offer a simplified discussion of these topics, bearing in mind the capacities of his public. The sermons thus exhibit a combination of Augustine the pastor-preacher and Augustine the theologian. From a research perspective, moreover, the sermons have the additional advantage that they present an overview of the entire period of almost forty years in which Augustine was theologically active.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Partoens, "Augustin als Prediger", esp. pp. 246-47.



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# Preaching in Sixth-Century Arles. The Sermons of Bishop Caesarius

Nicolas De Maeyer and Gert Partoens

## 1 Introduction

Preaching occupied a central place in the activities and writings of the Arlesian bishop Caesarius (470-542). This is evident from the more than 240 extant sermons that have been attributed to him, as well as from the repeated emphasis on the importance of preaching, found both in the bishop's own sermons and in the *Vita Caesarii* that was produced shortly after his death.

Although Christianity had been well established in Southern Gaul by the time Caesarius took possession of the see of Arles (502), various parts of his own and other dioceses remained poorly instructed in Christian doctrine and the Christian way of life.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Caesarius' congregation was quite heterogeneous, consisting of social groups with highly divergent levels of education, literacy, and knowledge of Christian dogma. In addition, it seems that part of the population in both the city and countryside still adhered to some degree to pagan traditions and practices.<sup>2</sup> Caesarius thus faced the task of effectively teaching Christian doctrine to a heterogeneous audience, a considerable part of which seems to have lacked even a basic knowledge of the Christian faith.<sup>3</sup>

1 For the spread of Christianity in Arles and its surroundings, see Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-36; 118-31; Delage, "Un évêque au temps des invasions", pp. 38-42; Guyon, "D'Honorat à Césaire"; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 57-71.

2 See *Vita* 1, 55; Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls*, pp. 281-83; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 138-42; Delage, "Un évêque au temps des invasions", p. 39; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 215-26. We should, however, be cautious: not all references to pagan traditions in Caesarius' works can be regarded as a proof of persisting pagan habits among the Arlesian congregation. Many of these references may well have been nothing more than literary topoi: Bailey, "These Are Not Men", p. 28 + n. 24 (with further bibliography); Brunner, "Publikumskonstruktionen", pp. 116-20.

3 While part of Caesarius' audience was certainly uneducated and/or illiterate (e.g., ss. 6; 8; 114), the majority of his congregation will likely have had some sort of education and/or basic knowledge of Christian doctrine. See Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, pp. 76-77;

Over the course of his long episcopal career, Caesarius tried unremittingly to create an environment in which the Christian message could be effectively communicated. His efforts are situated on two levels: not only did he initiate an ambitious program of pastoral and ecclesiastical reform, in order to provide a thorough instruction of the laity and clergy in Christian doctrine and morals; he also endeavoured to optimally adapt his preaching to the needs and intellectual level of his congregation, with the aim of communicating the Christian message to as many people as possible. Both levels will be considered in detail in the following sections, which are based on three important text corpora, that each illustrate the importance of preaching in Caesarius' life and works:

- (1) Caesarius explicitly voiced his ideas on preaching in several sermons, notably in a text that in the modern editions is presented as s. 1, but in reality is a circular letter the bishop sent to his fellow priests and bishops.<sup>4</sup> The "sermon" opens with an outline of the ministry of a bishop, whose central duty is said to be the spiritual care of his congregation rather than the cultivation of lands and the administration of Church property (s. 1, 2-7). The rest of the admonitory letter concentrates on preaching and discusses its central role among the duties of bishops and priests. In this long exposition, Caesarius deals, for instance, with questions of who is allowed to preach or to read a sermon during Mass (s. 1, 15), which themes are to be discussed and in what style (s. 1, 12), and how frequently bishops and priests should preach (s. 1, 10).
- (2) The *Vita Caesarii* consists of two books, written shortly after the bishop's death at the request of his niece Caesaria and the nuns of the community she was leading, which had been founded by Caesarius himself (*Vita* 1, 1). The first book was mainly written by Cyprianus, bishop of Toulon, with the help of two other bishops, Firminus of Uzès and a certain Viventius (*Vita* 2, 1). The second book is the work of a priest named Messianus and a deacon called Stephanus (*Vita* 1, 63; 2, 1). All five authors had known the Arlesian bishop personally (*Vita* 2, 1). Whereas book 1 mainly sketches the different stages of Caesarius' earlier life and the first part of his episcopal career, book 2 focuses on Caesarius' visits

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J. Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, pp. 10-11; Brunner, "Publikumskonstruktionen", pp. 107-08.

<sup>4</sup> Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 228 dates s. 1 to the "late 520s"; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, p. 176 situates its composition shortly before the council of Vaison (529). For s. 1, see esp. d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 335-39; Terraneo, "La missione pastorale", pp. 507-08; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 228-30; Delage in *Vie de Césaire d'Arles*, pp. 81-86.



to local parishes, his miracles (both during and after his lifetime), and his final years.<sup>5</sup>

(3) As metropolitan bishop of Arles, Caesarius played a significant role in several Church councils held in Southern Gaul.<sup>6</sup> He presided over or participated in the councils of Agde (506), Arles (524), Carpentras (527), Orange (529), Vaison (529), and Marseilles (533), all of which bear the mark of his pastoral zeal and longing for Church reform. Except for the council of Orange (which discussed the issue of grace and free will), these councils primarily dealt with questions of Church administration, viz. the education of the clergy and rules for the ordination of priests and deacons, the administration of local churches and parishes, the standardization of liturgical practices, and the limitation of clerical rights. Although they are not exclusively Caesarius' work, the canons of these councils are invaluable sources for a reconstruction of his efforts in reorganizing Church life in Southern Gaul.

## 2 Caesarius' Pastoral and Ecclesiastical Reforms<sup>7</sup>

Two major features of Caesarius' program of Church reform were the provision of a better education for the clergy and the extension to priests and deacons of the bishop's right to preach or recite sermons during Mass. His reorganizations further dealt with the administration of local parishes, Church property and finances, the rules for admission to ecclesiastical offices, and the standardization of liturgical customs.

Traditionally, preaching had been the exclusive prerogative of a bishop. In Caesarius' time, however, some bishops were more concerned with the administration of their diocese and Church property than with proclaiming the Christian faith (as implied in ss. 1, 5-7.13; 230, 5). Moreover, many dioceses extended over vast areas, encompassing not only the episcopal city, but also several smaller villages and local parishes, often situated in remote areas. Since local priests did not have the right to preach to their congregation themselves, these parishes utterly depended upon the bishop for their instruction in the

5 See the introductions to the English and French translations of the *Vita* by, respectively, Klingshirn (pp. 1-2) and Delage (pp. 19-25).

6 See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 97-104; 137-45; Harden Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency*, pp. 199-234. Caesarius was not present at the council of Valence, where he was represented, however, by several members of his clergy (*Vita* 1, 60).

7 For Caesarius' Church reforms, see Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls*, pp. 265-70; Terraneo, "La missione pastorale"; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 72-110; 137-45; 226-43; Delage in *Vie de Césaire d'Arles*, pp. 81-86.



creed. Although Caesarius often visited different parts of his diocese (*Vita* 2, *passim*), he was not able to visit all communities on a regular basis – some of them he could only visit once a year (e.g., ss. 6, 1; 19, 1; 151, 1). To ensure that the faith would be preached to these local congregations more regularly, he strongly advocated that priests should be allowed to prepare and preach sermons of their own before their congregation. The council of Vaison (529) formally granted priests this right,<sup>8</sup> a controversial decision which many bishops at the council considered an outright attack on their episcopal rights.<sup>9</sup> The council further allowed deacons to recite sermons of the Fathers whenever the bishop or priest was unable to preach himself.<sup>10</sup>

Caesarius frequently urged bishops and priests to make use of their right to preach, especially in those remote parishes he only rarely visited (s. 1, 12-13; *Vita* 1, 18). Bishops and priests, Caesarius warned, have no excuse for abstaining from preaching. In case they find the task of preaching too tedious (*laboriosum*), they should take recourse to the works of the Fathers, who gathered “spiritual fruits” (*spiritalis fructus*) in their “innumerable works” (*innumabilia [...] uolumina*) (s. 1, 15), and recite one of their homilies in church. Lack of eloquence, too, is no excuse for the neglect of the *officium praedicationis* (s. 1, 15), since, according to the bishop, “no eloquence or great memory is sought here, where a simple admonition in ordinary language is understood to be necessary”.<sup>11</sup> Those who deem themselves unable to explain Scripture, should

8 *Hoc etiam pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in ciuitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis uerbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, [...].* Council of Vaison (529), canon 2, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 148A, pp. 78-79.

9 See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 144-45; 228-31; Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 21-22.

10 Continuation of the canon quoted in n. 8: [...] *ita ut, si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur; si enim digni sunt diaconi, quod Christus in euangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni iudicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?* Compare *Vita* 1, 54; ss. 1, 15; 2 (all three passages promote the public reading of existing sermons by both priests and deacons). See Mueller in *Saint Caesarius of Arles. Sermons, Vol. 1*, p. xiv; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 143-44; Delage in *Vie de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 83; Brunner, “Publikums-konstruktionen”, p. 101.

11 *Non hic aut eloquentia aut grandis memoria quaeritur, ubi simplex et pedestri sermone admonitio necessaria esse cognoscitur.* Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon* 1, 13, *Sources Chrétiennes* 175, p. 250. We quote s. 1 according to the edition of Delage, which offers a better text than Morin's edition of 1937/1953 (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 103) thanks to the testimony of manuscript Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun., 11, which was not used by Morin. For the

content themselves with exhorting the audience to live a virtuous live and give advice on how this should be done (s. 1, 12-13).

Priests who were allowed to preach themselves, evidently needed a good knowledge of Scripture and Christian doctrine. A second element of Caesarius' pastoral reform therefore concerned the training and instruction of the clergy. This issue was addressed specifically at the councils of Agde (506) and Arles (524). The council of Agde stipulated, *inter alia*, that a deacon could not be ordained before the age of twenty-five, and a priest or bishop before that of thirty.<sup>12</sup> In his own diocese, Caesarius allowed the ordination of deacons only at the age of thirty (s. 1, 14; *Vita* 1, 56) and stipulated that nobody could be ordained as a priest or deacon before having read four times both the Old and the New Testament (*Vita* 1, 56).<sup>13</sup> The council of Arles reaffirmed the decisions made at Agde with regard to the ordination of deacons and priests or bishops.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, it was decided that any layman wishing to join the clergy, should observe a one-year period of preparation before being admitted (compare s. 1, 14).<sup>15</sup>

Caesarius fully realized that both the clergy and the laity could only become thoroughly instructed in the Christian faith by regularly reading and expounding on Scripture. To that end, the bishop encouraged both groups to frequently read, discuss, and contemplate both Scripture and the works of the Fathers (e.g., ss. 1, 2.4; 2; 6, 2-3; 7, 1; 8; 198, 5).<sup>16</sup> He emphasized that even those who are

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critical edition of this important, programmatic text, see also E. Bona, "Un testimone sconosciuto".

12 16. *Episcopus uero benedictionem diaconatus minoribus a uiginti et quinque annorum penitus non committat. [...] 17. Presbyterum uero uel episcopum ante triginta annos, idest antequam ad uiri perfecti aetatem ueniant, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare praesumat: ne per aetatem, quod aliquoties euenit, aliquo errore culpentur.* Council of Agde (506), canons 16 and 17, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 148, p. 201. See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 99-100.

13 See Terraneo, "La missione pastorale", pp. 512-13; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 231; Delage in *Vie de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 85.

14 [...] *nullus episcoporum diaconum, antequam uiginti et quinque annus impleat, ordinare praesumat, episcopatus uero uel presbyterii honore nullus laicus ante praemissa conuersatione uel ante triginta aetatis annus accipiat.* Council of Arles (524), canon 1, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 148A, p. 43.

15 [...] *nullus metropolitanorum cuicumque laico dignitatem episcopatus tribuat, sed nec reliqui pontifices presbyterii uel diaconatus honorem conferre praesumant, nisi anno integro fuerit ab eis praemissa conuersio.* Council of Arles (524), canon 2, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 148A, p. 44.

16 See Terraneo, "La missione pastorale", pp. 511-12; Ferreiro, "Frequenter legere"; Grzywaczewski, "La lectio divina".

unable to read or too occupied by worldly business, have no excuse for neglecting God's word, but ought to have others recite or explain the Scriptures to them (e.g., ss. 6, 2; 8, 1; 196, 2). Bishops and priests, he repeatedly states, should unremittingly preach the word of God to their congregation, even (and especially) to those who do not wish to hear it. Laymen, for their part, should constantly ask their priests for spiritual nourishment and guidance, and demand further explanation whenever a Biblical passage remains unclear or when they do not understand the content of a sermon (e.g., s. 4).

Several bishops and priests, especially those in charge of dioceses and parishes located in the countryside, had little training in preaching or composing sermons (s. 1, 12). To provide them with the basic materials on which to draw for the preparation of their sermons, Caesarius gathered both his own homilies<sup>17</sup> and those of other Fathers<sup>18</sup> into various collections, which he sent out in order to be copied and distributed among the clergy (ss. 1, 15; 2). According to the *Vita* (1, 55) these collections were sent to parishes and bishoprics in *Frantia, in Gallias* [sic], *atque in Italia, in Hispania, diuersisque prouinciis*.

Caesarius emphasized that bishops and priests should preach on a regular basis, not only on feast days, but also on every Sunday (ss. 1, 10; 2; *Vita* 1, 59). He himself preached on weekdays too, sometimes even twice a day.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the discussion and explanation of God's word, Caesarius frequently underlined, should not be limited to church services alone, but could also take place "at a banquet [...], in conversation, at an assembly, on the road, or wherever we are".<sup>20</sup>

17 For these collections, see Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. xxiv-lxxxvi; Étaix, "Nouvelle collection".

18 For Caesarian collections composed mainly of Augustinian sermons, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, pp. 210-18. At least one of the collections presented by Verbraken should be removed from this list of "Arlesian collections", viz. the so-called *De bono coniugali*-collection. For this, see Delmulle/Pezé, "Un manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe", pp. 244-45.

19 See Bardy, "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles", p. 206; Morin, "Mes principes et ma méthode", p. 66.

20 [...] *non solum in maioribus festiuitatibus, sed etiam reliquis temporibus omni die dominico uerbum Dei praedicemus, nec in ecclesia tantum, sed, sicut supra iam suggessi, et ad conuiuium diuinam lectionem relegi faciat, et in colloquio, in consessu, in itinere, et ubicumque fuerimus [...] uerbum Domini fidelium et infidelium cordibus inserere festinemus* [...]. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon* 1, 10, *Sources Chrétiennes* 175, p. 240. Compare s. 198, 5.

### 3 General Characteristics of Caesarius' Sermons

Given the mixed nature of his audience, Caesarius was obliged to convey his message in a way that was comprehensible to all layers of society, and especially to the lower classes (e.g., ss. 1, 20; 86, 1). The bishop of Arles took several measures to ensure that his congregation would stay attentive while he preached. Masses were usually kept relatively short (they probably lasted no longer than one or two hours: s. 74, 2) and his sermons mostly lasted no longer than twenty or thirty minutes (s. 76, 3; compare ss. 22, 1; 195, 4).<sup>21</sup> When on one occasion his exposition of the story of Joseph was becoming too elaborate, the bishop reserved the rest of its treatment for a later time, concerned as he was that some of his audience's members needed to return to work (s. 91, 8). Whoever was unable to stand upright for a long time, could sit down during the reading of passions or Bible passages (s. 78, 1).

Caesarius frequently admonished his audience to remain silent and to respect common rules of behaviour during the service, such as arriving on time in church (s. 72, 1), or kneeling and bowing the head when required (ss. 76-77). Those who left before the end of the service or continued to talk during the sermon, were reproached for doing so (ss. 50, 3; 55, 4; 73, 5; *Vita* 1, 27). Caesarius urged the community to actively participate in the service by encouraging the faithful, for instance, to learn to correctly sing the Psalms (s. 75; *Vita* 1, 19).

The bishop of Arles prepared his sermons in such a way that each of them formed a finished entity which could stand on its own and usually dealt with a single topic.<sup>22</sup> Several of his homilies conclude with a short recapitulation of the sermon's argumentation and central message (e.g., ss. 87, 6; 99, 3; 104, 5; 179, 8). Caesarius' sermons first and foremost aim at presenting a clear-cut, straightforward, and understandable message. Rather than offering extensive theoretical discussions of a theological or exegetical nature, he provided his community with short, practical, catechetical admonitions and pieces of advice (*Vita* 1, 55).<sup>23</sup> As such, his sermons have a strong didactic orientation, teaching basic knowledge of Scripture and the Christian faith in a style that best appealed to the heterogeneous nature of his audience (e.g., s. 86, 1).

21 See Bardy, "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 204-05; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 150; Bailey, "These Are Not Men", p. 27, n. 18; Brunner, "Publikumskonstruktionen", p. 102.

22 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, p. 23; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, p. 105; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

23 See Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, pp. 80-81; Bailey, "These Are Not Men", p. 27; *Christianity's Quiet Success*, p. 10.

An essential feature of Caesarius' preaching is the emphasis on the ability of every Christian to carry out God's commandments. To live a virtuous life according to Christian *exempla* is within the reach of everyone, even though this requires a constant and daily struggle against sinfulness (e.g., ss. 6, 6; 224, 2; 227, 5). To stress this point, the preacher frequently uses examples and analogies drawn from everyday life, in order to appeal to the audience's common experience and to present practical remedies for sinful habits, such as immoderate drinking or adultery (ss. 42-44; 46-47; 55; 189; *Vita* 1, 55).

One element which especially renders Caesarius' homilies highly accessible, is the preacher's language and style.<sup>24</sup> Caesarius, who referred to his sermons as *admonitiones simplices* (s. 2), favoured a simple, straightforward, and clear language (*sermo humilis*), which was devoid of magniloquence and aimed at maximal communication (ss. 1, 2.12-13.20; 86, 1; *Vita* 2, 1). As his pastoral efforts were foremost directed towards the *inperiti et simplices* instead of the *eruditi* and *scolastici* (s. 86, 1), Caesarius formulated his message in a language that made use of short, simple sentences as well as lively and uncomplicated vocabulary.

Recourse to *sermo humilis*, however, does not mean that Caesarius' sermons are devoid of rhetorical or stylistic refinement. The pragmatic combination of *simplicitas* and rhetorical language had already been an essential element of Augustine's preaching and was successfully applied by Caesarius in his own homiletic oeuvre. The bishop of Arles thoroughly prepared his sermons and usually provided them with a clear *exordium* and *peroratio*. Digressions or sudden changes of subject – typical features of Augustine's sermons – are very rare (compare our analysis of s. 210 below). The preacher makes frequent use of (Biblical) *exempla*, rhetorical questions and exclamations, fictitious dialogues (e.g., ss. 41, 2; 44, 4; 219, 3), and metaphorical language.<sup>25</sup> His sentences abound

24 Caesarius' style and language have been the subject of many studies. See, e.g., Morin, "Quelques raretés philologiques"; Vaccari, "Volgarismi notevoli"; Bonini, "Lo stile nei sermoni"; Salvatore, "Uso delle similitudini"; Rapisarda, "Lo stile umile"; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 180-208; Clerici, "Il *sermo humilis*"; Joffre, "Les voix verbales"; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 468-70; Bona, "Simplici et pedestri sermone"; Campetella, "Sermo humilis' e comunicazione di massa"; "Il latino di Cesario"; "I termini tecnici agricoli"; Trisoglio, "Cesario d'Arles scrittore"; Verdo, "Les registres de langues". For additional studies, see Klingshirn's general bibliography.

25 Drawing his images mainly from nature and agriculture (e.g., ss. 6, 5; 23, 4; 44, 6; 166, 5), from trade, the crafts, and city life, including the spectacles in the amphitheater (e.g., ss. 61, 3; 152, 3), as well as from medicine and death (e.g., ss. 5, 5; 129, 3; 221), Caesarius appealed to his congregation's common experience.

with repetitions, antitheses, parallelisms, imperatives, vocatives (*fratres carissimi, dilectissimi* etc.), and short, formulaic sentences.

#### 4 The Modern Editions of Caesarius' Sermons<sup>26</sup>

The edition history of Caesarius' sermons can be largely divided into four phases:

- (1) The years 1508 up until 1669 saw the publication of seven editions of homilies attributed to Caesarius. These homilies, 44 of which have been retained in the present standard edition by Germain Morin,<sup>27</sup> were extracted from only four Caesarian sermon collections.<sup>28</sup>
- (2) A second, decisive step was taken by the Maurists, who attached to their edition of Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* – volume 5 of their new edition of the African bishop's *Opera omnia* – a series of homilies that had been traditionally – but falsely – attributed to the bishop of Hippo (the so-called *Appendix*; compare *Patrologia Latina* 39, cc. 1735–2354). Mainly on the basis of internal arguments, the Maurist Pierre Coustant posited that no less than 103 of the items listed in the appendix were the product of Caesarius of Arles. According to Germain Morin, 101 of these attributions are correct, while a further 36 sermons from the same *Appendix* could also be ascribed to the Arlesian bishop.<sup>29</sup>
- (3) After some minor discoveries during the 19th century,<sup>30</sup> today's standard edition of Caesarius' sermons was published by Germain Morin at Maredsous in 1937. This edition, which was the result of a research project that started at the end of the 19th century, constituted the first volume of the first critical edition of Caesarius' *Gesamtwerk*, the second one (1942) comprising his correspondence, monastic rules, theological treatises, and testament, as well as

26 For this history, see Morin's overview in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. ix–xix, which itself is a synthesis of Morin's article "Les éditions des sermons de S. Césaire d'Arles". Compare also d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 318–20; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 73–80.

27 See the table offered by Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 82–93.

28 *Collectio Clichtovea* (Venice 1508; Paris 1511; Cagliari 1577; Lyon 1613); *Collectio Veneta* (Venice 1508); *Collectio XLII homiliarum* (Cologne 1531; Basel 1558; Cagliari 1577); *Collectio xxv admonitionum* (Paris 1669). For these collections, see Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. xxv–xxxii; xl–xliii; xlv–li.

29 Compare the table in Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. xiv–xviii.

30 See Morin, "Les éditions des sermons de S. Césaire d'Arles", p. 37.

relevant council acts and the bishop's *Vita*.<sup>31</sup> After a fire devastated almost the entire stock of Morin's sermons edition, an *editio altera* – prepared by Cyrille Lambot – was printed in 1953 by Brepols Publishers in the *Series Latina* of the *Corpus Christianorum* (vol. 103-04).<sup>32</sup> Morin's edition was based on a thorough knowledge of 15 Caesarian sermon collections and their many handwritten representatives,<sup>33</sup> as well as on 74 manuscripts of various nature.<sup>34</sup> Again mainly on the basis of internal criticism,<sup>35</sup> Morin established a corpus of 238 homilies written or compiled by Caesarius, which he arranged according to their content and intended audience into five groups, which will be presented in the next section.<sup>36</sup>

31 *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia* (Maredsous, 1937/1942). General assessments of the two volumes of Morin's edition are Lambot, "La première édition critique"; d'Alès, "Les "sermons" de saint Césaire d'Arles"; Lambot, "Les œuvres complètes".

32 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, p. iv. Initially, the reprint in the *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* was to be provided with an appendix, containing some new sermons as well as some ameliorated editions of sermons that had already been edited by Morin (compare the same p. iv). However, due to unforeseen circumstances, this appendix eventually was not integrated in either of the two volumes of the *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*. For this, see Waszink's review of 1955.

33 See n. 17.

34 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. LXXXVI–CXXII; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, p. 73.

35 See Morin, "Mes principes et ma méthode"; Lambot, "La première édition critique", p. 386; d'Alès, "Les "sermons" de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 333–34. Quite revealing for Morin's confidence in his personal talent for internal criticism, is his article "Comment j'ai fait mon édition des œuvres de saint Césaire d'Arles", at the end of which this talent is described in almost mystical terms as a God-given quality: "C'est là, en effet, ce qui constituera l'œuvre principale de ma longue et laborieuse carrière: j'aurai ouvert, tout en allant à la recherche de mon Césaire, nombre de « sources » nouvelles, jusqu'ici insoupçonnées ou considérées comme perdues, de l'ancienne littérature chrétienne. Comme le disait un jour à ses élèves (...) Samuel Berger: « c'est le bon Dieu qui donne à certains esprits une telle facilité, et rien ne saurait la remplacer ». C'est lui aussi qui écrivait, à propos de la publication des *Tractatus* retrouvés par moi de saint Jérôme: « On aurait tort de prétendre attribuer de pareilles découvertes à un pur effet du hasard. Dieu ne les accorde qu'à ceux qui les ont méritées: elles sont d'ordinaire le fruit et la récompense d'une préparation assidue et intelligente. » Cependant, ce don de Dieu, je suis persuadé qu'il y aurait moyen de l'utiliser plus qu'on ne le fait généralement à notre époque: ce serait de réapprendre à bien lire, posément, avec ordre, en vivifiant par la réflexion et en classant dans la mémoire ce qu'on a lu".

36 Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 82–93, offers a table that systematically presents the manuscript transmission and the edition history of each of the 238 sermons in Morin's edition.



(4) The corpus of Caesarian sermons established by Morin was used by subsequent scholars to “test” the possible Caesarian authorship of other texts. In the decades following the publication and reprint of Morin’s edition, this resulted in the attribution of new (fragments of) homilies to the bishop of Arles by Raymond Étaix, Réginald Grégoire, Joseph Lemarié, and Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi. An overview of all sermons that are presently attributed to Caesarius (taking into account some modern corrections of Morin’s views), is given in volume 1 of Roger Gryson’s *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l’antiquité et du haut moyen âge* (2007).<sup>37</sup>

An edition with extensive introduction, selective critical apparatus, explanatory notes, and French translation of sermons 1-105/233-38 was offered by Marie-José Delage, Joël Courreau and Adalbert de Vogüé in the *Sources Chrétiennes* series.<sup>38</sup> An English translation of all 238 sermons of Morin’s edition was published by Mary Magdeleine Mueller for the *The Fathers of the Church* series.<sup>39</sup>

## 5 The Contents of Caesarius’ Preaching

Morin classified Caesarius’ sermons in five groups according to their contents and intended audiences, a classification that is still being used today: *sermones de diuersis seu admonitiones* (ss. 1-80), *sermones de Scriptura* (ss. 81-186), *sermones de tempore* (ss. 187-213), *sermones de sanctis* (ss. 214-32), and *sermones ad monachos* (ss. 233-38). It should be noted, however, that admonitions are found throughout Caesarius’ entire homiletic oeuvre, while exegetical passages regularly appear outside the *sermones de Scriptura*, as Biblical verses underlie almost all of Caesarius’ sermons. Furthermore, many of the preacher’s favourite themes (the Last Judgement, repentance and humility, love towards God and one’s neighbour, baptism, etc.) occur throughout all sections.

37 See R. Gryson, *Répertoire général*, pp. 350-60. According to Cl. Weidmann in Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones selecti*, pp. 15-28 and 45-58, two sermons on Gryson’s list (s Et 10 and s Vi) have to be ascribed to Augustine and not to Caesarius.

38 Volumes 175 (ss. 1-20; *admonitiones*), 243 (ss. 21-55; *admonitiones*), 330 (ss. 56-80; *admonitiones*), 398 (ss. 233-38 + Eus. Gall., s. 6 ext.; *sermones ad monachos*), and 447 (ss. 81-105; *sermones de Scriptura*).

39 Vol. 1 contains the *admonitiones*; vol. 2 the *Sermones de Scriptura*; vol. 3 the *Sermones de tempore*, *de sanctis*, and *ad monachos*. All English translations in this article have been borrowed from this translation.



(1) *Sermones de diuersis seu admonitiones* (ss. 1-80; *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 103, pp. 1-330).<sup>40</sup> Morin placed the admonitory sermons at the beginning of his edition and gave three reasons for doing so:<sup>41</sup> first, the *admonitiones* convey the best illustration of Caesarius' talent as a preacher; second, two of the most important collections of sermons almost exclusively consist of this type of sermons,<sup>42</sup> and, third, these homilies contain the largest amount of purely Caesarian material, as the other categories contain many more homilies that have been largely modelled on or extensively make use of passages from the works of Caesarius' patristic predecessors.<sup>43</sup> The *admonitiones* are essentially moralizing pieces, abounding with exhortations not to indulge in lascivious behaviour (such as adultery, inebriety, inappropriate conduct during religious feasts; see especially ss. 13-14; 16; 41-47; 55-55a; compare *Vita* 1, 55),<sup>44</sup> not to follow pagan rites or habits (especially ss. 13; 50-54; compare *Vita* 1, 55), or not to give way to anger, avarice, and other vices. They encourage the brethren to lead a life in charity, compassion for the poor, and love of one's enemy (especially ss. 14-39) and stress the importance of preaching and the reading of Scripture (especially ss. 1-2; 4-8). They offer basic instruction in Christian doctrine (especially ss. 3; 9-12) and recommend to do penance in view of the Final Judgement (especially ss. 56-68). A series of admonitions also focuses on prayer and the appropriate behaviour in church (especially ss. 72-80).

The tone of the *admonitiones* is pastoral, personal, and strongly paraenetic. Most of them are rather brief, comprising no more than a few pages in Morin's edition. They frequently display the bishop's concern for the spiritual wellbeing of his congregation (e.g., s. 78, 4-5) or his indignation over its behaviour in church (especially ss. 73-74; 80). The section opens with the long s. 1, which, though placed at the beginning of Morin's edition, was never preached, but rather functioned as a circular letter on preaching addressed to Caesarius' fel-

40 For this category, see the extensive introduction offered by Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 13-214. More general presentations are d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 334-46; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 464-65; Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, pp. 77-78.

41 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, p. CXXII.

42 Viz. the *Collectio xxv admonitionum* (L) and the *Collectio Veneta XIX Admonitionum* (V). See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. xxv-xxxI.

43 Within the *admonitiones*, there are only thirteen sermons in which patristic sources "prennent une place prépondérante" (Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, p. 104), viz. ss. 3; 9; 10; 11; 18; 20; 21; 24; 28; 58; 62; 63; 70.

44 See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 190-99; Bailey, "These Are Not Men".

low bishops.<sup>45</sup> Comparable is s. 2, which in reality is a preface that Caesarius put at the beginning of several of his sermon collections.<sup>46</sup>

(2) *Sermones de Scriptura* (ss. 81-186; *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 103-04, p. 333-760).<sup>47</sup> The second and most extensive of the five categories comprises sermons dealing with scriptural exegesis, which are divided in sermons on the Old (ss. 81-144) and the New Testament (ss. 145-86). The first part of the Old Testament sermons (ss. 81-130) consists of homilies on the Pentateuch and the Historical Books,<sup>48</sup> which, according to Joël Courreau, may have been preached for the largest part during Lent and mainly focus on the theme of baptism.<sup>49</sup> The second part on the Old Testament (ss. 131-44) deals with passages from the Wisdom Books and the Prophets.<sup>50</sup> From this subdivision, it is clear that Caesarius' Old Testament sermons predominantly focus on the Pentateuch and the Historical books.

The majority of the New Testament sermons consider the Gospels. Within this group, Matthew's is the most frequently explained Gospel, followed by those of Luke and John, while only one sermon deals with a pericope from the Gospel of Mark.<sup>51</sup> According to Courreau, the homilies on Matthew and Mark focus on Christ's teachings and commandments, and are to be considered admonitions rather than purely exegetical homilies, while the sermons on Luke and John mostly offer allegorical or moralizing explanations of parables and scenes from the life of Christ.<sup>52</sup> Other New Testament texts commented upon are Paul's letters, the first epistle of John,<sup>53</sup> and the book of Acts.<sup>54</sup>

45 See n. 4.

46 See n. 73.

47 For this section, see esp. Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles, passim*; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture, Vol. 1*, pp. 9-83. More general presentations are d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 346-60; Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 465. For Caesarius' exegesis, see also Courreau, "L'exégèse allégorique"; Mayeski, "An Urban Bishop in a Changing World".

48 Genesis: ss. 81-93; Exodus: ss. 94-104; Leviticus: s. 105; Numbers: ss. 106-13; Joshua: ss. 114-16; Judges: ss. 117-20; Kings: ss. 121-23; on the prophets Elijah and Elisha: ss. 124-30.

49 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, pp. 24-26; Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, pp. 78-79; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture, Vol. 1*, p. 23.

50 Job: ss. 131-32; Psalms: ss. 133-37; Proverbs: ss. 138-39; Ecclesiasticus: ss. 140-41; Isaiah: s. 142; Jonah: ss. 143-44.

51 Matthew: ss. 145-58A; Mark: s. 159; Luke: ss. 160-66; John: ss. 167-75.

52 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, pp. 27-29.

53 See Delage, "La première épître de Jean".

54 Acts: s. 176; Paul: ss. 177-84; 1 John: ss. 185-86.

When explaining a Scriptural passage, Caesarius usually focuses on both its literal and spiritual meaning, the latter being moral and/or typological.<sup>55</sup> Whereas the literal sense is often considered very briefly, the bishop devotes ample attention to the spiritual one. Mostly taking his departure from either one specific Bible verse or a larger pericope, the preacher first seeks to relate its literal content and continues with the hidden – mostly moral – message of the verse(s) under consideration. As such, Caesarius' exegetical sermons, too, are largely of a moralizing and catechetical nature. When explaining the moral message hidden within a given verse or pericope, Caesarius frequently invokes Scriptural *exempla*, in order to provide his congregation with concrete examples of how to live a virtuous life (e.g., ss. 90, 3; 93, 3; 134, 2).<sup>56</sup> Recurrent themes in the exegetical sermons are the importance of humility, repentance, and forgiveness (e.g., ss. 108; 162; 173; 185), the sacrament of baptism (e.g., ss. 97; 129; 170-71), and divine Justice or the Last Judgement (e.g., ss. 158A; 166-67).

The scriptural sermons strongly rely on earlier patristic sources – especially on Origen's and Augustine's sermons – which are often extensively quoted.<sup>57</sup> Caesarius' scriptural homilies largely recapitulate established exegetical traditions and practices, without any claim to originality. The preacher's first and foremost concern was to provide his congregation with some basic knowledge regarding (the moral message of) Scripture by means of a rather uncomplicated form of Biblical commentary and the adaptation of earlier patristic exegesis to the needs and the intellectual level of his audience. The extent of the Biblical passages explained in a Caesarian sermon varies from one verse to a series of verses.<sup>58</sup> In the latter case, the bishop usually does not offer an elaborate verse by verse commentary, which, obviously, would demand too much from his audience. One can add here that, within the corpus of Caesarius' sermons, there is no series that systematically comments an entire book from Scripture.<sup>59</sup>

(3) *Sermones de tempore* (ss. 187-213; *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, pp. 763-850).<sup>60</sup> The section *de tempore* groups homilies preached on the high days of the liturgical year, which are each represented by one or more

55 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, p. 45; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, pp. 38-40.

56 See Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, pp. 40-45; 54-57; 76.

57 For Caesarius' use of patristic models, see further pp. 214-15.

58 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, p. 30.

59 See Courreau, *L'exégèse de saint Césaire d'Arles*, p. 23.

60 General presentations of this category are given in d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 360-67; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 465-66; Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, p. 80.

homilies. The section opens with a cycle of sermons for the Christmas period: Advent (ss. 187-89), Christmas (s. 190), Circumcision (s. 191), the Kalends of January (ss. 192-93), and Epiphany (ss. 194-95). A second series considers the celebrations belonging to the Easter period: Lent (ss. 196-200), *Traditio Symboli* (s. 201), Maundy Thursday (s. 202), Easter (ss. 203-05), Rogation days (ss. 207-09), Ascension (s. 210), and Pentecost (s. 211-13).<sup>61</sup>

In the *sermones de tempore*, Caesarius sketches the life, passion, and resurrection of Christ, and urges his listeners to model their own lives on that of Christ. Many of the themes addressed by Caesarius in the admonitions and exegetical sermons (baptism, repentance, the Last Judgement, etc.), return throughout these homilies. Various celebrations, especially those on the Kalends of January, offer the bishop an opportunity to fulminate against pagan rites and the excesses in drinking and eating. The sermons for Lent provide the preacher with an occasion to touch upon the theme of baptism. The bishop regularly admonishes his congregation, among whom the neophytes, to live in sobriety and chastity, while maintaining a pure state of heart.

(4) *Sermones de sanctis* (ss. 214-32; *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, pp. 853-921).<sup>62</sup> As a bishop, Caesarius was required to preach during the celebrations of important saints and martyrs, especially those highly revered in Arles, such as his predecessor Honoratus and the proto-martyr Stephen.<sup>63</sup> The section *de sanctis* opens with two homilies relating to Arles' patron saint Honoratus (ss. 214-15), who is being described as "a brilliant and illustrious lamp" for the city of Arles,<sup>64</sup> after which follow seven sermons on other saints (John the Baptist, Stephen, James and John, and the Holy Innocents) (ss. 216-22), as well as four homilies on groups of martyrs (ss. 223-26). The section concludes with three sermons for (the anniversary of) the dedication of a church or altar (ss. 227-29), and three sermons for (the anniversary of) episcopal ordinations (ss. 230-32).

In the *sermones de sanctis* one encounters the same moralizing tendency as in the sermons of the previous sections. Caesarius considers the lives of the saints and martyrs the ultimate embodiment of Christian virtue and preeminent examples of how to live righteously. These homilies are filled with

61 For the temporal cycle in Merovingian liturgy, see Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 61-81.

62 For general presentations of this category, see d'Alès, "Les "sermons" de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 367-71; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 466-67.

63 See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 166.

64 *Praecipuam ac praeclaram lucernam sanctae recordationis domnum Honoratum huic ciuitati pietas diuina concessit*. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon* 215, 1, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, p. 855.

exhortations to imitate the example set by those who fulfilled the Christian precepts of humility, repentance, forgiveness, and love for one's enemies, and as such qualify as models *par excellence* for every believer.<sup>65</sup> On the occasion of the feast of Honoratus, Caesarius embarks on a lengthy eulogy of the eternal life with Christ, the patriarchs, and the apostles, which should be the constant point of focus of every virtuous Christian (s. 215, 2-4). The commemoration of Stephen's martyrdom offers the bishop an occasion to emphasize the Christian precept of love for one's enemies (ss. 219-20). In one of his sermons for the feast of several martyrs, Caesarius notes the luxurious garments worn by some members of his congregation. This external display of luxuriousness and wealth is said to reveal a soul that is torn apart by inner distress and unhappiness (s. 224, 2). Those who are unable to overcome the *uoluptatem uel pompam saeculi huius* (s. 224, 2), should at least ornate their souls with good works: beautiful garments are conspicuous in the eyes of man, whereas good works stand out in the eyes of the angels (s. 224, 2). The sermon for the dedication of a church altar offers Caesarius an opportunity to compare the church of stone and wood with the spiritual church that is man's heart (s. 228, 1). Whereas the former is made by man, the latter is made by the hands of the divine *Artifex*. Therefore, man should keep his heart pure and free from sins, so that it may please God to dwell in it (s. 228, 1-3). Before baptism man's heart is a shrine for the Devil, after baptism it becomes Christ's temple (s. 229, 1).

(5) *Sermones ad monachos* (ss. 233-38; *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, pp. 925-53).<sup>66</sup> The last part of Morin's edition comprises homilies addressed to a monastic audience, and as such differs from the previous categories, which consist of sermons destined for larger audiences with a more or less heterogeneous composition. The section *ad monachos* opens with a letter to a certain abbot Aregius and his community, the monks of Blandiacum, which has been reworked into a homily.<sup>67</sup> Of the six sermons belonging to the section, several open with an address to the monks, in which Caesarius – himself a monk at Lérins prior to his transfer to Arles – expresses his delight in having the opportunity to visit the community. He explains that it is on the abbot's

65 See, e.g., *Sermon* 218, 5 (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, p. 866): *accendantur itaque animi nostri exemplis sanctorum: nam imitando talia fortasse aliquando peruenire ad similia poterimus*. Compare ss. 219, 2; 223, 1.

66 For this category, see Courreau/de Vogüé in Césaire d'Arles. *Œuvres monastiques*, Vol. 2, pp. 7-57. General presentations of this category are given in d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 371-72; Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 467.

67 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 2, p. 925. Nothing else is known of this Aregius or the *monasterium blandiacense*, which – as suggested by Morin – is to be situated perhaps in modern Blanzac, in the Charente department.

invitation that he has come to speak to the monks, although he deems himself unworthy of the honour. Though honoured, Caesarius openly admits that he does not know what could possibly be taught to the monks he is addressing, as they already strictly live according to Christ's precepts and have a thorough knowledge of the Christian faith (ss. 233-36).

The sermons *ad monachos* centre around the key-terms *humilitas*, *oboedientia*, and *caritas*, which are frequently extolled and recommended as the highest monastic virtues (ss. 233, 2-3.5; 234, 2-3; 235, 3.6; 236, 3). The preacher urges the monks to faithfully persevere in their exemplary way of life (s. 233, 2; 234, 2; 235, 5; 236, 3; 237, 5) and to unremittingly continue the daily fight against all kind of enticements (e.g., ss. 236, 4; 237, 2). Sermon 238 offers an exhortation to intensively study and memorize Scripture. In the *peroratio* of several sermons, the bishop expresses his wish that the monastic community may pray to God on his behalf (ss. 233-37).

## 6 Caesarius' Use of Patristic Sources<sup>68</sup>

As mentioned above, many of Caesarius' sermons rely considerably upon earlier patristic sources. In his edition (and the *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* reprint) Morin established a typographic system to discern for each individual sermon the degree of its dependence on previous patristic material: (1) Sermons that were largely written by Caesarius himself and exhibit almost no influence from other sources, have been printed in normal type. (2) Sermons that quote abundantly from earlier patristic sources, but nevertheless contain a considerable amount of Caesarian material, have been printed in normal type too, but are marked with a *crux* (†) next to their title. (3) Sermons that were almost entirely modelled on other sources (with only some slight interventions by Caesarius himself, such as the addition of an introduction and a conclusion, or the modification of specific words or phrases), have been printed in smaller type.

The passages borrowed from patristic sources are normally integrated in the centre of the homily in question, the introduction and conclusion usually being of Caesarius' own hand. While some homilies combine passages from different authors (e.g., ss. 20; 90; 216) or from different writings of one author (e.g., ss. 28; 35; 38), most of Caesarius' sermons incorporate an extensive passage

68 See d'Alès, "Les "sermons" de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 379-81; Bardy, "La prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles", p. 220-27; Delage in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au peuple*, Vol. 1, pp. 94-110; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, pp. 17-29.

from one specific patristic source, which determines the sermon's structure and thematic focus. The main patristic sources of Caesarius' homiletic oeuvre are Augustine and Origen (via Rufinus' translations), and, to a lesser extent, Cyprian, Ambrose, Pelagius, Faustus of Riez, Paulinus of Nola, Quoduultdeus, Jerome, Maximus of Turin, and the sermon collection of "Eusebius Gallicanus". A systematic overview of the sources of each individual sermon is given in the already mentioned *Répertoire* by Roger Gryson.<sup>69</sup>

An essential feature of Caesarius' appropriation of patristic sources is his constant endeavour to adjust patristic material to his own historical context and to the intellectual level of his audience. The bishop frequently eliminated passages he considered unfit for his congregation, such as long digressions, circumstantial elements, difficult explanations, or theological/exegetical subtleties.<sup>70</sup> In doing so, he retained the relevant thematic lines of his source texts, while conveying its message in a more straightforward and transparent form. Caesarius' personal way of adapting a given patristic *Vorlage* is also revealed in his substituting of individual terms, expressions, and images with more familiar expressions and metaphors. Using and adapting earlier material he did not intend to add new theological arguments or exegetical interpretations to the foundations laid by the Fathers, but simply to elucidate Christian doctrine and transmit basic Christian values to as large a congregation as possible. His focus and efforts were primarily of a pastoral and catechetical rather than of a theological or exegetical nature,<sup>71</sup> an exemplary case being the sermon that will be presented in the following paragraph.

## 7 Concise Analysis of Caesarius' s. 210 on Ascension

Caesarius' sermon 210 (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 104, pp. 837-40) is the only sermon in Morin's edition that was written to be delivered on the feast of Ascension. According to Morin and Étaix, it is transmitted in four Caesarian sermon collections that show quite some overlap in content and have been (partly) ordered according to the ecclesiastical year (the *Collectiones*

<sup>69</sup> See n. 37.

<sup>70</sup> See Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 142-43, 148-49; Brunner, "Publikumskonstruktionen", p. 102.

<sup>71</sup> See d'Alès, "Les 'sermons' de saint Césaire d'Arles", pp. 372-79; Terraneo, "La missione pastorale", p. 510; Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 472; Courreau in *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons sur l'Écriture*, Vol. 1, p. 45; Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, p. 10.



*Germanica*, *Gallicana*, *Zwifaltensis*, and *Wirziburgensis*).<sup>72</sup> Two of these collections, the *Collectiones Germanica* and *Zwifaltensis*, present themselves in their preface as a booklet (*libellus*) containing simple exhortations (*admonitiones simplices*) that priests and deacons should read in their parishes at the occasion of the main liturgical feasts (*in festiuitatibus maioribus*).<sup>73</sup> These collections indeed contain homilies with a strong moralistic inclination<sup>74</sup> that were to be read on the most important moments of the ecclesiastical year.<sup>75</sup> The latter also goes for s. 210, which pays almost no attention to the theological meaning of the commemorated event of Ascension, but rather focuses on the themes of human sinfulness and moral purification. It should be added that the sermon is preceded in the *Germanica* and *Gallicana* by a short homily on Ascension (*Germanica*: item 49; *Gallicana*: item 94) that has been considered either a “cento” composed of fragments borrowed from two Augustinian Ascension sermons (s. Guelf. 21 and s. Mai 98)<sup>76</sup> or an abbreviation of a now lost homily of which the latter two were themselves two separate abbreviations.<sup>77</sup> This “cento” or abbreviation, which may have been produced by Caesarius himself, but was not included in Morin’s edition of the bishop’s sermons, is not a moral exhortation, but does focus on the theological meaning of Christ’s (Resurrection and) Ascension. It thus compensates to a certain extent the lack of attention to the feast’s meaning in s. 210.

72 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 2, p. 837; Étaix, “Nouvelle collection”, p. 19, n. 95.

73 *Pro intuitu paternae pietatis et qualiscumque pastoris sollicitudine admonitiones simplices parochiis necessarias in hoc libello conscripsimus, quas in festiuitatibus maioribus sancti presbyteri uel diacones debeant commissis sibi populis recitare*. The preface in question is Sermon 2 of the Morin edition (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 103, pp. 18–19).

74 Compare Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching*, p. 80 on Caesarius’ sermons for the major liturgical feasts: “In reading these sermons one is somewhat surprised to discover that the concern of Caesarius to teach the barbarians introductory morality has dominated the whole series. The proclamation of the basic Christian mysteries of the incarnation and the passion and resurrection of Christ is not too successful”.

75 For a detailed description of these collections, see Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 1, pp. XLIII–XLV (*Wirziburgensis*); LXII–LXX (*Germanica*); LXX–LXXIII (*Zwifaltensis*); Étaix, “Nouvelle collection” (*Gallicana*).

76 The item coincides with Aug., s. 263 (version *Patrologia Latina* 38, cols. 1209–11), 1–2. According to Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 2, p. 969 and Étaix, “Nouvelle collection”, p. 19, these paragraphs are composed of fragments taken from Aug., s. Guelf. 21 and s. Mai 98.

77 See Dolbeau, “La prédication d’Augustin pour l’Ascension”, pp. 236–42. See also the following note.



S. 210 itself is not devoid of Augustinian influence either. On the contrary, it contains extensive quotations from the African bishop's s. 261, which is one of the many Ascension homilies he must have preached over the course of his long career, a relatively large amount of which has survived.<sup>78</sup> The sermon was preached in the Carthaginian *Basilica Fausti* and is traditionally dated to 16 May 418.<sup>79</sup> If this dating is correct, s. 261 was delivered immediately after the definitive condemnation of Pelagianism at the council of Carthage at the beginning of May 418.

A striking feature of Augustine's s. 261 is the fact that it pays little attention to the event it commemorates, viz. Christ's Ascension. The feast is mentioned in the sermon's *exordium* (§ 1) and short *peroratio* (§ 11), which succinctly present some thoughts that are typical of Augustine's Ascension sermons (§ 1: Christ's Resurrection and Ascension are, respectively, our hope and glorification; Christ descended and ascended in order to, respectively, heal humanity and lift it up; § 11: Christ ascended to heaven, but did not leave his followers behind).<sup>80</sup> The main feature of the *exordium* is, however, the association of the Ascension theme with the liturgical *sursum cor* formula, which is insistently presented as an exhortation to humility and a rejection of pride: "We should *lift up our hearts*, but *to the Lord*. Hearts, you see, lifted up, not to the Lord – that's pride; while hearts lifted up to the Lord, that's called taking refuge".<sup>81</sup> This association with the *sursum cor* formula is present in other Augustinian Ascension homilies too (ss. 263A, 4; 265C, 1-2), but within the sermon's historical context the implied criticism on the vice of pride probably also had a strong anti-Pelagian resonance.

78 Dolbeau, "La prédication d'Augustin pour l'Ascension", pp. 226-28 lists 15 Ascension sermons within the extant corpus of the *sermones ad populum*, two of them being of questionable authenticity (ss. 377 and Morin 9): ss. 261-65 (including 263A and 265A-F), 377, 395, and Morin 9. To these sermons he adds the synthesis given in Aug., *ep.* 29, 3-7. Further on in his article (pp. 236-42), he argues that s. 263 (version Guelf. 21) and 263A (Mai 98) should be considered as having originally formed one item, which he proposes to call "s. 263 augmenté".

79 See Lambot, "Collection antique", pp. 95 [title] and 99-100 [date]; Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, pp. 340-45.

80 For these typical Ascension themes, see Dupont, *Preacher of Grace*, pp. 80-86, 88-89 (for a synthesis of the contents of s. 261, see pp. 68-69).

81 *Sursum enim cor habere debemus, sed ad Dominum. Sursum enim cor non ad Dominum, superbia vocatur; sursum autem cor ad Dominum, refugium vocatur.* Augustinus, *Sermon* 261, 1, *Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia* 1, p. 88. The translation is borrowed from Hill in *The Works of Saint Augustine*, Vol. 3,7, p. 208.

The event of Ascension does not play any role in the corpus of Augustine's s. 261 (§§ 2-10), not even in the Christological meditation in §§ 7-8. The corpus' global argument is that of spiritual purification as a necessary preliminary to understanding the divine Word that is at the centre of the Prologue to John's Gospel (§§ 2-6). The darkness, which according to John 1:5 did not comprehend the divine light, is identified with evil desires – such as pride, avarice, ambition, and envy – from which one is purified thanks to the grace of Christ (§§ 6 and 9). This purification, which cannot be fully completed as long as we are in this world (§ 9), is obtained through the sacrament of baptism and the daily remedies that are the Lord's prayer and almsgiving (§ 10). The corpus as a whole thus develops a rather plain argument, although it should be said that its reading is somewhat complicated by the tortuous character of §§ 2-4a on Christ's divine nature and the Christological excursion in §§ 7-8.<sup>82</sup> Anyway, the insistence on the never-ending struggle for purification and the role of God's grace in this process might, again, be explained by the sermon's immediate historical context.

One of the major sources that have transmitted s. 261 to posterity, is a late-antique collection of Augustinian sermons that is called *De alleluia*. The homily is the second item of the collection's first section, which consists of 10 sermons that were all preached at Carthage. The collection is presently known through five direct manuscript representatives that were written in Northern France and Belgium,<sup>83</sup> but a witness of the collection must also have been available in late-antique Arles, since Caesarius not only used several *De alleluia* items for the composition of his own sermons, but also inserted some Augustinian homilies from *De alleluia* into his own sermon collections.<sup>84</sup> Probably from this source Caesarius borrowed parts of s. 261 in order to create his own s. 210.

The largest part of Caesarius' s. 210 – from the first paragraph's last sentence to the sermon's fifth and last paragraph – consists of long portions from s. 261, 1 and 4b-6 as well as of a few words from the beginning of paragraph 7. These quotations are completed with sentences that were either composed by Caesarius himself or borrowed from other sources. This means that Caesarius, s. 210, 1b-5 has retained the basic themes and line of argumentation of s. 261, 1-6

82 Compare the sermon's characterisation in Dolbeau, "La prédication d'Augustin pour l'Ascension", p. 236: "[Le s. 261] abonde en digressions et passe beaucoup plus de temps à commenter le prologue de Jean qu'à évoquer l'Ascension".

83 See Partoens, "Le sermon 151 de saint Augustin", pp. 47-48; "La prédication et la transmission", pp. 685-86.

84 See Étaix, "Nouvelle collection", p. 29; Partoens, "Le sermon 151 de saint Augustin", pp. 47-48.

– albeit without the rather tortuous exposition on Christ's divine nature in §§ 2-4a – as well as a very short part of the Christological developments in §§ 7-8. It thus reproduces in a simplified way the global message of Augustine's homily: after a short discussion of the theological meaning of Christ's Ascension (Caes., s. 210, 1b-2 ~ Aug., s. 261, 1), all attention is given to the theme of moral purification as a precondition for understanding the divine Word (Caes., s. 210, 3-5 ~ Aug., s. 261, 4b-7a). Moreover, the moralistic nature of Caesarius' sermon is reinforced by the addition of an *exordium* in which Christ's bodily *ascensio* is mainly presented as an image of the believer's spiritual elevation through the struggle with the many vices that the Saviour did not take with Him on his ascent to heaven. The brethren are encouraged to ascend with Christ in their heart, in order that in the future they may follow him in a bodily way. According to Morin, this *exordium* (s. 210, 1a), which sets the scene for the moralistic considerations that are to follow (s. 210, 1b-5), was inspired by one of the exhortatory *perorationes* of the Ascension sermons in the "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection.<sup>85</sup>

The above analysis allows us to conclude that, while retaining the main features of its Augustinian model, Caesarius' s. 210 not only simplifies the latter's overall structure and argument, but also sharpens its already strong moralising focus.<sup>86</sup> And as if this was not enough, the bishop of Arles subsequently produced a second, simplified version of his own s. 210. While the version of the sermon that we have analysed above can be found in the *Collectiones Zwifaltensis* and *Wirziburgensis*, two other Arlesian collections, the *Collectiones Germanica* and *Gallicana*, present the same reworking of Augustine's s. 261, but in an abbreviated form.<sup>87</sup> It was this shortened version that was published by the Maurists in their *Appendix* of Pseudo-Augustinian homilies (s. *app.* 177; *Patrologia Latina* 39, cc. 2082-83). S. 210 can thus be considered an ideal example of the moralising character of Caesarius' sermons as well of his strategies in adapting and abbreviating earlier homiletic texts.

85 For Caesarius' relation to the "Eusebius Gallicanus" collection, see the discussion in Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 31-36.

86 Comparable Caesarian adaptations/simplifications of Augustinian sermons are studied in Hamman, "La transmission des sermons", pp. 321-26 (on Aug., s. 96 and Caes., s. 159); Partoens, "La prédication et la transmission", pp. 685-91 (on Aug., s. 151 and Caes., s. 177); "Une adaptation ancienne du s. 36" (on a Caesarian adaptation of s. 36 that was not published by Morin).

87 See Morin in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Vol. 2, p. 837 (with regard to the versions of s. 210 in the *Collectiones Zwifaltensis*, *Wirziburgensis*, and *Germanica*). We have checked ourselves the version offered by the *Collectio Gallicana* in one of its manuscript representatives (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 3785 (s. XI), from Saint-Martial de Limoges, ff. 92r-92v).

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Appendix

*Comparative Analysis of Augustine’s s. 261 with the Two Versions of  
Caesarius’ s. 210*

The following table compares (from left to right), Augustine’s sermon 261 with Caesarius’ sermon 210 as preserved in the *collectiones Zwifaltensis* and *Wirzburgensis* (version A) and the latter’s abbreviation in the *collectiones Germanica* and *Gallicana* (version B). Parallel passages suggesting the use of other sources by Caesarius (apart from Aug., s. 261) are indicated in the second column.

Aug., s. 261 <i>SPM</i> 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A <i>CCSL</i> 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B <i>PL</i> 39, cc. 2082-83
—	~ Eus. Gall., ss. 27, 9; 28, 4 <i>CCSL</i> 101, pp. 320; 328-29	1. Saluator noster, dilectissimi fratres, ascendit in caelum; non ergo turbemur in terra: ibi sit mens, et hic erit quies. Ascendamus cum Christo interim corde: cum dies eius promissus aduenerit, sequemur et corpore. Scire tamen debemus, quia cum Christo non ascendit superbia, non auaritia, non luxuria; nullum uitium nostrum ascendit cum medico nostro. Et ideo, si post medicum desideramus ascendere, hic studeamus uitia uel peccata deponere. Omnes enim iniquitates nostrae quasi quibusdam conpedibus nos premunt, et peccatorum nos retibus ligare contendunt: et ideo cum Dei adiutorio, secundum quod ait psalmista, <i>disrumpamus uincula eorum</i> ; ut securi possimus dicere Domino: <i>disrupisti uincula mea, tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis</i> (Ps. 115:16-17).	present



Aug., s. 261 SPM 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A CCSL 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B PL 39, cc. 2082-83
1. Resurrectio Domini, spes nostra: ascensio Domini, glorificatio nostra. Ascensionis enim hodie sollemnia celebramus. Si ergo recte, si fideliter, si deuote, si sancte, si pie ascensionem Domini celebramus, ascendamus cum illo, et <i>sursum cor</i> (Praef. Missae) habeamus. Ascendentes autem non extollamur. <i>Sursum</i> enim <i>cor</i> habere debemus, sed <i>ad Dominum</i> . Sursum enim cor non ad Dominum, superbia uocatur: sursum autem cor ad Dominum, refugium uocatur.		Resurrectio Domini spes nostra est; ascensio Domini glorificatio nostra est. 2. Ascensionis hodie sollemnia celebramus. Si ergo recte, si sancte, si fideliter, si deuote, si pie ascensionem Domini celebramus, ascendamus cum illo, et sursum cor habeamus. Ascendentes autem non extollamur, nec de nostris quasi de propriis meritis praesumamus. Sursum enim cor habere debemus, sed ad Dominum. Sursum enim cor non ad Dominum superbia uocatur: sursum autem cor ad Dominum refugium uocatur.	present
Illi enim dicimus qui ascendit: <i>Domine, refugium factus es nobis</i> (Ps. 89:1).	~ s. 351, 1 PL 39, c. 1536	Videte, fratres, magnum miraculum. Altus est Deus: eregis te, et fugit a te; humilias te, et descendit ad te. Quare hoc? Quia <i>excelsus est, et humilia respicit, et alta de longe cognoscit</i> (Ps. 137:6). Humilia de proximo respicit, ut adtollat; alta, id est superba, de longe cognoscit, ut deprimat.	present
Resurrexit enim, ut spem nobis daret, quia resurgit quod moritur: ne moriendo desperaremus, et totam uitam nostram morte finitam putaremus. Solliciti enim eramus de ipsa anima, et ille nobis resurgendo et de carne securitatem dedit.		Resurrexit enim Christus, ut spem nobis daret, quia resurgit homo qui moritur: ne moriendo desperaremus, et totam uitam nostram in morte finitam putaremus, securos nos fecit. Solliciti enim eramus de ipsa anima: ille nobis resurgendo et de carnis resurrectione fiduciam dedit.	present

(cont.)

Aug., s. 261 <i>SPM</i> 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A <i>CCSL</i> 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B <i>PL</i> 39, cc. 2082-83
1b-4a		—	—
crede, ut munderis. Videre enim uis? Bonam rem, magnam rem uis: hortor ut uelis. Videre uis? <i>Beati mundi corde, quia ipsi Deum uidebunt</i> (Mt. 5:8). Prius ergo cogita de corde munda-		3. Crede ergo, ut munderis: prius te oportet credere, ut postea per fidem Deum merearis aspicere. Deum enim uidere uis: bonam rem, magnam rem quaeris; hortor ut uelis. Deum uidere uis? Audi ipsum: <i>beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt</i> . Prius ergo cogita de corde munda-	present
do:  hoc habeto negotium, ad hoc te auoca, insta huic operi. Quod uis uidere mundum est, immundum est unde uis uidere.		hoc habeto negocium, ad hoc te auoca, insta huic operi, munda cor. Quod uis uidere, mundum est; sed timeo ne inmundum sit, unde uis uidere.	—
Cogitas Deum quasi aliquam istorum oculorum immensam uel multiplicem lucem, auges tibi spatia quanta uis: non ponis finem ubi non uis, ponis ubi uis. Phantasmata sunt ista cordis tui, immunditia est ista cordis tui. Tolle, abice.		—	—
Si terra tibi in oculum caderet, et uelles ut ostenderem tibi lucem; prius tui oculi quaerent mundatorem. Tantum immunditiae est in corde tuo: ibi auaritia non parua immunditia est. Congeris quod tecum non tollas. Nescis quia cum congeris, ad cor tuum lutum trahis? Vnde uidebis ergo quod quaeris?		Si terra tibi in oculum caderet, et uelles ut tibi ostenderem solem, prius tuis oculis quaereres mundatorem: tantae moles terrenarum cupiditatum, tanta peccatorum immunditia est in corde tuo, et uis uidere Deum! Si est ibi auaritia, si est ibi luxuria, perpende et iudicia, utrum inter istas sordis conscientiae aut possis aut merearis Deum uidere.	—

Aug., s. 261 SPM 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A CCSL 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B PL 39, cc. 2082-83
		<p>Congregas quod tecum de hac uita auferre non possis: nescis quia cum auaritia gentium lucra collegis, ad cor tuum lutum trahis. Et clamabat tibi psalmista: <i>filii hominum, usque quo graues corde?</i> (Ps. 4:3) Vnde ergo uidere poteris Deum?</p>	
<p>5. Tu mihi dicis: Ostende mihi Deum tuum. Ego tibi dico: Adtende paululum ad cor tuum. Ostende, inquis, mihi Deum tuum. Adtende, inquit, paululum ad cor tuum.</p> <p>Quidquid ibi uides quod displicet Deo, tolle inde. Venire ad te uult Deus. Dominum ipsum Christum audi: <i>Ego et Pater ueniemus ad eum, et mansionem apud eum faciemus</i> (Jn 14:23). Ecce quid promittit Deus. Si ergo promitterem uenturum me in domum tuam, mundares eam: Deus in cor tuum uenire uult, et piger es ei domum mundare? Non amat habitare cum auaritia, cum muliere immunda et insatiabili, cui tu iubenti seruiebas, et Deum uidere quaerebas.</p> <p>Quid fecisti, quod Deus iussit? Quid non fecisti, quod auaritia iussit?</p>		<p>4. Tu mihi dicis: ostende mihi Deum tuum. Ego dico tibi: adtende paululum ad cor tuum. Ostende, inquis, mihi Deum tuum. Iterum respondeo: adtende paululum ad cor tuum;</p> <p>quicquid ibi uides, quod displicet Deo, tolle. Venire ad te uult Deus. Audi eum dicentem: <i>ego et pater ueniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus</i>. Ecce quid promittit Deus. Si ego qualiscumque fragilis homo uenturum me ad domum tuam promitterem, sine dubio mundares eam, superflua proieceres, quae erant necessaria praeparares: Deus ad cor tuum uult uenire, et piger es ei domum mundare? Omnia uitia inimica sunt Deo: et ideo ipso auxiliante proice illa si uis excipere Deum. Non enim amat Deus habitare cum auaritia immunda sordida et insatiabili, cui iubenti infideles homines seruire uolunt, et Deum uidere cupiunt.</p> <p>Quis homo facit quod Deus iussit? — Et quis totus inuenitur, qui non faciat quod auaritia iussit?</p>	<p>—</p> <p>present</p> <p>—</p>

(cont.)

Aug., s. 261 <i>SPM</i> 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A <i>CCSL</i> 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B <i>PL</i> 39, cc. 2082-83
Quid fecisti, quod Deus iussit?		—	—
Ego ostendo quid habitet cor tuum, qui uis uidere Deum. Hoc enim dixeram: Est quod ostendere, sed cui non est. Quod Deus iussit, quid fecisti? Quod auaritia iussit, quid distulisti?			
Iussit Deus ut nudum uestires, tremuisti: iussit auaritia ut uestitum exspoliare, insanisti.		Iussit ut nudum uestires: tremuisti. Iussit auaritia ut uestitum exspoliare: insanisti.	—
Si fecisses quod Deus iussit, quid tibi dicam, haberes illud et illud? Ipsum Deum haberes.		—	—
Si fecisses quod Deus iussit, Deum haberes. Fecisti quod auaritia iussit, quid habes? Scio, dicturus es mihi: Habeo quidquid abstuli. Ergo auferendo habes. Habes aliquid apud te, qui perdidisti te? Habeo, inquis. Vbi, ubi, rogo te? Certe aut in cubiculo, aut in sacello, aut in arca: nolo amplius dicere. Vbicumque habes, modo certe tecum non habes. Certe modo cogitas in arca te habere: forte periit, et nescis; forte cum redis, non inuenis quod dimisisti. Cor tuum quaero: ibi quid habeas, interrogo. Ecce implesti arcam tuam, et fregisti conscientiam tuam. Vide plenum, disce esse plenus: <i>Dominus dedit,</i> <i>Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino</i>		Si fecisses quod Deus iussit, ipsum Deum haberes. Fecisti quod auaritia iussit: quid habes? Forte respondes, et dicis: Habeo quicquid abstuli. Ergo auferendo habes aliquid apud te, qui per iniquitatem perdidisti te. Nescis quia <nihil> habet, qui se non habet. Habeo, inquit. Vbi, rogo te? Certe aut in cubiculo, aut in sacello, aut in arca. Nolo amplius dicere: ubicumque habes, modo tamen apud te non habes. Cogitas te habere in arca, et forte periit, et forte nescis; cum redis, non inuenis quod dimisisti. Cor tuum quaero: ibi quid habeas interrogo. Ecce rapiendo, aut de usuris congregando, aut certe per stateras dolosas et mensuras duplices fraudes in negotio faciendo implesti arcam tuam, et fregisti	—

Aug., s. 261 SPM 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A CCSL 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B PL 39, cc. 2082-83
<p><i>placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum</i> (Job 1:21). Nempe omnia perdiderat. Vnde ergo istas gemmas laudis Domino proferebat?</p>		<p>conscientiam tuam. Imitares magis beatum Iob in Deum diuitem, et in carne mendicum. Vide illum plenum, et discere esse taliter plenus. <i>Dominus</i>, inquit, <i>dedit, Dominus abstulit: sit nomen Domini benedictum</i>. Certe omnia perdiderat, et nudus remanserat: unde ergo istas gemmas laudis dominicae proferebat? Vnde, nisi quia diues in corde remanserat?</p>	
<p>6. Munda ergo cor, quantum potes: id age, id operare. Et ut ille mundet, ubi maneat roga, supplica, humiliare.</p>		<p>5. Et tu ergo munda cor: quantum potes, id age, id operare, ut et Christus mundet, ubi maneat. Roga et supplica, humiliare. Audi scripturam dicentem: <i>Deus superbis resistit</i> (1 Petr. 5:5; Iac. 4:6). Esto humilis, ut in te requiescat Deus,</p>	present
—	<p>~ Caes. Arel., ss. 8, 3; 58, 5 CCSL 103, pp. 43; 258</p>	<p>sicut ipse dixit: <i>super quem requiescam, nisi super humilem et quietum?</i> (Is. 66:2) Habitare in te uult Deus. Ne forte ideo eum non capias, quia plenus es, si aliunde plenus es, uacuetur cor tuum superfluis, ut necessariis impleatur: expellantur uitia, ut uirtutibus locus detur. Et ut breuiter quod est utile et satis necessarium dicam, repudietur cupiditas, et caritas inuitetur. Nam quamdiu mala non expellimus, bonis impleri non possumus: quia uasa limo plena unguentum pretiosum recipere et continere non possunt. Vt ager spinosus, nisi prius fuerit cultoris industria stirpatus, non nutrit in se</p>	—

(cont.)

Aug., s. 261 SPM 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A CCSL 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B PL 39, cc. 2082-83
		semina iactata, sed suffocat, ita et animus cupiditatum uel sollicitudi- num saecularium plenus non potest uerbum sustinere diuinum, nec potest capere uel recipere Deum.	
Non capis: <i>In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in ipso uita erat, et uita erat lux hominum. Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt</i> (Jn 1:1-5). Ecce quare non capis: <i>Lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt</i> . Quae sunt tenebrae, nisi opera mala? Quae sunt tenebrae, nisi cupiditates malae, superbia, auaritia, ambitio, inuidia? Omnia ista tenebrae sunt: ideo non comprehendis. Nam lux lucet in tenebris: sed da qui comprehendat.	—	Et quia non capis <i>in principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum</i> , cape quia uerbum caro factum est, et habitauit in nobis. Quare adhuc non capis <i>in principio erat uerbum?</i> Quia <i>lux lucet in tenebris, et tenebrae eam non comprehende- runt</i> . Quae sunt tenebrae, nisi cupiditates malae? Superbia, auaritia, ambitio, luxuria, inuidia, omnia ista tenebrae sunt. Ideo enim quisque Deum non compre- hendit, nec uidere praeualet, quia multis uitiiis et peccatis cordis oculi praeagrauantur. Nam <lux> lucet in tenebris, sed tenebrae eam comprehendere omnino non possunt.	—
7. Vide ergo, ne forte hoc quomodocumque possis accipere: <i>Verbum caro factum est, et habitauit in nobis</i> (Jn 1:14). Per hominem Christum tendis ad Deum Christum.	—	—	—

Aug., s. 261 <i>SPM</i> 1, pp. 88-94	Parallels	Caes., s. 210 version A <i>CCSL</i> 104, pp. 837-40	Caes., s. 210 version B <i>PL</i> 39, cc. 2082-83
Multum est ad te Deus: sed homo factus est Deus. Quod longe erat a te, per hominem factum est iuxta te. Vbi maneat, Deus est: qua eas, homo est.	—	Multum est ad te Deus, sed homo factus est: quod longe erat a te, per hominem factum est iuxta te. Vbi maneat, Deus est: quo eas, homo.	—
Idem ipse Christus, et qua eas, et quo eas. Ipse ergo <i>Verbum caro</i> <i>factum est et habitauit in nobis</i> . Assumpsit quod non erat, non amisit quod erat.	—	Idem ipse Christus est, et uia, et patria: secundum hominem uia, secundum Deum patria. Si fideliter curris, per ipsum uadis, et ad ipsum peruenis: ut enim tibi esset uia, adsumpsit quod non erat, non amisit quod erat.	present
7b-11	—	—	—
—	—	Ipsius ergo misericordiam deprecemur, ut nobis fidem rectam et intellectum sibi placitum ad exercenda opera bona concedat:	present
—	—	cui est honor.	quod ipse praestare dignetur, qui uiuit et regnat per omnia.

# Preaching According to Gregory the Great

*Bruno Judic*

## 1 Introduction

The future Pope Gregory I was born in an aristocratic Roman family devoted to the service of the Roman Church. Pope Felix III (483-92 AD) was one of his ancestors. Gregory was born ca. 540 AD and is believed to have experienced the wars between the Imperial and the Ostrogothic armies, which were especially fierce in and around Rome, during his childhood. Gregory became Prefect of the City in 573 AD. Soon, however, he resigned from this secular office to become a monk in his own house which had been converted into a monastery. Either Pope Benedict I (575-78 AD) or Pope Pelagius II (578-90 AD) needed his skills, and as a result he became a deacon and was sent to Constantinople as an *apocrisiarius* at the Imperial court. He lived several years on the Bosphorus coast where he delivered his commentary on the Book of Job – *Moralia in Job* – for a circle of companions, monks and high-ranking lay people. He was introduced in the Imperial family and was made the godfather of Emperor Mauritius' eldest son. He returned to Rome between 585-86 AD. He resumed the monastic life on the Caelius Hill but continued to work with Pelagius as his advisor. After Pelagius' death in the tragic plague epidemic of February 590 AD, Gregory was chosen by the Romans and appointed by the Emperor as Pope. Consecrated on 3 September of the same year, he lamented being a bishop for both the Lombards and the Romans. In spite of his very poor health and the extreme suffering it caused him, he endeavored to defend Rome against the Lombards. He died in 604 AD. After the *Moralia in Job* and at the beginning of his pontificate, he wrote the *Regula Pastoralis*, which was devoted to the duties of a bishop. *Homiliae in Euangelia* (the Gospel Homilies) were delivered during the years 590-92 AD, and *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* (Homilies on Ezekiel) were preached between 592-93 AD. He composed the *Dialogues*, devoted to hagiography, in 594 AD. From his other works there remains only part of a commentary on the Song of Songs. A Commentary on the First Book of Kings – known by only one manuscript – was recently proved to be a 12th-century work. Other



commentaries are lost. Finally, his letters as a Pope, archived in the Roman Church, have been released since the Carolingian period.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest part of Gregory's works could be characterized as homilies. Even the *Moralia in Job*, Gregory's greatest work, were considered homilies by Gregory himself. In a letter to Leander of Sevilla in 591 AD, he wrote:

I have sent *codices* to your Fraternity, so very dear to me, and I have inserted a note below about them. But those things which had been said in my Exposition on the blessed Job, and which you write should be sent to you, because I had made these remarks with words and senses that flow through my homilies, I was keen anyway to change them into the form of books, which are now still being written down by the copyists.<sup>2</sup>

The *Moralia* were first delivered as lectures to a small audience. According to Gregory, these lectures were homilies because they were delivered to an audi-

1 A brief survey of Gregory's writings is given by Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 14-16. There is a very massive manuscript tradition for each work. *Homilies* on the Gospel are transmitted by no less than ca. 400 manuscripts; *Homilies* on Ezekiel by ca. 270 manuscripts; *Regula pastoralis* by ca. 600 manuscripts; *Moralia* by ca. 700 manuscripts. The Benedictine monks of the St. Maur Congregation ("Maurists") have published a four-volume authoritative edition of Gregory's *opera omnia*: *S. Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magni opera omnia*. This edition was reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Historical setting has been thoroughly detailed by Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, and recently by Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* and Neil, "The Papacy in the Age of Gregory the Great". Dagens has profoundly renewed the studies on Gregory's works discarding scholarly categories and looking for inner comprehension of Gregory's thought. Therefore he insisted upon the duty to announce the Word of God, see Dagens, "Grégoire le Grand et le ministère de la parole", and especially Dagens, *St. Grégoire le Grand*; Straw, *Gregory the Great*, stresses also the doctrine of preaching. Specifically concerning the *Homilies* on the Gospel one must underline Étaix's works: "Note sur la tradition manuscrite des Homélies sur l'Évangile de Grégoire le Grand"; *Homéliaires patristiques latins*; and "Répertoire des manuscrits des Homélies sur l'Évangile de St. Grégoire le Grand". They form the basis for his new edition of these Homilies in the Corpus Christianorum (*Homiliae in Euangelia*).

2 Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum libri* I-VII, I, 41, ed. Norberg, p. 49: *Dulcissimae autem mihi fraternitati uestrae codices direxi, quorum notitiam subter inserui. Ea autem quae in beati Job expositione dicta fuerant, et uobis scribitis dirigenda, quia haec uerbis sensibusque repentibus [or tepentibus] per homelias dixeram, utcumque studui in librorum ductum permutare, quae nunc adhuc a librariis conscribuntur*. Gregory the Great, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, trans. Martyn, pp. 161-62. See Cremascoli, "Gregorio Magno esegeta. Rapporti tra commentari e omelie", especially p. 202. Also Dagens, "Grégoire le Grand et le ministère de la parole"; Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 311-44; Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 194-212.

ence. These homily lectures were preached in Latin in the city of Constantinople and thus could not be understood by ordinary people. However, the link between the commentary of the Scripture and a living audience is clear. After many years, Gregory changed the title of these homilies to “books” – *in librorum ductum permutare*. It was not yet available for Leander in 591 AD.

## 2 From the *Moralia* to the *Regula Pastoralis*

From the *Moralia* to the *Regula Pastoralis* one can observe Gregory's reiteration and the insistence upon the theme of preaching. In the *Moralia*, Gregory gave his first exposé about what preaching is and what and how a preacher must be. After a rich allegorical illustration using a lion, rooster and ram, where the lion is Christ, the rooster is the holy preachers and the apostles, and the ram is the spiritual fathers, he elaborated on the task of preaching thus:

For men must he admonish in one way, and women in another; the young in one way, the old in another; in one way the poor, and in another the rich; in one way the cheerful, and in another the gloomy; in one way subjects, in another rulers; in one way servants, in another masters ... in one way those who commit frequently unlawful deeds though most trifling, and in another those who guard themselves against trifling faults but are sometimes overwhelmed in grievous ones ... in one way those who sin secretly and do right publicly, in another those who conceal the good deeds which they do, and who yet by some things they do publicly allow people to think evil of them.... But we are anxious to carry that out in another work, by God's help, if some small portion of this painful life still remains to us.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore a very deep reflection, long before his papal inauguration, had been conducted by Gregory on the topic of preaching. As one can see from this extract of the *Moralia*, the topics contained in the treatise on clergy responsibilities, the *Regula Pastoralis*, were already on his mind when he was in

3 Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job* xxx, 3, 13, ed. M. Adriaen, pp. 1499-500, line 108-11, 140-43, 144-46, 148-50; line 146-48: “We ought indeed to mention minutely what course of advice should be observed in each particular case, but are hindered by fear of prolixity in our remarks”. One must notice that this sentence comes from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 2, 28, transl. Parker/Rivington, *Morals on the Book of Job by St Gregory the Great*, probably through Rufinus.

Constantinople. As soon as he was made pontiff, he developed his first intuitions for a new book. The structure of the *Regula Pastoralis* reiterates that preaching is the essential task of a bishop. There are four “books” in the *Regula* defining the duties of pastors or rectors. In the first book, Gregory explains the conditions for rising to the supreme position of Church government; in the second book, he elaborates on the moral life of the pastor; in the third book, he tells how the pastor must preach; and, finally, in the fourth book, he describes how the pastor must examine himself. However, the four-part structure is somewhat misleading because one of the books is by far the most important of the four and constitutes the key to the whole. For instance, the second book is essentially the text of the Synodical letter sent to the four Eastern patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch. In the Synodical, Gregory, as a new patriarch, showed the orthodoxy of his faith to his colleagues. Gregory seized this opportunity to expand out of this rigid theological frame to show his colleagues his main preoccupation: the duties of a bishop to seek resources within contemplation and to serve his people.<sup>4</sup>

The third book, constituting approximately two thirds of the length of the whole *Regula*, is the key. It is entirely devoted to preaching along the exact same scheme already presented in the *Moralia*. The same list of opposite terms is displayed in the first chapter of *Pastoral* III.<sup>5</sup> Each category is introduced by the words *ammonendi sunt* from the verb *admonere*. This is a typical expression of a discourse intended to affect measurable change in the lives of the audience. *Admonitio* can have several similar shades of meaning, including advice, warnings, and reprimand. In certain cases, those meanings can be combined. It was Gregory, in this case, who literally played with the various exceptions. The repetitive nature of the *Pastoral* list was interrupted only by the use of a few complex opposite terms. Chapter 13 presented “those who fear the rod, and therefore live innocently,” versus “those who have become so hardened in iniquity, as not to be corrected by the rod.” In that case, each category is defined by two opposing items. In chapter 21, Gregory presented complex opposite terms in a chiastic pattern: “in one way those who neither seize the goods of others, nor yet give away their own; and in another those who both give away their own goods which they have, and desist not from seizing those of others.” This chiastic pattern is used again in chapters 24, 25, 30, 31, 33 and 35. This pattern underlined the terms of the complex opposites and

4 Judic, “Structure et fonction de la *Regula pastoralis*”; Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, ed. Rommel, pp. 17-25.

5 There is only one small difference with the *Moralia*: the opposition *timidi/audaces* (timid/bold) in the *Moralia* list has disappeared in the *Pastoral* list.

more specifically the theme of penance. Also of note is the fact that each chapter offers its own theoretical sermon. Within this scheme, some chapters, such as chapters 24 and 25, are specifically addressed to the *praedicator* himself. This theory of sermons was directly applied to the forty Gospel *Homilies*, which are the authentic sermons delivered by Gregory to his Roman congregation. One of these homilies, *Homily 17*, was directly addressed to bishops. Far from his regular sermons to the people, *Homily 17* was an exhortation to preach in the *Regula Pastoralis* way.<sup>6</sup>

Gregory was supported by a very large background of patristic tradition. Augustinian heritage was of primary importance to Gregory. His knowledge of Augustine was so interiorized that his homilies are permeated with Augustinian themes without the necessity of quoting Augustine directly. *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and *Sermones* are the obvious backgrounds for Gregory's homilies, especially in the paschal homilies 24 and 25. Other African authors, such as Cyprian of Carthage and possibly Primasius of Hadrumetum, were familiar to Gregory as well. At the beginning of the 5th century, John Cassian developed a monastic doctrine – *Conferences* and *Institutions* – which was very important to Gregory. Even though Gregory denied understanding Greek, he had spent too much time in Constantinople to remain completely ignorant of Greek homiletics. In homily 34, he showed some knowledge about Dionysius Areopagiticus' angelic hierarchy which was not translated into Latin until after the end of the 6th century.<sup>7</sup>

### 3 The Gospel *Homilies*: Introduction

The forty Gospel *Homilies* can be considered the pinnacle of Gregory's predication. The audience he was addressing was obviously comprised of lay people. The *Homilies* use a very new mode of discourse called the *exemplum*, a moral anecdote or story used to illustrate a moral truth. The liturgical setting of the *Homilies* was very strong. These homilies were clearly delivered after the reading of the Gospel pericope within the mass, *inter sacra missarum sollemnia*, generally a Sunday mass but also occasionally the mass of a saint's feast. Each homily lasted on average a quarter of an hour.

6 See Paronetto, "La figura del praedicator nella Regula pastoralis di Gregorio Magno"; Ricci/Petrucchi, *Codex Trecentis*; Floryszczak, *Die Regula Pastoralis Gregors des Grossen*; Chiesa, "Oltre il Codex Trecentis. Nuove prospettive a partire della Regula pastoralis".

7 See Paronetto, "Une présence augustinienne chez Grégoire le Grand"; Markus, *Gregory the Great and his world*, pp. 34-50.

### 3.1 *Liturgical Setting*

Some homilies are easily ascribed to a precise date. One knows that Gregory preached at the beginning of his pontificate. There is, for example, a homily (*In euang.* 8) for Christmas which is clearly dated 25 December 590 AD, a homily for Easter (*In euang.* 21), which was given on 15 April 591 AD, and a homily for Pentecost (*In euang.* 30) given on 3 June 591 AD. Other homilies are clearly delivered in the liturgical context of Advent before Christmas, or of Lent before Easter.<sup>8</sup> Still other homilies were distributed mainly on Sundays throughout the liturgical year, along with the major feasts. It is possible to identify a winter component, from the first Sunday of Advent to the eve of Easter, and a summer component, from the Sunday after Easter to Advent. Sometimes, the pericope commented on by Gregory for one of these Sundays is the same as the pericope assigned in the *Roman Evangelary of 645 AD*, a reconstructed list of the pericopes for each Sunday in the Roman Church in 645 AD.<sup>9</sup> That reconstruction is based upon several liturgical manuscripts and is considered to be an excellent witness of an ancient Roman practice, which eventually spread to the whole Latin Church during Carolingian times and was generally still in use until the first half of the 20th century. In addition, the forty *Homilies* were transmitted in the manuscript tradition in a very fixed order and the numbering was followed by the Maurists in their 18th-century edition. The *Homilies* are preceded by a dedication to bishop Secundinus of Taormina, in which Gregory gave specifications for the homily collection, including how they are to be arranged according to the times of preaching and how one must not be used in place of another, for instance, as a commentary on one Gospel or another. Moreover, Gregory mentioned corrections to be made and gave an example of a correction for *In euang.* 16. He also explained that the first book contains *In euang.* 1 to 20 which were dictated to a notary and delivered by this same notary, while the homilies of the second book have been pronounced by himself in front of an audience. The dedication to Secundinus, together with the huge manuscript tradition of the order of the *Homilies*, forms a strong

8 In the dedicatory letter of the Gospel *Homilies* Gregory himself mentioned that he displayed the homilies in the order according to which they were delivered. In addition, *In euang.* 19 tells the story of a monk hit by plague “during the last month of July” (*mense iulio nuper elapse*), i.e. the epidemic which struck Rome in 589–90. When a homily is obviously preached on a Gospel pericope for Christmas, Easter or Pentecost, it is easy to assign a precise date. See Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 251–53; Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, p. 16; Müller, *Führung im Denken und Handeln Gregors des Grossen*, pp. 145–67.

9 See Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*; Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe siècle*, especially chapter VI, pp. 109–46; Chavasse, “Aménagements liturgiques à Rome au VIIe et au VIIIe siècle”, first published in *Revue Bénédictine* 99 (1989), 75–102.

context for understanding the liturgical setting of the *Homilies*. However, at times it is difficult to find exact correspondence between the pericopes of the Roman Evangeliary of 645 AD and that of Gregory's *Homilies*. Some modern scholars assert that the order of the *Homilies* could have been changed after Gregory's time and that the order of 645 AD is preferable. Therefore, Dom David Hurst published his English translation of the *Homilies* in a very different order than the manuscript tradition of Gregory's *Homilies*, relying instead on the places of pericopes in some ancient liturgical manuscripts, including those which were used by Klauser. René Wasselynck also presents the *Homilies* in an order based upon evangeliaries of the 8th or 9th centuries.<sup>10</sup> Raymond Étaix examined more than 450 manuscripts which give the exact same numerical order. After decades of effort, he eventually found only four manuscripts which have a different numerical order for the *Homilies*. This discovery opened the way to a new history of the text.<sup>11</sup>

What Étaix discovered was two layers of text. The first of these layers was the vestige of a first edition of the *Homilies*. This discovery became the key to fully understand the dedication to Secundinus, which is not published by D. Hurst. It can be inferred that when Gregory complained about brothers who had distributed some homilies without taking corrections into account, a first edition of *Homilies* was available. It was nevertheless very difficult to discover this first version because the *textus receptus* is so widespread. Étaix could not easily explain the details of the fate of this first version. More recently, Jean-Paul Bouhot, strictly following Gregory's indications in the dedication, established that Secundinus obtained the first version in Rome, containing only 15 homilies from the first book, and brought these back to Taormina. Then he received the corrected version with the dedication. He may have thus completed his collection without modifying his first order of texts, keeping the unamended texts of the 15 homilies he already obtained. However, Secundinus was also probably responsible for the spreading of the corrected version together with the Roman Church, whose archivists retained a copy of this

10 Cf. Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Hurst; Grégoire le Grand, *Homélies pour les dimanches du cycle de Pâques*, transl. Wasselynck. Gregory's affirmation that he preached himself placed him clearly before the period during which preaching was no longer performed, a period called "eclipse of the word" by McLaughlin, "The Word Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages". Gregory could be stimulated by Greek contemporary sermons. See Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily", especially pp. 201-22.

11 Étaix, "Note sur la tradition manuscrite des Homélies sur l'Évangile de Grégoire le Grand"; Étaix, "Répertoire des manuscrits des Homélies sur l'Évangile de St. Grégoire le Grand"; Étaix, *Homéliaires patristiques latins*.

same corrected version.<sup>12</sup> Bouhot has also shown that the first homilies were reused by Gregory in 593 AD, two years after he first delivered them. For instance, *In euang.* 2 was delivered 26 November 590 AD as a second Advent Sunday homily and was placed by Gregory himself before the homily for the feast of St. Felicitas (*In euang.* 3) on 23 November, because the second Advent Sunday homily was reused on 22 November 593 AD – the eve of the feast of St. Felicitas.

Following Étaix and Bouhot renders the following chronological table of the forty *Homilies*:

#### Book I

*Homily* 1 (Luc. 21:25-33), at St. Peter, I Advent Sunday, 19 Nov. 590 + 15 Nov. 593

*Homily* 2 (Luc. 18:31-43), at St. Peter, II Advent Sunday, 26 Nov. 590 + 22 Nov. 593

*Homily* 3 (Matth. 12:46-50), at St. Felicitas, Natalis s. Felicitatis, 23 Nov. 590 + 23 Nov. 593

*Homily* 4 (Matth. 10:5-8), at St. Stephen, III Advent Sunday, 3 Dec. 590 + 29 Nov. 593

*Homily* 5 (Matth. 4:18-22), at St. Andrew, Natalis s. Andreae, 30 Nov. 590 + 30 Nov. 593

*Homily* 6 (Matth. 11:2-10), at Sts. Marcellinus and Petrus, IV Advent Sunday, 10 Dec. 590 + 6 Dec. 593

*Homily* 7 (Ioh. 1:19-28), at St. Peter, V Advent Sunday, 17 Dec. 590 + 13 Dec. 593

*Homily* 8 (Luc. 2:1-14), at St. Mary Major, Natalis Domini, 25 Dec. 590

*Homily* 9 (Matth. 25:14-30), at St. Sylvester, Natalis s. Silvestri, 31 Dec. 590 (Sunday)

*Homily* 10 (Matth. 2:1-12), at St. Peter, Theophania, 6 Jan. 591

*Homily* 11 (Matth. 13:44-52), at St. Agnes, Natalis s. Agnetis, 21 Jan. 591 (Sunday)

*Homily* 12 (Matth. 25:1-13), at St. Agnes, Octava natalis s. Agnetis, 28 Jan. 591 (Sunday)

*Homily* 13 (Luc. 12:35-40), at St. Felix, Natalis s. Felicis (displaced), 4 Feb. 591

*Homily* 14 (Ioh. 10:11-16), at St. Peter, Dominica VI post Theophania, 11 Feb. 591

*Homily* 15 (Luc. 8:4-15), at St. Paul Outside-the-Walls, Sexagesima, 18 Feb. 591

*Homily* 16 (Matth. 4:1-11), at St. John Lateran, Dominica I Quadragesimae, 4 March 591

*Homily* 17 (Luc. 10:1-7), at St. John Lateran, Dominica II Quadragesimae, 11 March 591

*Homily* 18 (Ioh. 8:46-49), at St. Peter, Dominica V Quadragesimae, 1 April 591

<sup>12</sup> Bouhot, "Les homélies de Saint Grégoire le Grand".



*Homily 19* (Matth. 20:1-16), at St. Lawrence, Dominica VI Quadragesimae, 8 April 591

*Homily 20* (Luc. 3:1-11), at St. John Lateran, Quattuor Tempora mensis decimi, 19/20 Dec. 593

## Book II

*Homily 21* (Marc. 16:1-7), at St. Mary Major, Pascha, 15 April 591

*Homily 22* (Ioh. 20:1-9), at St. John Lateran, Feria II, 16 April 591

*Homily 23* (Luc. 24:13-35), at St. Peter, Feria III, 17 April 591

*Homily 24* (Ioh. 21:1-14), at St. Lawrence, Feria V, 19 April 591

*Homily 25* (Ioh. 20:11-18), at St. John Lateran, Feria VI, 20 April 591

*Homily 26* (Ioh. 20:19-31), at St. John Lateran, Sabbato, 21 April 591

*Homily 27* (Ioh. 15:12-16), at St. Pancrace, Natalis s. Pancratii, 13 May 591 (Sunday)

*Homily 28* (Ioh. 4:46-53), at Sts. Nereus and Achilleus, Natalis ss. Nerei et Achillei, 20 May 591 (Sunday)

*Homily 29* (Marc. 16:14-20), at St. Peter, Ascensio, 24 May 591

*Homily 30* (Ioh. 14:23-31), at St. Peter, Pentecoste, 3 June 591

*Homily 31* (Luc. 13:6-13), at St. Lawrence, Dominica I post Pentecostem, 10 June 591

*Homily 32* (Luc. 9:23-27), at Sts. Processus and Martinianus, Natalis ss. Processi et Martiniani, 1 July 591 (Sunday)

*Homily 33* (Luc. 7:36-50), at St. Clement, Dominica V post Pentecostem, 8 July 591

*Homily 34* (Luc. 15:1-10), at Sts. John and Paul, Dominica XXII post Pentecostem, 4 Nov. 591

*Homily 35* (Luc. 21:9-19), at St. Mennas, Natalis s. Mennae, 11 Nov. 591 (Sunday)

*Homily 36* (Luc. 14:16-24), at Sts. Philip and James, Dominica I post Theophaniam, 13 Jan. 592

*Homily 37* (Luc. 14:26-33), at St. Sebastian, Natalis s. Sebastiani, 20 Jan. 592 (Sunday)

*Homily 38* (Math. 22:1-14), at St. Clement, Dominica III post Theophaniam, 27 Jan. 592

*Homily 39* (Luc. 19:41-47), at St. John Lateran, Dominica II Quadragesimae, 21 Feb. 593

*Homily 40* (Luc. 16:19-31), at St. Lawrence, Dominica VI Quadragesimae, 22 March 593

## 3.2 Architectural Context

Gregory led a procession to the basilica where he celebrated mass. Inside the basilica, he was seated in a *cathedra*. To this day, there is a marble *cathedra*



preserved in the St. Gregory the Great church on the Caelius Hill, dating back to the 5th or 6th century, which would have been used in that way. Pope Gregory remained seated while a notary read the homily. It is worth noting that the homilies of the second book, after Easter 591 AD, were read by Gregory himself, who was endeavoring to overcome his bad health because he was so concerned about the expectations of the faithful. In some rare cases, the architectural context of his preaching can be observed from the manuscript. The manuscript tradition has generally kept the name of the church in which the homily was delivered. Several were delivered at St. John Lateran, called *Basilica Constantiniana*. Today's basilica, though deeply modified and reconstructed throughout the centuries, preserved its late-antique appearance. The Christmas homily of 590 AD and the Easter homily of 591 AD were given in the Basilica of St. Mary Major, which had already received the *litaniae*.<sup>13</sup> To this day, the basilica has retained its 5th-century mosaics in the nave, which were so instructive for Gregory. Four homilies were delivered at St. Lawrence, which was probably the Basilica of Saint Lawrence outside the Walls, built on the martyr's tomb. In *In euang.* 19, 5, Gregory addressed the large audience in the church, saying, "we filled the walls of this church" (*ecclesiae parietes implemus*). It is possible that he alluded to the new architecture, as St. Lawrence outside the Walls had been rebuilt by Pope Pelagius II, Gregory's predecessor. The mosaics of the church interior and of the triumphal arch, referenced in Gregory's homily, are still visible today.<sup>14</sup> The Vatican Basilica of St. Peter was the location where the largest number of Gregory's homilies were delivered. However, old St. Peter's Basilica has been completely replaced by the Renaissance basilica.

### 3.3 *Cult of Saints and Admonitio*

Gregory wrote few sermons for saint feasts and, in some cases, he combined a Sunday homily with a saint's feast. However, the cults of saints were well-represented, including Mennas (11 Nov.), Felicitas (23 Nov.), Andrew (30 Nov.), Sylvester (31 Dec.), Felix (14 Jan.), Sebastian (20 Jan.), Agnes (21 Jan.), Pancrace (12 May), Nereus and Achilleus (12 May), and Processus and Martinianus (2 July). To that list, it is possible to add the following patron saints of the *stationes*,

<sup>13</sup> While Gregory was not yet consecrated as a Pope, he organized processions or *litaniae* praying for God's mercy against the plague and delivered a homily on that occasion. Gregory of Tours has kept this homily in his *Decem libri historiarum* x, 1. Another version is transmitted by Gregory the Great's *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. Ewald, *ep.* 13, 2; or Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum libri I-VII*, ed. Norberg, app. ix.

<sup>14</sup> Location of *homily* 19 is not certain. On mosaics, see Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma*; more generally Krautheimer, *Rome*; De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*; Judic, "Grégoire le Grand un maître de la parole".

even if the respective homilies were not delivered on their feast day: Peter, Paul, Lawrence, John the Baptist, Philip and James, Marcellinus and Petrus, Clement, Stephen, and the Virgin Mary. It should be possible also to add the patron saints of the churches implied in the *litaniae* either in the *Registrum* version or in Gregory of Tours' version. However, St. Michael the archangel must be excluded according to Chavasse's hypothesis on *In euang.* 34, which contains a very long passage about the angels and archangels. Based on that long passage, Chavasse asserted that this homily was preached on 29 September, the feast of the archangel. Some homilies contain direct references to the martyrs: "We have gathered at this martyr's tomb" (St. Pancrace, *In euang.* 27). "We are standing around the bodies of the holy martyrs" (Sts. Processus and Martinianus, *In euang.* 32). The presence of the saints is emphasized in the latter sermon. During the time of the Goths, a lady coming to pray at that basilica came across two monks clothed as pilgrims. She instructed her steward to give them alms. The two monks then approached her and promised to help her on Judgement Day. Then they disappeared. She was frightened to realize that the two monks were, in fact, the two martyrs Processus and Martinianus (*In euang.* 32, 7).

Two cults deserve special attention. The first is the cult of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin Mary was first venerated in Greek Christianity. At the end of the 6th century, the Roman Church was also devoted to Mary as is shown by Gregory in his *litaniae* and by the use of the Esquiline basilica. The second is the cult of Mary Magdalene. The medieval cult of Mary Magdalene in Latin Christianity has its roots in *In euang.* 25 and 33, in which Gregory strongly emphasized this sainted woman by conflating three female characters of the Gospels.<sup>15</sup>

The homily is centered around commentary of a biblical pericope. The Latin term for such commentary is *expositio*. Commentary was always accompanied by a moral exhortation – *admonitio* – as found in the *Regula Pastoralis*. In *In euang.* 15, Gregory remarked on Luc. 8, the parable of the sower: "The reading of the holy Gospel which you have just heard, dearly beloved, requires not a commentary but a friendly admonition." In fact, Christ had explained the parable later in the passage, elaborating that the seed represented the Word, the field represented the world, the birds represented demons, and the thorns represented riches. Therefore Christ had given the instructive meaning

15 See Iogna-Prat/Ortenberg, "Genèse du culte de la Madeleine VIII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles" and Godding, "Grégoire le Grand et Marie Madeleine". About *Hom.* 34: Judic, "Hiérarchie angélique et hiérarchie ecclésiale chez Grégoire le Grand".

behind the scriptural figures. This fully supports Gregory's approach of friendly admonition.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.4 *Tragic History, Daily Life and Eschatology*

At the end of the 6th century, the attention paid to details in the Holy Scripture was balanced by attention given to daily life. Some events were tragic. The wars between the Byzantine and Ostrogothic armies had sown desolation across Italy for the thirty years between 525-55 AD. The Justinian Restoration was short, as Italy was invaded by the Lombards again in 569 AD. The Lombards came from Pannonia and had become acquainted with Italy while serving as mercenaries against the Ostrogoths in the Byzantine army. The Lombards were incomparably bad people according Gregory – they were pagans. Gregory complained: "Italy was handed over to be struck by the pagans' sword" (*In euang.* 1, 1).<sup>17</sup> Luc. 14:31, the pericope used in *In euang.* 38, asks, "What king, going to join battle against another king, does not first sit down and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet he who comes against him with twenty thousand?" Surely this is a pericope well suited to times of war!

Of all the hardships faced in Gregory's time, the most striking phenomenon was the Justinianic plague. The epidemic first appeared in the Nile Delta in 541 AD, then reached Syria and Constantinople in 542 AD. Approximately every ten years the plague struck a different region until the middle of the 8th century. The flood of the Tiber had destroyed the corn reserves in autumn 589 AD. Famine followed, as well as diseases, and eventually the plague reached Rome in 590 AD, which extinguished many lives, including that of Pope Pelagius II.<sup>18</sup> Gregory delivered a homily known as *Oratio de mortalitate*, at the arrival of processions (*litaniae*) coming from seven different churches. Luc. 21:9-19, the passage used in *In euang.* 35, announces: "There will be great earthquakes in various regions and plagues and famines...." Gregory had no need to expound upon such a prophecy. Earthquakes had destroyed the large city of Antioch in

16 Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 234-73. On *admonitio* fitted to audience: Banniard, "*Iuxta uniuscuiusque qualitatem*". Also see Schwank, *Gregor der Grosse als Prediger*; Recchia, "Il 'praedicator' nel pensiero e nell'azione di Gregorio Magno"; Giordano, "Note sul simbolismo del 'praedicator' nelle 'Omellie sui Vangeli' di Gregorio Magno"; Lamarsen Tinambunan, *The preacher and preaching according to Gregory the Great*; Santi, "La Chiesa, il potere e i poteri nelle 'XL Homiliae in Evangelia' di Gregorio Magno".

17 *Italia gentili gladio ferienda traderetur*.

18 McCormick, "Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort". More generally see the two volumes of *Roma nell'alto Medioevo*, especially Gasparri, "Roma e i Longobardi"; Saxer, "La Chiesa di Roma dal v al x secolo"; Marazzi, "Da suburbium a territorium, il rapporto tra Roma e il suo hinterland".

526 AD and in 588 AD. Due to his friendship with Anastasius, the former patriarch of Antioch, Gregory certainly knew of these disasters. He was also acquainted with other countries in the Mediterranean region. Isauria and Lycaonia are mentioned in *In euang.* 39.

Local events were also given spiritual meanings:

The day before yesterday, my friends, you heard that an old orchard was uprooted by a sudden hurricane, that homes were destroyed and churches knocked from their foundations. How many persons who were safe and unharmed in the evening, thinking of what they would do the next day, suddenly died that night, caught in a trap of destruction?<sup>19</sup>

This homily was first delivered on 19 November 590 AD. There are hints given regarding daily life in Rome, meetings in the Forum or in the Baths (*In euang.* 6, 6), going to the bishop's court (*In euang.* 26, 11) or cleaning the home to receive guests (*In euang.* 30, 2). Some references to the urban center, such as a portico (*In euang.* 15, 5), a *uicus* or a *platea* (*In euang.* 36, 8) can be found in sermons near references to rural realities, like grapes and olive pressing, and grain threshing (*In euang.* 15, 4).

Whether as a result of tragic events such as wars and plague, or by everyday life and people, Gregory was invigorated by eschatology. Two homilies, outside the corpus of the forty Gospel *Homilies*, evidence this behavior. The *Oratio de mortalitate* was written just before he acceded to the papal throne, after Pelagius' death. In the *Oratio*, Gregory fought against plague by organizing processions from seven different churches, praying *litaniae*, and exhorting people to enter into the Basilica of St. Mary Major. This *Oratio* was transmitted through Gregory of Tours' *Decem Libri Historiarum* and the *Registrum*. The *Oratio* was very likely reused during Gregory's pontificate. The *Registrum* also retained a letter from Gregory to the citizens of Rome. It could be considered as a sermon with concrete dispositions about the Jews, the Sabbath and eating rules but the background was probably a warning against false prophets in an eschatological context.<sup>20</sup>

19 *In euang.* 1, 5, Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Hurst (given as homily 3 in this translation), p. 19.

20 On eschatology, see Manselli, "L'escatologia di Gregorio Magno"; Dagens, *Saint Grégoire le Grand*, pp. 345-429; McNalley, "Gregory the Great and his declining world". The *Oratio de mortalitate* is listed as *ep.* 13, 2 in Gregory the Great's *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. Ewald, or as app. IX in Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum libri I-VII*, ed. Norberg. Banniard considers letter 13, 3 (ed. Ewald) or 13, 1 (ed. Norberg) as a short homily for the Roman people; see Banniard, "*Zelum discretionis condire*".

### 3.5 *Exempla*

One can also find the origin of the *exemplum*, a story told to illustrate a moral point, in Gregory. Conrad Leyser has stressed that for Gregory the *praedicator* – preacher – was not only, and possibly not at all, a person devoted to pulpit preaching. The *praedicator* was basically any Christian proclaiming the Good News of Christ's message through speech and, better still, through actions.<sup>21</sup> In his *Regula Pastoralis*, Gregory used the expression, "action is life, it is Christian life itself."<sup>22</sup> More precisely, the main *exempla* come from the Bible. Scriptural narratives are a quarry of examples, whether metaphorical examples from the Old Testament or more direct examples from the New Testament. Biblical culture with its heroes, characters, landscapes, daily life or battles and wars was always the basis of Gregory's meditation. This was considered a first step towards the *exemplum*. The lives of saints provided another set of characters and examples and, as mentioned earlier, Gregory's *Homilies* took hagiography into account. Gregory, however, was able to find a new kind of *exemplum* in the form of anecdotes, events of his own time, with characters doing good or bad actions:

The example of the faithful often transforms the hearts of listeners more than a teacher's words. I want to tell you of something recent, which your hearts may take in with more dread as it reaches them from a nearer point. I am not speaking of things that took place long ago, but those which were witnessed by people I know recounting that they had been involved in them.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Leyser, "Let me speak, let me speak". *Exempla* used both in *Homilies* and *Dialogues* confirm the authorship of the *Dialogues* as shown by Meyvaert, "The Authentic Dialogues of Gregory the Great". The notion of *exemplum* has been especially studied by Jacques Le Goff and his school, last publication: Polo de Beaulieu (ed.), *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge*.

<sup>22</sup> *Plus exempla quam uerba, exemplum*.

<sup>23</sup> *In euang.* 38, 15. *Forty Gospel Homilies*, transl. Hurst, p. 351. Here is a list of those *exempla* with reference to the *Dialogues*: Chrysaorius, the rich (*In euang.* 12, 7; *dial.* IV, 40, 6-9); Servulus (*In euang.* 15, 5; *dial.* IV, 15, 2-5); monk Theodore (*In euang.* 19, 7; *dial.* IV, 40, 2-5); the hospitable paterfamilias (*In euang.* 23, 2); the generous lady (*In euang.* 32, 7); monk Victorinus Aemilianus (*In euang.* 34, 18); Father Stephen of Rieti (*In euang.* 35, 8; *dial.* IV, 20, 1-4); Count Theophanes (*In euang.* 36, 13; *dial.* IV, 28, 1-5); the released prisoner (*In euang.* 37, 8; *dial.* IV, 59, 1); Cassius, bishop of Narni (*In euang.* 37, 9; *dial.* IV, 58, 1-2); aunt Tharsilla (*In euang.* 38, 15; *dial.* IV, 17, 1-3); monk Theodore (*In euang.* 38, 16; *dial.* IV, 40, 2-5); Martyrius and the leprosus (*In euang.* 39, 10); Redempta and Romula (*In euang.* 40, 11; *dial.* IV, 16, 1-7).

It is important to notice the link between Gregory's *Homilies* and *Dialogues*. The *Dialogues* addressed the lives of saints but they were contemporary, Italian saints. The *Dialogues* show how the *exemplum* gave way to new characters of saints.

#### 4 *Homilies on Ezekiel*

Gregory indicated that the *Homilies on Ezekiel* were delivered "before an audience" (*coram populo*). Each of these homilies ends with a doxology and lasts an average of one hour, which is more extended than a Gospel homily. The *Homilies on Ezekiel* were not commentaries on the Gospel pericope for Sunday. They extrapolate on very difficult verses from Ezekiel using very detailed explanations. Therefore they cannot be sermons in the same sense as the Sunday Gospel sermon. Nevertheless they demonstrate aspects of Gregory's preaching. Of course, Ezekiel is a difficult text and its explanation required a specialized audience. Some points are worth spending time on: in *Homily* 1 of book 1, he recounted a miracle of the Prophet Elisha in 11 Reg. 6:5-7 in which an iron axe had fallen into the water. The prophet seized a stick, cut it and cast it into the water so that the iron would float. This same miracle was the topic of the *Moralia* (22, 5, 9) already and was transferred in the *Dialogues* (11, 6, 2) to Benedict, who takes the prophet's place. The continuity between the *Moralia*, the *Homilies on Ezekiel* and the *Dialogues* shows that one cannot place too much stress on the distinction between the two types of homilies. The style made use of concrete images such as the flowers in the *Homily* 6, 4 of book 1: the scent of the grape, the olive, the rose, the lily, the violet, the ear.<sup>24</sup>

Two main points found in the *Homilies on Ezekiel* are preaching and circumstances. In many instances, Gregory utilized Ezekiel's example in order to stress the duties of preachers. He stressed this most clearly in *Homily* 11 (mainly) and *Homily* 12 of book 1, where it is easy to see the correspondence between *Homily* 11 and the *Regula Pastoralis*. Gregory uses the same scriptural quotations, the theme of *speculator*, the conditions for preaching, and even techniques of preaching with a clear reference to rhetoric.<sup>25</sup> His contemporary circumstances were tragic. In *Homily* 9 of book 1, Gregory grieved the destruction and misfortune of war. Almost identical sentences are found in *Homily* 6

<sup>24</sup> *Flos uuuae, flos oliuae, flos rosae, flos lilii, flos uiolae, spica.*

<sup>25</sup> See Grégoire le Grand, *Homélies sur Ezéchiel*, ed. C. Morel 327; Bori, *L'interpretazione infinita*; Banniard, *Viva voce*, pp. 156-72; Kessler, *Gregor der Grosse als Exeget*, pp. 234-40; Fiedrowicz, *Das Kirchenverständnis Gregors des Grossen*.

of book II, in *Homily* 17 on the Gospel, in a letter dated 593 AD to the Milanese clergy, and in a letter dated 595 AD to Emperor Maurice.<sup>26</sup> Jean-Paul Bouhot has established that book I on Ezekiel was delivered between April and May 592 AD, and book II between November 593 and January 594 AD. Book II opened with Gregory mentioning Agilulf's march over the River Pô and closed with Gregory lamenting the Lombard siege of Rome. The first two months of 594 AD were likely very painful.<sup>27</sup>

## 5 The Gospel *Homilies*' Influence in the Western Middle Ages

The influence of Gregory's Gospel *Homilies* was immense. As already noted, more than 450 medieval manuscripts of this work exist today. There is a papyrus fragment dated from Gregory's time, ca. end 6th-century or beginning 7th-century, which could be the relic of a book brought to England by the Roman monks sent by Gregory. Paterius, a notary from Gregory's entourage, compiled a *florilegium* from Gregory's works and thus contributed to spreading excerpts and themes from the Gospel *Homilies*. Two other 7th-century fragments are known. At the end of the 7th century, the *Homilies* were used in the *Liber scintillarum* of Defensor of Ligugé and in some Gallic *Saints' Lives*. Bede intensively used Gregory's *Homilies* and Bede's own fifty Gospel *Homilies* can be understood as a follow up of Gregory's work. In the Carolingian era, both Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus were eager to use Gregory's *Homilies*. Paul the Deacon created a homiliary, used in monastic and clerical offices, featuring almost exclusively Gregorian *Homilies*. Were one to add the manuscripts from the *Paulus Diaconus Homiliary*, the total number would add up to hundreds more than the current count.

Gregory's *Homilies* had a great influence on Anglo-Saxon England through Aelfric, and on Germany, where several Latin manuscripts of his Gospel *Homilies* contained Germanic glosses. In the 12th century, the preaching of Bishop Maurice de Sully in Paris in French was influenced by Gregory. By the

<sup>26</sup> "We see our cities ruined, our strongholds demolished, our country ravaged, our churches collapsed" (*Vrbes erutas, euersa castra, depopulatos agros, suffossas ecclesias uidemus*), In *Ezech.* 1, *hom.* 9, 9; cf. In *Ezech* II, *hom.* 6, 22-24; In *euang.* 17, 16; *Ep.* 3, 29; *Ep.* 5, 37 to emperor Maurice; *Ep.* 11, 37; *dial.* III, 38, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Bouhot, "Les homélies de St. Grégoire le Grand"; cf. note 12.



central and late medieval period, the popular *exemplum* used Gregory's *Dialogues* but not the *exempla* of his *Homilies*.<sup>28</sup>

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28 Cf. Deleeuw, "Gregory the Great's Homilies on the Gospels in the Early Middle Ages"; Étaix, *Homélieaires patristiques latins*; Judic, "La tradition de Grégoire le Grand dans l'idéologie politique carolingienne"; Hall, "The Early English Manuscripts of Gregory the Great's Homiliae in Evangelia and Homiliae in Hiezechielem. A Preliminary Survey"; Leyser, "Auctoritas e potestas".



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# Preaching in Fifth-Century Gaul. Valerian of Cimiez and the Eusebius Gallicanus Collection

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## 1 Introduction

Preaching was central to the growth of the Christian Church in 5th-century Gaul. It was a standard part of the church service and of pastoral care – great preachers were praised and esteemed by their contemporaries and their efforts helped to ensure that Christianity became firmly entrenched in Gallic culture, despite the withdrawal and eventual disappearance of Roman state support.<sup>1</sup> Only a small fraction of the words these men spoke, however, have survived to us. A few isolated sermons remain from the output of apparently prolific figures such as Hilary of Arles, Faustus of Riez, Salvian and Musaeus of Marseille, or Eucherius and Patiens of Lyon.<sup>2</sup> However, the 5th century does supply us with two substantial collections of sermons: the group of 20 attributed to Valerian of Cimiez and the collection of 76 known as the Eusebius Gallicanus. Neither have received much scholarly attention, despite their value as evidence for the character and content of preaching in this period. Both are examples of preaching produced and heard in south-east Gaul in the 5th century, both direct our attention to the importance of preaching, and both testify to the afterlife of sermons as texts which were subsequently collated and circulated, even if their fates became very different. They represent the range of uses of sermon texts in the period, and speak to the diversity of preaching forms and experiences as well. However, the collections have also some interesting points of connection or similarity, which speak to the common pastoral challenges these preachers faced in reaching their congregations and addressing their situations. In the space I have here, I will focus on just a few of these: authorship and audience, their views of community and social relations, sermons on martyrs and the path to virtue.

1 For praise of Gallic preachers see Gennadius of Marseille, *On Illustrious Men* 21, 40, 53, 57, 67, 69, 73, 77, 79, 90, 93.

2 For accounts of their preaching see Gennadius of Marseille, *On Illustrious Men* 79; *Vita Hilarii* 14 (*Patrologia Latina*, 50, col. 1219C-1246B: 1234B-1235B); Amos, “Origin and Nature”, p. 21; Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, pp. 37-38; Grégoire, *Homéliaires du Moyen Âge*, pp. 44-47.

## 2 Valerian of Cimiez

Valerian was bishop of Cimiez in the middle of the 5th century. Although we do not know when he was born, or when he died, he was present at the Councils of Riez (439), Vaison (442) and Arles (455) and was among the bishops commended for their orthodoxy by Pope Leo in 452.<sup>3</sup> The 20 sermons now attributed to him are focused on a narrow range of topics and do not appear to have been widely copied.<sup>4</sup> They include sermons on discipline, the path to heaven, the dangers of the tongue, charity, keeping the peace and greed. Three sermons on martyrdom appear related to a local feast and one sermon is set on Easter Sunday, but otherwise they do not bear a strong relation to the liturgical year, nor do they follow a set series of readings. The origins of the collection are obscure – they were perhaps originally collated for someone's personal use.<sup>5</sup> Even Valerian's authorship of the collection is not completely secure. Only one of the sermons appears in a manuscript under his name and the rest have been attributed to him on the basis of style.<sup>6</sup> While the sermons certainly exhibit a number of shared tendencies, the practices of sermon collection in the period make it difficult to be certain without more work on the issue.<sup>7</sup> Here I will use Valerian's name as the author of the sermons for the sake of simplicity and because no other writers have been proposed in his place. For the purposes of this piece the authorship issue is anyway relatively unimportant: the sermons fit a context of mid-5th-century southern Gaul, and can be treated as examples of the preaching and pastoral style experienced in that time and place.

In 1970, Jean-Pierre Weiss described Valerian as “un homme peu connu du public”, and it is fair to say that this has not much changed in the years since.<sup>8</sup> In part this may be because not long after his sermons were first published in the early 17th century, their ideas about grace and free will were deemed suspect, and Valerian has since that time been treated as one of the group of

3 Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*, pp. 291-93; Weiss, “Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez”, pp. 141-42.

4 Although Valerian's works are generally referred to as “homilies”, there was no contemporary distinction between the terms sermon and homily, so I will not be applying one here. See Grégoire, *Homéliaires du Moyen Âge*, p. 6; Kienzle, “Introduction”, p. 161; Hall, “The Early Medieval Sermon”, p. 205; Longère, *Prédication médiévale*, p. 27. On the manuscript history of the sermons see the brief comments in Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*, pp. 294-95.

5 On the group of sermons as a coherent collection see Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, p. 39.

6 Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*, pp. 294-95.

7 Weiss doubts Valerian's authorship of the *Letter to Monks* generally credited to him, “Valérien de Cimiez et Valère de Nice”, p. 144.

8 Weiss, “Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez”, p. 141.

“Provençal Masters” who opposed Augustine’s ideas.<sup>9</sup> However, the neglect may also stem from scholarly snobbery. Casiday, for example, has recently described Valerian’s sermons as “of an unexceptional character in respect of both their theology and style”, and claims that they “simply do not command much interest”.<sup>10</sup> Their unexceptional character, however, is precisely what commands *my* interest. They give us far more insight into the ordinary preaching experience than the works of exceptional theologians could ever do.

The 20 sermons were rendered more accessible to academic audiences in 1845 when they appeared in *Patrologia Latina* 52, and to a general audience in the English-speaking world when George Ganss translated them for the *Fathers of the Church* series in 1953.<sup>11</sup> They are occasionally cited in surveys of preaching or late Latin literature, in works on Cimiez and in studies of topics as diverse as social parasites and monastic silence.<sup>12</sup> The only sustained work on Valerian, however, has come from Jean-Pierre Weiss, who has dealt with numerous aspects of his career and works. Weiss has conclusively demonstrated that Valerian of Cimiez is not identical with Valerius of Nice, and has also argued that he may be the father of Eucherius of Lyon.<sup>13</sup> He has surveyed the preacher’s main interests, explored what Valerian can tell us about his society and times, and given him rightful prominence in an overview of 5th-century Gallic preaching.<sup>14</sup> Weiss’s work remains the best and most up to date guide to Valerian.

Although they are stylistically and thematically coherent, the sermons were not necessarily all delivered to the same audience. Indeed the nature of Valerian’s audience has been debated: one scholar has argued that they were intended for monks, another that they were suited to an urban lay congregation.<sup>15</sup> Certainly some sermons read as though they were preached to people dedicated to religion. In section 6 of sermon 1, Valerian reminded each audience member that the reputation of conversion would not benefit them unless they also loved discipline, displayed contempt for the world and lived out in

9 Tibiletti, “Valeriano di Cimiez”; Casiday, *Tradition and Theology*, pp. 40–41.

10 Casiday, *Tradition and Theology*, pp. 40–41.

11 *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 0691C-0756D; Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*.

12 For examples, see Olivar, *La predicación*; Grégoire, *Homélieares du Moyen Âge*; Latouche, “Nice et Cimiez”; Gauthier/Picard (eds.), *Topographie chrétienne*; Blowers, “St John Chrysostom” and Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language*. See also the older work of Schack, *De Valeriano saeculi quinti homelita christiano*.

13 Weiss, “Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez”, pp. 160–62; Weiss, “Valérien de Cimiez et Valère de Nice”.

14 Weiss, “Valérien de Cimiez et la Société de son Temps”; Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”.

15 Olivar, *La predicación*, p. 453; Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, p. 41.

practice the religion which they professed.<sup>16</sup> The proof of our *conversio*, Valerian insisted, lies in the fact that we are good men, and even those who keep their bodies pure sometimes engage in sinful deeds. The audience was enjoined to provide a good example to others, and to perform a service to religion through righteousness of their lives.<sup>17</sup> This is very similar to the message which the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers delivered in their sermons for monks.<sup>18</sup> In other sermons Valerian spoke of audience members being “called” to Christian religion, and of the importance of not being elevated with pride by their religious achievements.<sup>19</sup> None of this definitively indicates a monastic audience, however, and it is complicated by the fact that in section 7 of sermon 1, Valerian went on to accuse his audience of disguising their sobriety among flowing wine cups and abandoned dancing, hiding their chastity amidst foul language and scandalous plays.<sup>20</sup> This suggests a secular context. Other sermons in the collection also seem clearly delivered to people in familial contexts, praying for their children or spouses, or showing proper love for their children.<sup>21</sup> Another sermon complained of drunken excesses at the end of Lent.<sup>22</sup> In this context, clear differentiation between lay and monastic audiences is overly simplistic. Neither of these categories were straightforward and there was anyway little difference in terms of the pastoral care being offered.

The maintenance of community was central to this pastoral care, and Valerian addressed a variety of potential threats to communal cohesion in his sermons. For example, several of them focused on the issue of speech and the importance of controlling this, to ensure good relationships with one's fellows. Sermon 5 detailed the disturbances for which the tongue is responsible: sowing quarrels, stirring up hatreds, even bringing death. Valerian calls it stronger than a sword and more violent than poison, because whereas soldiers and doctors can devise defences for those, “the wound of the tongue is truly incurable.”<sup>23</sup> Everyone therefore needs to guard their tongues for the sake of the group and each should respond to bitter words with soothing ones.<sup>24</sup> Silence, the preacher

16 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 1, 6.

17 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 1, 7.

18 On the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons to monks, see below.

19 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 3, 2; 11, 7.

20 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 1, 7.

21 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 3, 2; 4, 2-3; 11, 7; 18, 5.

22 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 19, 1.

23 *Linguae uero insanabilis plaga est*, Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 5, 1-2, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 707A. Translations are my own, but I have been guided by the work of Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*, on the sermons of Valerian.

24 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 5, 3.



continued, is in many cases the safest course.<sup>25</sup> Sermon 6 dealt with idle words, which the preacher insisted are not trivial, because they stimulate tempers and start arguments.<sup>26</sup> However, in this sermon the voice has also the power to seduce into sin, particularly the words and songs associated with the stage, which are described as containing a fatal poison.<sup>27</sup> Sermon 12 described control of speech as central to the preservation of peace. "I deem blessed those who, with silent mouths, guard the words of their lips and, remembering the mandates of heaven, do not search for insult in the voice of another."<sup>28</sup> In practice, this meant not speaking, even when sorely tempted.

The full victory is to be silent before those who shout and not to respond when provoked. Then you have a reward, both for your patience and for the cure of your brother ... but when words follow words, kindling is supplied to the fire.<sup>29</sup>

Defamation and detraction, the preacher claimed, are the chief causes of anger and therefore of enmity.<sup>30</sup> Other sections of sermon 12 gave practical advice on avoiding dissension by responding peacefully to attacks.<sup>31</sup> The goal, Valerian emphasised, is "for brethren to dwell together in unity" (Ps. 132:1) – this meant loving your neighbour, avoiding hatreds, engaging in charity, and extending the bond of community to all other Christians.<sup>32</sup> Sermon 13 expanded on this theme of love for all, especially your enemies.<sup>33</sup> The preacher here identified envy as a cause of communal conflict and described how it can turn the happiness of another into a painful experience.<sup>34</sup>

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25 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 5, 6.

26 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 6, 3-4.

27 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 6, 5-6.

28 *Beatos illos iudico, qui uerba laborum suorum tacito ore custodiunt, et memores coelestium mandatorum alienae uocis contumeliam non requirunt.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 4, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 729D.

29 *Plena uictoria est, ad clamantem tacere, et non respondere prouocanti. Habes enim mercedem et de tua patientia, et de fratris medela, ... ubi enim uerbis uerba succedunt, incendio fomenta praestantur.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 5, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 730A.

30 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 7.

31 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 1-4.

32 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 6.

33 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 13, 4.

34 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 13, 7.

Valerian placed most emphasis, however, upon charity, as the basis for a strong and stable community.<sup>35</sup> True charity, he argued in sermon 7, meant paying no attention to the merit of the recipient.

But why do you need to ask whether he who begs is a Christian or a Jew, whether heretic or pagan, whether Roman or barbarian, whether free man or slave? When need is pressing, it is not necessary to discuss the person, lest when you separate the unworthy from mercy, you at the same time let slip the Son of God.<sup>36</sup>

In sermon 8 he made the same point in a slightly different way, emphasising that charity is really about the giver, not the recipient at all. "The fruits are sought for those giving, not for those receiving. It makes no difference to what beggar you give."<sup>37</sup> In sermon 7, Valerian emphasised that the cost of achieving your own salvation is low, and that charity can be offered by everyone, no matter how slender their means. If you have money, you can feed the hungry, clothe the naked, ransom the captive and offer a loan to the needy. If you have no money, you can offer a hand to a fallen man, teach salvation to a wanderer, visit the sick and console the afflicted.<sup>38</sup> In some sermons, Valerian focused more on the advantages which charity offered to the wealthy: you profit every day if you feed the poor without reluctance, your riches do no good if you do not use their benefits, profits stored in the stomachs of the poor will last forever, whereas produce and wine can spoil or be lost.<sup>39</sup> However, Valerian elsewhere preached charity to all members of his community, rich and poor.<sup>40</sup> In each case, the emphasis was upon the achievability and importance of almsgiving. "He can easily and without difficulty fulfil the command, to whom it is clear

35 For more on Valerian's emphasis on charity see Weiss, "Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez", p. 143.

36 *Quid autem tibi est opus quaerere utrum Christianus an Iudaeus, utrum haereticus an gentilis, utrum Romanus an barbarus, utrum liber an seruius sit ille qui postulat? Vbi incumbit necessitas, non opus est ut personam discutias: ne cum indignos misericordia segregas, Dei Filium pariter amittas.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 7, 4, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 715B-C.

37 *dantis, non accipientis fructus quaeruntur. Non interest cui petenti eroges,* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 8, 2, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 717B.

38 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 7, 4-5.

39 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 8, 3-4. On such metaphors in Valerian's preaching see also Weiss, "Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez", p. 145.

40 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 9, 2-4.

that nothing is imposed beyond his capability.<sup>41</sup> All of these injunctions on charity were a standard part of the homiletic repertoire.<sup>42</sup> None were original or unexpected. None the less, each preacher chose what to emphasise, and Valerian's emphasis on charity was *not* shared by the contemporary Eusebian sermons, as we will see. Valerian strove to build a mutually advantageous sense of community by appealing to self-interest and obligation. This was a deliberate choice on his part, and one which revealed his personal pastoral strategy.

Valerian also chose to set some of his sermon messages into specific social contexts and community relationships. In doing so, he drew heavily on traditions of social satire, but also gave his message a sense of context. For example, in sermon 10, Valerian complained of powerful men who mocked and humiliated the weak, while the latter submitted in order to gain food and support.<sup>43</sup> The sermon eventually became an account of cruel pranks, designed to reinforce hierarchies under the guise of jest: "the beard of this man is pulled while he is eating, the seat of that man is removed while he is drinking; this one dines from wood easily split, that one from glass easily broken".<sup>44</sup> It would be better to be a servant or a captive, Valerian complained, than a free man subjected to such indignities.<sup>45</sup> In sermon 14, meanwhile, Valerian provided a satirical portrait of the workings of patronage relationships, complaining of powerful men who manipulate their clients, and are never satisfied with the services offered.<sup>46</sup> This owes much to Seneca, and is echoed in other late Roman texts, but it also seems to reflect the preacher's anxiety about inequalities of power in Christian communities.<sup>47</sup> In sermons 12 and 13, Valerian also focused on social relations, and the problems of dissension. Here, however, he offered a series of practical solutions, and suggested ways to navigate difficult confrontations, including some very precise advice about not attacking the lineage of your fellow citi-

41 *Facile sane et sine difficultate potest implere mandatum, cui ultra possibilitatem nihil constat impositum.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 9, 5, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 722B.

42 On this see especially Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*; Allen/Neil/Mayer (eds.), *Preaching Poverty*.

43 On the literary and Christian context for this satire see Blowers, "St John Chrysostom"; Blowers, "Pity, Empathy and the Tragic Spectacle".

44 *Huic denique manducanti barba uellitur, illi bibenti sedilia subtrahuntur; hic ligno scissili, ille fragili uitro pascitur.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 10, 2, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 723C-D.

45 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 10, 3.

46 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 14, 4.

47 On the influence of Seneca see Weiss, "Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez", pp. 149-50. For a parallel, see Ammianus Marcellinus on patrons, *History* 14, 6.

zens.<sup>48</sup> In sermon 15, meanwhile, he used social relations as a metaphor for human interactions with the divine. Just as one cannot directly access a powerful man, and must first cultivate the support of those around him, so, Valerian argued, you should apply the same social logic to your approach to God and use the intercession of saints.<sup>49</sup> Just as in a great house you have to gain access to the master through cultivation of his friends, so “we should cultivate the memory of the saints with particular veneration, that they might open the door of salvation ... for a large part of security consists in having a voice in the house of the king in a time of hardship.”<sup>50</sup> All of these elements give Valerian’s sermons an air of social specificity, even when based on literary archetypes.

In other sermons, however, Valerian could be completely generic and abstracted. He provided so little information in his sermons on martyrdom, for example, that it is impossible to tell which martyr’s festival is being celebrated.<sup>51</sup> In sermons 15, 16 and 17 Valerian omitted any account of the virtues or achievements of the martyr, nor did he discuss the details of the festive celebrations, or the meaning of the event to the audience, all in strong contrast to the sermons on martyrs in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection.<sup>52</sup> Instead he concentrated on general exhortations to prefer the rewards of heaven to the rewards of this earth and to model oneself on the example of the saint: “We have here a teacher of patience, examples of rewards, here a pattern of virtues, here evidence of his merits.”<sup>53</sup> “Nor should we seek far”, Valerian commented in sermon 16, “for one to follow”.

Look, before our eyes is one who every day challenges us with salutary examples, and who invites us with paternal affection to the fellowship of the saints. Therefore, if you wish, you can easily seize upon examples

48 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 12, 7.

49 Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 15, 4.

50 *Peculiari itaque ueneratione excolenda nobis est memoria sanctorum, ut ianuam salutis aperiant.... Magna enim securitatis est portio, in rebus asperis de domo regis habuisse suffragium.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 15, 4, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 740A-B.

51 Ganss and Weiss argue it is St Pontius, since he was a local martyr, but nothing in the sermons themselves would enable such an identification. Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, p. 40; Ganss, *Saint Peter Chrysologus*, p. 397 n. 1.

52 On the Eusebian martyr sermons see the discussion below and also Bailey, “Building Urban Christian Communities”.

53 *Hic habemus patientiae magistrum, hic exempla praemiorum, hic formam uirtutum, hic documenta meritorum.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 17, 3, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 745A-B.

which are worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven, for you have every day one whom you can follow and one whom you ought to imitate.<sup>54</sup>

In each of these sermons on martyrdom, Valerian emphasised both the importance of human effort in achieving salvation (an emphasis which would later see him accused of semi-pelagianism), and the achievability of virtue.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore if we want, dearly beloved, a share for ourselves in the heavenly seat, which the Lord promised to the victors, let us imitate in the first place the faith of the holy martyr in confession, and let us follow his road in virtue ... let us resist our enemies ... we must fight against these legions with spiritual arms and stand in the line of battle day and night.<sup>56</sup>

But despite the battle metaphor, Valerian's message was positive. "If you think about the crown of the promised reward, it will be easy for you to overcome the injury of persecution."<sup>57</sup> If the struggle of the martyr over physical pain seems too laborious for anyone, let them find easier paths to glory, Valerian argued in sermon 16. The crown of martyrdom will be earned by only a few, but all of us can battle against the vices: "we can train ourselves in advance by similar exercises, and our soul is prepared by our efforts for stronger things to come."<sup>58</sup> Sermon 17, likewise, emphasised the importance of continual effort, in order to

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54 *Nec enim longe nobis quaerendus quem sequamur. Ecce ante oculos nostros est, qui quotidie exemplis salutaribus prouocat, et paterna affectione ad consortium sanctitatis inuitat. Facile ergo, si uultis, ea quae sunt coelesti regno digna apprehenditis, cum habeatis quotidie quem possitis sequi, et quem debeatis imitari.* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 16, 1, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 741C.

55 Weiss also argues that Valerian depicts following the law of Christ as both possible and easy, "Personnalité de Valérien de Cimiez", pp. 144, 147. For a thoughtful and thorough summary of Valerian's views on grace and free will, see the discussion in this same piece, pp. 154-59. For context on the debates on these issues in Gaul in the 5th century see Weaver, *Divine Grace*; Smith, *De Gratia*; Casiday, *Tradition and Theology*. The latter has a brief explanation of how Valerian came to be labelled as semi-pelagian, while demolishing that term as a useful concept, pp. 40-42.

56 *Si uultis ergo, dilectissimi, ut sit nobis in coelesti sede portio, quam uictoribus Dominus repromisit, imitemur primo loco sancti martyris fidem in confessione, et sequamur uiam eius in uirtute ... resistamus aduersis.... Aduersus istas ergo legiones nobis est armis spiritalibus dimicandum, et die noctuque in acie standum,* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 15, 5, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 740D-741A.

57 *si cogitetis promissae remunerationis coronam, facile uobis erit uincere persecutionis iniuriam,* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 16, 3, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 742D.

58 *In similibus ergo, dilectissimi, praeludendum nobis est, et aptandus est studiis animus ad fortiora uenturus,* Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 16, 5, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 744A.

achieve virtue. You do not lack an opportunity for conquering sin, the preacher informed his audience – you are constantly surrounded by temptation, so you must learn constant vigilance to combat the enemy.<sup>59</sup>

Other sermons also emphasised the achievability of virtue. The way to salvation is passable, Valerian argued in sermon 2, indeed it is easy, if you do not let an attraction to the world hold you back.<sup>60</sup> If you are burdened down with possessions, then you will travel slowly and with great toil, but journeys, he preached, are not too difficult for anybody, so long as they unburden their minds.<sup>61</sup> The way of death may seem wide and broad, but actually it is more dangerous than the steep and narrow path to virtue.<sup>62</sup> Valerian's message was not always one of ease and accessibility. At times he chose to emphasise how much effort was required to achieve salvation. The entrance to heaven was, he noted in sermon 3, distressingly narrow, and the journey, "not only arduous, but also difficult and more toilsome".<sup>63</sup> "Because of the vanity of this world it is hard for anyone to arrive at heavenly goods."<sup>64</sup> The hope of our getting the glory of heaven, Valerian remarked, resides in our effort. "There is nothing which labour does not overcome, if only our spirit does not turn aside to the other way, as is common".<sup>65</sup> The message of Valerian's sermons, therefore, was fundamentally optimistic: salvation may be hard to achieve, but it is within human capacity and the path towards it is clear.

### 3 Eusebius Gallicanus

The Eusebius Gallicanus collection is far more diverse and difficult to pin down. Its 76 sermons were probably originally composed by a range of different 5th-century preachers, and the collection itself may not have come together until the early 6th century. It was drawn together to form a preaching handbook, providing rough coverage for the major events of the liturgical year, as

<sup>59</sup> Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 17, 5-6.

<sup>60</sup> Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 2, 2.

<sup>61</sup> Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 2, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 2, 5.

<sup>63</sup> *non solum arduum, sed etiam difficile et plus quam laboriosum est*, Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 3, 1, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 700B.

<sup>64</sup> *propter uanitatem huius mundi difficile est cuiquam ad coelestia peruenire*, Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 17, 4, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 745C. See also Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 2, 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Nihil est enim quod non labor exsuperet; si tamen in alteram partem, ut assolet, animus non declinet*. Valerian of Cimiez, *Homilies* 3, 1, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 700A.

well as a range of exhortations based on moral issues. As such it was enormously popular, widely copied, and sermons from it survive in hundreds of manuscripts.<sup>66</sup> Some of the Eusebian sermons were clearly originally written for a monastic audience, these being numbers 8, 37-44 and 72.<sup>67</sup> These sermons are concerned with issues besetting professed religious people living in communal settings and scholars have generally assumed that most of them were originally preached at the monastery of Lérins.<sup>68</sup> The remainder of the collection was designed to be preached to urban lay congregations – there are sermons for the feast days of saints which assume civic contexts, for the instruction of catechumens and for problems which beset Christians inhabiting the secular world.<sup>69</sup>

The sermons were first edited in the 16th century, when they were attributed to “Eusebius Gallicanus”, an acknowledged invention.<sup>70</sup> The sermons in fact appear in manuscripts under the names of a variety of authors, and it seems unlikely either that they could all be attributed to Faustus of Riez, or to the rewriting and compilation work of Caesarius of Arles, the two boldest theories which have been proposed.<sup>71</sup> The nature and contents of the collection suggest instead some form of multiple authorship, and I will therefore refer to the preachers or authors in the plural, but to a presumed compiler in the singular.<sup>72</sup> Most scholars now agree that the sermons were originally composed in the mid-late 5th century in south-eastern Gaul.<sup>73</sup> The confused nature of the Eusebius Gallicanus collection has served to frighten off much

66 For a full list of manuscripts containing sermons from the collection see Glorie, *Eusebius “Gallicanus”*, pp. 902-34.

67 Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 106-07. Note that this does not correspond precisely to those sermons labelled *ad monachos* in the manuscripts. In particular, sermon 45 was likely not directed to monks, and the audience of sermon 36 is uncertain. See Glorie, *Eusebius “Gallicanus”*, p. 946; De Vogüé, “Sur une série d'emprunts”, pp. 119-23; Kasper, *Theologie und Askese*, p. 11.

68 See discussion of the Lérinian ‘stamp’ to the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons in Leroy, “Œuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez”, p. 303; Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, p. 43; Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, p. 44.

69 Bailey, “Monks and Lay Communities”, p. 318.

70 On the editions of the collection see Leroy, “Œuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez”, 1: pp. 10-56; Morin, “Collection gallicane”, pp. 92-93 and Glorie, *Eusebius “Gallicanus”*, pp. XLIII-XLIV.

71 For a summary of the authorship debates see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 31-37.

72 For a more detailed defence of my approach see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, pp. 31-38.

73 Morin, “Collection gallicane”, p. 92; Souter, “Observations on the Pseudo-Eusebian Collection”, p. 47; Stancliffe, “Thirteen Sermons”, p. 118; Weiss, “Statut du prédicateur”, pp. 43-44.



attention, but scholars have used sermons from it in studies of issues as diverse as the theology of the Eucharist, the confirmation rite, images of the church, the community at Lérins, local saints' cults, the language of preaching and the maintenance of Romanness in face of barbarian incursions.<sup>74</sup> My own recent publication, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, is so far the only monograph dedicated to the collection, but the *Corpus Christianorum* edition, and the careful work of Leroy, Glorie and others, have established a firm basis for future scholarship.<sup>75</sup>

Despite their different character and history, the sermons of the Eusebius Gallicanus collection have much in common with those of Valerian. They also prioritised creating and maintaining community bonds and offered versions of the same essential pastoral message to both laypeople and monks. When preaching to monks, the authors of the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons insisted stridently that communal life required the subordination of individual desires to the good of the whole group. In an ascetic context, the preachers identified pride as the greatest threat to this goal, especially the pride of those who thought themselves greater than a rule, an abbot or a routine. The author of sermon 38 complained that he was dealing with monks who preferred their own wishes or efforts to the blessings of God and followed their own thoughts instead of subjecting themselves to the greater wisdom of the community.<sup>76</sup> The greatest risk, in fact, belonged to the senior monks who thought they had advanced beyond the needs of community bonds. The author of sermon 42 warned that the devil would lure such monks "by means of their very success and through their own merits", leading to vanity, and thence to a fall.<sup>77</sup> Such individualism was presented as the devil's attack on Christian communal strength.

74 Carle, "Homélie de pâques"; Carle, "Sermon de s. Fauste de Riez"; Buchem, *Homélie pseudo-Eusébiennne*; Triacca, "Maternità feconda"; Triacca, "Cultus" in Eusebio 'Gallicano'; Kasper, *Theologie und Askese*; Nürnberg, *Askese als sozialer Impuls*; Beaujard, *Culte des saints*; Harries, "Christianity and the City"; Leyser, "This Sainted Isle"; Weiss, "Statut du prédicateur"; Bruzzone, "Similitudini, metafore e contesto sociale"; Pollheimer, "Preaching Romanness".

75 Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*; Glorie, *Eusebius "Gallicanus"*; Leroy, "Œuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez".

76 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 38, 4.

77 The passage as a whole reads: *Meliores uero quosque ac seniores, per elationis ac iactantiae malum projectu ipso ac meritis propriis expugnare conatur: ut, dum tempora, dum merita ingerit, per immundissimam uanitatem, humilitatem cordis excidat. Eusebius Gallicanus* 42, 7, ed. Glorie, p. 501. On the increased risk of pride faced by senior monks see also *Eusebius Gallicanus* 38, 5.



This was a message adapted to a monastic context. However, the collection contained very similar underlying messages directed to lay congregations. “But perhaps someone says to himself”, the author of sermon 48 mused, “I should take care of my body, I should be concerned about the necessities of life.” “Can it really be”, the preacher responded, “that man, made in the image of God, should think this his primary care, rather than that which he has in common with the flock?”<sup>78</sup> The author of sermon 53, meanwhile, argued that sin was a collective weight which could only be alleviated through coordinated action on the common debt. “One does not therefore owe less, if another should owe the same.”<sup>79</sup> Failure to act in concert with the community was akin to stealing from it, since it weakened everyone.<sup>80</sup> To both monastic and lay audiences, therefore, the Eusebian preachers emphasised the centrality of community to proper Christian living and orientation to the group as the source of proper Christian virtue.

The Eusebian preachers also highlighted the joys and pleasures of community living to both monks and lay Christians. The preacher of sermon 38 reminded monks that their monastery was their home, their sanctuary, their place of comfort and fellowship. “That soul is happy”, argued the preacher of sermon 42, “which, while living well in company, is the joy of many, and many are either instructed or illuminated by it: for when its goods are shared with many, they are added to.”<sup>81</sup> The preacher of sermon 50 gave his lay audience a metaphor from the animal kingdom: When birds travel far, he noted, the stronger ones successively support the weaker, and when deer swim, they take turns to support those swimming behind them.<sup>82</sup> So also, the ideal Christian community was one of mutual obligation and care, enabling all members to flourish.

As in Valerian’s sermons, the Eusebian preachers identified and sought to tackle specific threats to this community orientation. The author of sermon 40, for example, warned monks that the coherence of the group was threatened by

78 *Sed forte aliquis sibi dicat: “Debeo curare de corpore meo; debeo sollicitus esse de uictu meo”. Numquid homo, dilectissimi, ad imaginem dei factus, illam primam curam debet putare, quam sibi uidet communem esse cum pecude? Eusebius Gallicanus 48, 3, ed. Glorie, p. 567.*

79 *nec ideo unus minus debet: si et alius idem debeat. Eusebius Gallicanus 53, 13, ed. Glorie, p. 622.*

80 *Eusebius Gallicanus 24, 25.*

81 *felix est illa anima, quae, dum bene in congregatione uersatur, multorum gaudium est, et plurimi ex ea uel aedificantur uel illuminantur: bona enim eius, dum multi <s> communicantur, adduntur. Eusebius Gallicanus 42, 1, ed. Glorie, p. 497.*

82 *Eusebius Gallicanus 50, 3-4.*

agitation, quarrels, disputes and the poisoned sword of the tongue.<sup>83</sup> The devil can use our own tongues against us, warned the author of sermon 42, stirring up passions and anger, insults, dissension and disobedience.<sup>84</sup> This focus on the problems caused by speech is very similar to the anxieties of the bishop of Cimiez. It is less explicit, but still present, in the Eusebian sermons to lay audiences, which condemn detraction and the denigration of others. In sermon 4, for example, the preacher invited his congregation to look within themselves and consider whether they had spent the day without sin, without envy, without disparagement, without murmuring against others.<sup>85</sup> In sermon 2 he listed pride, anger, malice, detraction and envy as the works of darkness rather than of light.<sup>86</sup> In sermon 60 the preacher reminded his audience that everyone who guarded their words thereby also served their soul and that they needed to be particularly vigilant against the poisonous sweetness of denigration.<sup>87</sup> Hypocrisy and communal dissent were greater threats to community than incorrect actions.<sup>88</sup>

In some other respects, however, the Eusebian sermons differ markedly from Valerian's. They contain very little, for example, pertaining to social relationships or social contexts. This may be because they were stripped of details in the process of collection and editing, but it may also be because the authors themselves were not as interested in commenting on such contexts, or in orienting their arguments to them. The preachers often speak in terms of generalities and do not even divide their audiences into such basic categories as rich and poor, or men and women. They have very little to say about charity, for example, as an obligation of the wealthy or a comfort to the destitute. They do not make almsgiving central to the expiation of sin, do not speak of the burden of possessions, weighing down travellers on the path to salvation, and never use the common homiletic motifs, so important to Valerian, of wealth stored in the bellies of the poor, protected from the vicissitudes of life, buying an eventual entrance to heaven. They have nothing to say about parasitic friendships, abusive patrons, or saints who act as doorkeepers for God. The social historian can take very little from the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons at all. It is as though the preachers, or the compiler, preferred a sense of timelessness. It may account, indeed, for their popularity over subsequent centuries, as

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83 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 40, 6.

84 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 42, 7. See also 44, 3; 38, 2.

85 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 4, 6.

86 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 2, 2.

87 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 60, 7.

88 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 50, 4; 53, 3-6.

preachers could manipulate these basic structures to suit their own more specific messages.<sup>89</sup>

The Eusebian sermons on martyrs are, curiously, the exception to this rule. Where Valerian's sermons on martyrdom were wholly generic, several of the Eusebian ones were extremely specific (and were copied far less by medieval scribes, no doubt because of it). Eusebian sermon 55, for example, celebrated the martyrs Epipodius and Alexander of Lyon.<sup>90</sup> The sermon made a great virtue out of their localism. The saints were described as belonging particularly to Lyon, as natives, and fellow citizens.<sup>91</sup>

And therefore just as the cult of our native martyrs and the honour of our special patrons give their own particular joy, so they demand their own special devotion ... so that just as we are related to them by right of birth, because we sat on the lap of the one parent, so we lay claim for ourselves, in respect to them, upon the special right of piety and of grace, and we should approach them first with the devotion of faith, so that we shall deserve to have in heaven a civic fellowship with those whose fellow citizens we rejoice to be on earth.<sup>92</sup>

Indeed, the preacher went so far as to lift these local figures up to the level of the greatest heroes of the Church: "we raise up those twin palms of triumph rivalling the apostolic city, and, having also our own Peter and Paul, we vie with our two supporters against that exalted see."<sup>93</sup> We find the same tone, and local pride, in Eusebian sermon 11, also from Lyon and quite probably by the same preacher. In this case the sermon celebrated the group of Lyon Christians famously killed in the persecution of 177 and boasted of their number and achievements. "The people of a city exult even if they are defended by the rel-

89 One possible exception is sermon 25, which appears to respond to Gothic incursions in southern Gaul, but even this is stripped of any specific or identifying detail. See Pollheimer, "Preaching Romanness".

90 They are mentioned briefly by Gregory of Tours in *Glory of the Martyrs* 49.

91 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 55, 1-2.

92 *Et ideo, indigenarum martyrum cultus, et honor specialium patronorum: sicut peculiare dat gaudium, ita proprium requirit affectum ... ut, sicut eorum per unius parentis gremium iure nascendi cognati sumus, ita nobis erga eos pietatis et gratiae privilegium uindicemus, atque ad eos fidei deuotione prius accedamus, ut: quorum esse ciues gratulamur in terris, cum his 'municipatum' habere mereamur 'in caelis'.* *Eusebius Gallicanus*, 55, 1-2, ed. Glorie, p. 639.

93 *geminas palmas triumphi aemulas apostolicae urbi attolimus, atque, habentes et nos Petrum Paulumque nostrum, cum sublimi illa sede binos suffragatores certamus.* *Eusebius Gallicanus* 55, 4, ed. Glorie, pp. 639-40.

ics of one martyr; and behold, we possess an entire populace of martyrs. Our land should rejoice to be the nurse of heavenly soldiers and fertile parent of such virtues.”<sup>94</sup>

In this sermon, as in the previous one, the preacher used extended imagery of citizenship and family to emphasise the very local bonds between the inhabitants of Lyon and their martyrs. He even linked their deaths to the geography of the town: the waters of the Rhône swallow their dust, but cannot deny their resurrection.<sup>95</sup> The preacher also made the same point about the equality, indeed superiority, of local martyrs over universal ones, comparing the Christians who died in 177 favourably, and rather distastefully, to the less impressive deaths of the children slaughtered by Herod in Bethlehem.<sup>96</sup>

It is not clear why the Eusebian Gallicanus and the sermons of Valerian take such different approaches to the provision of social context and the specificity of martyr stories. Valerian appears to have been focused on addressing particular problems, while the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers (or compiler) were more interested in eliding those problems, and finding a shared basis for communal identity. For both, however, community was central. Each took as a key reference point Psalm 132:1: “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is to live together as brothers in unity!”<sup>97</sup> “For we are all brothers”, insisted the Eusebian preacher, “begot from the one creator, and descended from the same flesh, from the first man, tied together by the double bonds of Christ and the Church, joined by nature and the power of grace, called into one faith, restored by one price.”<sup>98</sup>

Valerian struck a similar tone: “Your neighbour is every man who is joined to you by the shared law of Christianity.... Therefore whoever loves his neighbour loves God.”<sup>99</sup>

94 *Exsultant urbium populi, etsi unius saltem martyris reliquiis muniantur; ecce nos populos martyrum possidemus. Gaudeat terra nostra nutricia caelestium militum et tantarum parens fecunda uirtutum. Eusebius Gallicanus* 11, 2, ed. Glorie, p. 131. On this sermon see also Bailey, “Innocence of the Dead”.

95 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 11, 6.

96 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 11, 3.

97 Note that the RSV numbering of this Psalm is 133:1.

98 *Omnes enim nos fratres sumus, ex uno auctore progeniti, et ex eadem massa generati ex primo homine, ex Christo et ecclesia duplici uinculo adstricti, naturae et gratiae iure copulati, in unam fidem uocati, uno pretio restituti. Eusebius Gallicanus* 54, 1, ed. Glorie, p. 629.

99 *Proximus tuus est omnis homo, qui eadem tibi est Christianitatis lege coniunctus.... Qui ergo proximum diligit, Deum diligit. Valerian of Cimiez, Homilies* 12, 6, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 730C.

The Eusebian preachers and Valerian of Cimiez were also united by a common sense of the accessibility and possibility of human virtue. The Eusebian preachers placed a great deal of emphasis on the necessity of earning salvation through virtuous action. God cleanses us through baptism, the preacher of sermon 20 noted, “but it is necessary that we exert ourselves, lest we should pollute again that which he purified.”<sup>100</sup> No-one could relax, nor assume salvation was secure, no matter their virtues. We need to beware, warned the preacher of sermon 33, “lest either pernicious relaxation should trip us up on the left, or ruinous pride on the right.”<sup>101</sup> This was coupled, however, with a sense that although constant vigilance and effort were necessary, success was achievable. “I do not know, dearly beloved”, the Eusebian preacher commented in sermon 4, “why the rough and uneven ways of sin and pride are more pleasing to us, when the road of humility is more pleasant, level and direct.”<sup>102</sup> “If you find the yoke of Christ a heavy burden,” the preacher continued, “you have made it so yourself and need only turn from your previous ways to make it light and pleasant.”<sup>103</sup> Effort, moreover, would see results. This is especially apparent in sermon 38, directed to monks, which directs them to knock with their prayers, efforts and accomplishments, before God will open the door of salvation.<sup>104</sup> The Eusebian preachers always emphasised that grace was necessary, and that human effort was not sufficient unto itself. As with the Valerian sermons, however, they gave more emphasis to the role of human action in bringing about salvation than would have pleased Augustine or his later followers.<sup>105</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

The sermons of Valerian of Cimiez and the Eusebius Gallicanus collection therefore provide us with an interesting glimpse of 5th-century Gallic

100 *Sed opus est ut ita elaboremus: ne, quod ille abluit, nos iterum polluamus. Eusebius Gallicanus* 20, 4, ed. Glorie, p. 242.

101 *ne nos aut in sinistra pernicioso remissio aut in dextera ruinosa supplantet elatio, Eusebius Gallicanus* 33, 5, ed. Glorie, p. 380.

102 *Nescio autem, carissimi, cur nobis uitiorum ac superbiae itinera aspera et confragosa magis placeant, cum magis humilium viae molles, planae atque directae sint. Eusebius Gallicanus* 4, 5, ed. Glorie, p. 49.

103 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 4, 5.

104 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 38, 1, ed. Glorie, p. 435.

105 Leroy states that “le recueil dit d’Eusèbe d’Emèse respire le semipélagianisme”, “Œuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez”, 1: p. 304.

preaching. Although they adopted some different strategies, they shared a concern with maintaining community bonds in a rapidly changing world and they delivered to their congregations an optimistic message about human capacity to overcome sin and reach towards heaven. The success of their message can be measured in the relative stability of the Gallic Church, and in the popularity of the Eusebian sermons in particular, whose words would continue to shape the religious experience of Christians in Gaul for centuries to come.<sup>106</sup>

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# Jerome

*Andrew Cain*

## 1 Introduction

Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, or Jerome, was born around 347 into an affluent Christian household in Stridon, a virtually unknown town in the Roman province of Dalmatia. At the age of twelve he was sent to Rome by his father to receive a top-flight education in Latin grammar and literature under the famed classical scholar and *grammaticus* Aelius Donatus, and after that he stayed in Rome to be trained intensively in rhetoric and oratory. By his early twenties he had moved to the Gallic city of Trier, where he would serve for a few years in a low-level bureaucratic post. During this time he became more and more fascinated with the ascetic movement which was beginning to proliferate throughout the West, until he decided to renounce his ambitions for a secular career and pursue a religious vocation in monasticism. He moved to the northeast Italian city of Aquileia, a stronghold for Christian asceticism in the late 4th century. Here he joined like-minded Christians such as Rufinus and Chromatius, the future bishop of Aquileia, in an informal monastic community. Around 373 he traveled eastward to Antioch in search of new monastic prospects. He remained in the Syrian capital and its environs for the next seven or so years before heading to Constantinople in 380 for a two-year stay.

Jerome spent the next three years, between the summer of 382 and August of 385, in Rome. For him both personally and professionally, these were the best of times, and they were the worst of times. On the one hand, he became a fixture of Pope Damasus' court and recruited wealthy senatorial patrons who would be instrumental in funding his literary enterprises for decades to come. On the other hand, the extreme ascetic ideology he championed as well as the very public disdain he showed for "worldly" (i.e. non-ascetic) Christians made him wildly unpopular, especially among members of the Roman clergy who were the targets of his acerbic pen. What is more, his close personal association with one of his patrons, the widow Paula, invited perhaps justifiable suspicions about his motives. By all appearances to his critics, Jerome was an obscure *nouus homo* from the provinces, a shameless social climber who latched onto wealthy widows in the hope of securing lucrative legacies from them. Additionally, he was a never-married bachelor nearing forty, and so

insinuations of sexual impropriety loomed. Concerned members of Paula's family were convinced that he had caught their naïve relative in the grip of his ascetic fanaticism, and they conspired with Jerome's influential enemies in the Roman Church to find a way to be rid of him once and for all. In the late summer of 385, he landed in the local episcopal court to face grave charges that he had used his profession of monasticism as a cover for seducing Christian noblewomen and gaining access to their fortunes – and bed-chambers. The verdict did not go his way, and he was forced by Church authorities to leave Rome immediately.<sup>1</sup>

The ignominious ejection from Rome turned out to be a blessing in disguise because it gave Jerome the impetus he desperately needed to reboot his personal and professional life – in far-off Palestine, no less. By 386 he had settled into Bethlehem, which at the time was an agrarian village several miles south of Jerusalem. Paula and her daughter Eustochium, who had followed him from Rome, settled there with him. Together they founded a monastic complex consisting of a monastery supervised by Jerome, a convent overseen by Paula, and a hostelry to host the scores of Christian pilgrims who visited Bethlehem on a yearly basis. Here Jerome and Paula would live as inseparable monastic companions until their deaths, hers in 404 and his in 420.<sup>2</sup> The approximately 35 years he spent in Bethlehem were the most productive of his long and illustrious literary career. In addition to many occasional theological and polemical writings and scholarly works of reference, he translated the canonical Old Testament from the Hebrew and composed commentaries on some two dozen books of the Bible.

To the Bethlehem years – and specifically to the 390s and the first decade of the 400s – also belongs a generally lesser known segment of Jerome's gargantuan output, a corpus of nearly 100 extant sermons on the Psalms, on the Gospel of Mark, and on miscellaneous topics. Over a century ago the eminent Belgian patrologist Germain Morin recovered them from such disparate places as the Pseudo-Hieronymian *Breviary of St. Jerome on the Psalms* and collections of Latin homilies falsely ascribed to Augustine and John Chrysostom. He subsequently published the definitive critical edition of these sermons<sup>3</sup> and

1 For a full account of the circumstances surrounding Jerome's expulsion, see Cain, *The Letters of Jerome*, pp. 99-128.

2 Several months after her death Jerome composed an elaborate literary epitaph in her honor. For a study of this work, and also for further discussion of Jerome's association with Paula, see Cain, *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula*.

3 Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, 3, 2-3.

made a compelling case for their Hieronymian authenticity.<sup>4</sup> In 1958 Morin's edition was republished as volume 78 of the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* and was entitled *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Tractatus sive homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium aliaque varia argumenta*. The CCSL volume is the one to which I key page and line numbers for all Latin references in this chapter because it is more widely available than Morin's original edition in its originally published form. The complete sermons have been translated into English only once, by Sister Marie Liguori Ewald. Her translation, which appears as Nos. 48 (1964) and 57 (1966) in the *Fathers of the Church* series,<sup>5</sup> is often rather paraphrastic to the point that many nuances of Jerome's Latin are lost; it therefore should be consulted with caution and always with the original close at hand. Translations of select passages into English in this chapter are my own.

Jerome's homiletical corpus consists of several discrete, smaller collections, at least in the form in which they have survived from the Middle Ages. There is a series of ten homilies on Mark and a group of another 12 on *miscellanea* – everything from monastic obedience to the story about Lazarus and the Rich Man. There also are two series of homilies on the Psalms. Series I contains 59 sermons on Ps. 1, 5, 7, 9, 14, 66, 67, 74-78, 80-84, 86, 89-91, 93, 95-98, 100-11, 114, 115, 119, 127, 128, 131-33, 135-37, 139-43, 145-49. Series II contains 14 sermons on Ps. 10, 15, 82-84, 87-93, 95, 96. The precise relationship between these two series is as of yet unclear. Nevertheless, it may be observed that where there is an overlap between them, one series preserves a different version of a sermon on the same psalm than the other series, and in fact the ones in Series II seem on the whole to be more polished products than their counterparts in Series I. Along these lines, it has been argued that the sermons on Ps. 10 and 15 in Series II are in fact remnants of a collection of sermons on the Psalms (10-16) that Jerome had edited and released by 393.<sup>6</sup> With the possible exception of these and perhaps a few other sermons, the vast majority of those which have survived presumably have come down to us, much like a great many of Augustine's

4 Morin, "Les monuments de la prédication", pp. 220-93.

5 See the bibliography of primary sources at the end of this chapter for the complete citation of her two-volume translation.

6 See Pease, "Notes", pp. 129-31; cf. Morin, "Les *Tractatus* de S. Jérôme", pp. 467-69; Vaccari, "Frammento", pp. 513-17. Jerome refers to this collection in *De viris illustribus* 135 (Migne, *Liber de viris illustribus*, 757B-758B, trans. Halton, *On Illustrious Men*, p. 168); *In Psalmos a decimo usque ad sextum decimum tractatus septem*; "On the Psalms, from the Tenth to the Sixteenth, seven treatises".

extant sermons,<sup>7</sup> as unrevised verbatim transcripts of Jerome's actual words as taken down by trained stenographers,<sup>8</sup> probably some of the very secretaries who assisted him in the production of his scholarly writings.

## 2 Authenticity

There is now universal agreement among scholars that the sermons attributed to Jerome by Morin are in fact the Father's handiwork. There has not always been a consensus: in 1980 Vittorio Peri published his monograph *Omilie origeniane sui Salmi: Contributo all'identificazione del testo latino*, in which he challenged their authenticity. Taking his cue from the 12th-century Roman clergyman Nicolas Maniacutia,<sup>9</sup> who had identified the *Homilies on the Psalms* as Jerome's translations of Origen's Greek homilies, Peri set out to prove that what we have in these sermons is yet another example of Jerome's work as a translator of Origen.<sup>10</sup> Peri's book is fraught with methodological missteps and other fatal weaknesses, as a French contingent of the leading Hieronymists of the day (e.g. Pierre Nautin,<sup>11</sup> Yves-Marie Duval,<sup>12</sup> Pierre Jay<sup>13</sup>) was quick to point out. It would be redundant to refute Peri's argument point by point, but it is nonetheless instructive to recall a few factors which decisively nullify the possibility of these homilies being delivered by a Greek speaker who lived in the 3rd century. First of all, there is a simple matter of chronology: they contain numerous critical comments about 4th-century "heresies" such as Arianism, Apollinarianism, Anthropomorphism, and – perhaps most conspicuous of all – Origenism.<sup>14</sup> Origen may be eliminated as a candidate on the basis of linguistic considerations as well. In one homily the speaker adapts a passage from a *Latin* work written in the first decade of the 4th century, Lactantius'

7 See Deferrari, "St. Augustine's Method", pp. 97-123, 193-219; Deferrari, "Verbatim Reports", pp. 35-45.

8 See Arns, *La technique du livre*, p. 52; Pease, "Notes", pp. 122-23.

9 See Peri, "Nicola Maniacutia".

10 For a detailed overview of Peri's position, see the review of his book in: Crouzel/Junod, "Vittorio Peri. *Omilie origeniane*"; see also Rondeau, *Commentaires patristiques* 1, pp. 158-60.

11 In his review of Rondeau's *Commentaires patristiques*: Nautin, "Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques*", p. 585.

12 Duval, "Cassiodore et Jérôme", pp. 341-42.

13 Jay, "Jérôme à Bethléem", pp. 367-80.

14 See Rondeau, *Commentaires patristiques* 2, pp. 138-56.

*Diuinae Institutiones*.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, two classical Latin poets, the comic playwright Terence and the satirist Persius, are quoted on more than one occasion.<sup>16</sup> Finally, on the aesthetic level, there is a very palpable difference in both style and tone between the *Tractatus in Psalmos* and Origen's homilies which survive in Latin versions translated by Jerome and Rufinus.

These chronological and linguistic considerations not only speak decisively against Peri's hypothesis but they also even speak tentatively in favor of a Hieronymian provenance. Jerome was an outspoken critic of the above-named "heresies."<sup>17</sup> He was a voracious reader of Lactantius and frequently plundered his works for content and phraseology.<sup>18</sup> He was fond of Terence and Persius and quoted them often.<sup>19</sup> But these factors in and of themselves do not certify the sermons as authentically Hieronymian;<sup>20</sup> the case rests on other, more compelling pieces of evidence. Two independent ancient witnesses link certain of the extant sermons to Jerome. The oldest, which dates to Jerome's own lifetime, is a letter written no later than 413 by Augustine to Fortunatus, bishop of Cirta. In it Augustine quoted a lengthy passage from the homily on Ps. 93 verbatim and identified Jerome as the author.<sup>21</sup> A century and a half later, Cassiodorus in his *Expositio Psalmorum* quoted verbatim from two of the surviving homilies (one on the beginning of Mark's Gospel<sup>22</sup> and the other on Ps. 41<sup>23</sup>), and in both cases he identified Jerome as the author.

A confluence of other factors points to Jerome as the author of the homilies. While their colloquial style is markedly different from the style of his formal literary works, they nonetheless are replete with stock Hieronymian turns of phrase. The biblical exegesis in them – everything from the extensive use of

15 Cain, "Three Further Echoes", pp. 89-91.

16 Terence, *CCSL*, p. 538; Persius, *CCSL*, pp. 145, 436.

17 See Jeanjean, *Saint Jérôme et l'hérésie*, *passim*.

18 See Cain, "Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius", pp. 23-51.

19 See Cain, "Two Allusions to Terence", pp. 407-12; Cain, "Apology and Polemic", pp. 112-16; Adkin, "Persius in Jerome", pp. 1-11.

20 To take just one counter-example, Jerome was not the only 4th-century Latin author to incorporate material from Lactantius' writings into his sermons. Gregory of Elvira, in one of his homilies, directly quoted from Lactantius' *De ira Dei* (e.g. *Tract.* 1, 2); see Cain, "Gregory of Elvira", pp. 109-14.

21 Augustine, *Epist.* 148, 13-14, ed. *CSEL* 44, 343-44, quoting Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 93*, ed. Morin, pp. 144-45, line 79-97.

22 Cassiodorus, *Exp. ps., praef.* 1, ed. *CCSL* 96, p. 8, quoting Jerome, *Tract. in Marc. 1.1-12*, ed. Morin, pp. 458-59, line 243-60.

23 Cassiodorus, *Exp. ps. 41*, ed. *CCSL* 96, p. 380, quoting Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 41*, ed. Morin, p. 542, line 1-5.

allegorical interpretation to the application of Hebrew and Greek philology to solve interpretive problems – likewise has an unmistakably Hieronymian flavor.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps most telling of all is that at the end of one sermon the speaker says:

Is someone asking why Theodotion said ‘seven’ instead of ‘fullness’? The answer is obvious to anyone who has even a slight knowledge of Hebrew. The word *saba*, as we have already indicated in the *Book on Hebrew Questions*, has four different meanings: fullness, satiety, oath, and seven.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the speaker identifies himself as the author of the *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim*, a work Jerome composed around 392.

### 3 Liturgical Context

Although Jerome evidently delivered sermons occasionally at the cathedral church in Jerusalem,<sup>26</sup> the primary venue of his preaching was the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a square-shaped basilica constructed during the final years of Constantine’s reign.<sup>27</sup> In the late 380s he and Paula built their monastic complex within walking distance of this church, and each Sunday both communities attended mass there together.<sup>28</sup> Jerome would not have been the Eucharistic celebrant at these weekly services, for even though he was an ordained priest, he refused “out of modesty and humility” to perform the sacramental duties of the priesthood.<sup>29</sup> Priests assigned to this church by the bishop of Jerusalem, to whose diocesan jurisdiction the Church of the Nativity belonged, were the ones responsible for officiating at masses as well as for running its day-to-day operations. Only one priest at a time presided over a given mass, and it is this person to whom Jerome refers in several extant sermons as

24 Morin, “Les monuments de la prédication”, p. 245.

25 *Tract. de Ps. 15*, ed. Morin, p. 384, line 604-09.

26 See Morin, “Les monuments de la prédication”, pp. 234-36.

27 For a reconstructed floorplan of the church, see Lewin, *The Archaeology of Ancient Judea and Palestine*, pp. 140-41. See further Hamilton, *Church of the Nativity*; Hoppe, *Synagogues and Churches*, pp. 67-74.

28 See Jerome, *Epist.* 108, 20, 3, ed. Hilberg, p. 335, with Cain, *Jerome’s Epitaph on Paula*, pp. 368-70.

29 Jerome, *Epist.* 51, 1, 5, ed. Hilberg, pp. 396-97.

“the holy priest.”<sup>30</sup> From these scattered references it is clear that Jerome routinely delivered his own sermons after the priest had given his. On certain occasions he shared the pulpit of the Church of the Nativity also with John the bishop of Jerusalem, who would travel annually to Bethlehem to preside over the Christmas day mass. Thus at the end of his *Homilia de natiuitate domini* Jerome respectfully hands over the pulpit to John: “Let us be ready now to give our attention to the bishop and take earnestly to heart what he has to say on what I have left out.”<sup>31</sup>

Jerome was able to share the pulpit at the Church of the Nativity with fellow priests and even his bishop because, as we learn from the late-4th-century pilgrim Egeria, it was accepted practice in the diocese of Jerusalem that “as many of the priests who are present and are so inclined may preach; and last of all, the bishop preaches.”<sup>32</sup> So, then, we may assume that Jerome preached on a voluntary basis. But, given that he declined to perform other duties of his priesthood, what motivated him to perform *this* one? On any given Sunday at the Church of the Nativity, the composition of the congregation was somewhat diverse. It included the local clergy, Jerome’s monks and Paula’s nuns, monks from at least two other known monasteries in the vicinity of Bethlehem,<sup>33</sup> and an indeterminate number of Christian pilgrims who constantly were funneling through Bethlehem, many likely staying at the hostelry run by Paula and Jerome.<sup>34</sup> In most of the sermons he uses the insights of his biblical exegesis to give moral exhortations on the monastic life. In these cases it is clear that he is addressing his comments to monks in his audience, and probably even more specifically to the monks from *his* monastery. In other words, Jerome saw his self-imposed duties as a preacher as being an extension of his duties as abbot. He tells us elsewhere that he expounded the Bible to his monks on a daily basis.<sup>35</sup> For the sake of convenience, he may have given these tutorials after one or more of the individual prayers of the Divine Office, which his monastic community prayed at set intervals throughout the day.<sup>36</sup> If so, the lessons prob-

30 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 96, ed. Morin, p. 157, line 12; *Tract. de Ps.* 147, ed. Morin, p. 336, line 2; *Tract. de Ps.* 149, ed. Morin, p. 348, line 3; *Tract. in Marc.* 8, 1-9, ed. Morin, p. 474, line 51-52; *Tract. in Marc.* 8, 22-26, ed. Morin, p. 474, line 1.

31 Jerome, *Hom. de nat. dom.*, ed. Morin, p. 529, line 182-84.

32 Egeria, *Diary*, ed. Gingras, p. 93.

33 For the evidence for these two communities, see Cain, *Jerome’s Epitaph on Paula*, p. 17.

34 See Cain, *Jerome’s Epitaph on Paula*, p. 313.

35 Jerome, *Apol. c. Ruf.* 2, 24, ed. Lardet, p. 61, line 32: *quos cottidie in conuentu fratrum edissero*.

36 In *Tract. de Ps.* 119, ed. Morin, p. 257, line 321-23 he refers to this custom: “At the third hour we pray, at the sixth hour we pray, at the ninth hour we hold a vigil, we rise in the middle



ably were based on a text of the Psalms since the Psalter was the core text used for the Office. In any event, it seems that Jerome used his sermons, especially those on the Psalms, at least in part to supplement, in the formal liturgical setting of church, the scriptural tutorials he informally gave his monks behind the monastery walls.

Jerome delivered some of his extant homilies on special occasions, such as the Feast of the Nativity (December 25), the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6), the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the first Sunday of Lent, Easter Vigil, and Easter Sunday. Most others he gave on ordinary Sundays throughout the liturgical year. Did he preach only occasionally or on a regular basis? Insight into this question may be gleaned from offhand remarks he makes in two different sermons. At the beginning of one on Ps. 7 he says: "Last Sunday we read the sixth psalm, but on account of my illness we could not interpret it; today we have read the seventh."<sup>37</sup> He opens his second homily on Mark as follows:

At the end of the previous Gospel reading are found the words: 'He was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered to him.' Since there was not enough time last Sunday to get to this text, we ought to begin with it today.<sup>38</sup>

These two passages suggest that Jerome may have been in the habit of preaching on successive Sundays and possibly even on a weekly basis. If in fact this was his custom, then his nearly 100 surviving homilies represent only a fraction of the number he actually delivered.<sup>39</sup>

To judge by his extant homiletical corpus, Jerome's sermons usually took the form of verse-by-verse expositions of one or more of the scriptural readings for a given mass, particularly the Gospel or the responsorial psalm. In the first three or so centuries of the Church, the pre-eucharistic portion of the worship service included public readings from a medley of scriptural texts as well as a homily based on one of these readings. A Gospel passage routinely was selected as one of these texts, but occasionally a psalm might be chosen. In the second half of the 4th century, when an unprecedented groundswell of enthusiasm for psalmody swept through churches in the East and West, it became a wide-

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of the night, then we pray at daybreak" (*Hora tertia oramus, hora sexta oramus, nona, lucernarium facimus, media nocte consurgimus, deinde gallicinio oramus*).

<sup>37</sup> Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 7*, ed. Morin, p. 19, line 8-11.

<sup>38</sup> Jerome, *Tract. in Marc.* 1, 13-31, ed. Morin, p. 460, line 1-5.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Verbraken, "Lire aujourd'hui", p. 830, who estimates that Augustine preached over 8,000 times and that we possess only about one out of 14 sermons that he delivered.

spread custom to include a responsorially sung psalm alongside other scriptural readings of the pre-eucharistic service.<sup>40</sup> It likewise became acceptable for preachers to build some of their homilies mostly or even exclusively around the day's psalm, while in other homilies they might focus primarily on the Gospel reading and secondarily (if at all) on the psalm.

Jerome's homilies exemplify this trend. He often combines his comments on the psalm, Gospel, and epistles readings in one and the same sermon, though he typically prioritizes one text over the other(s), depending on his own inclination and the perceived needs of his audience. In *Tractatus de Psalmo* 91, for instance, he devotes almost all of his attention to expounding that day's psalm and works in some passing remarks about the Gospel and Pauline epistle.<sup>41</sup> On many other occasions he deliberately keeps his comments on a psalm brief so as to leave more time for expounding the Gospel reading.<sup>42</sup> *Tractatus de Psalmo* 14 and *Tractatus in Marcum* 13, 32-33 & 14, 3-6, though preserved in the manuscripts in different homiletical series, evidently constitute two discrete components of the same sermon preached during Lent. The portion on Mark, which was delivered first,<sup>43</sup> is longer than the one on the Psalm because Jerome deemed that "the Gospel reading requires considerable exposition" (*euangelica lectio magnam desiderat expositionem*).<sup>44</sup> Likewise, on one Sunday, before delving into the Gospel, he touched on the day's psalm (Ps. 95) and vowed to explain only its title and a couple of its versicles,<sup>45</sup> and indeed he kept his comments under 300 words because the Gospel reading was "difficult" and he needed to reserve more time to explicate it.<sup>46</sup>

40 See McKinnon, "Fourth-Century Origin", pp. 91-106; cf. Jeffery, "The Introduction of Psalmody", pp. 147-65. With psalmody rapidly becoming institutionalized as its own discrete event within the liturgy, there was established the office of cantor (*psalter*, ψάλτης), a skilled vocalist who was in charge of leading the musical component of the worship service and especially singing the psalms.

41 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 91, ed. Morin, pp. 141-42, line 258-59.

42 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 9, ed. Morin, p. 30, line 53, 56; cf. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 74, ed. Morin, p. 49, line 37-38.

43 Jerome, *Tract. in Marc.* 13, 32-33 & 14, 3-6, ed. Morin, p. 500, line 167-69.

44 Jerome, *Tract. in Marc.* 13, 32-33 & 14, 3-6, ed. Morin, p. 496, line 1.

45 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 95, ed. Morin, p. 439, line 1-3.

46 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 95, ed. Morin, p. 440, line 34-35.

#### 4 Delivery

During the 4th and 5th centuries it was standard practice among the most accomplished Christian preachers to deliver their sermons extemporaneously. This does not mean that they did not put forethought into what they were going to say; it means only that they did not write out their sermons and then simply read them aloud to the congregation.<sup>47</sup> There are clear indications that Jerome's surviving sermons were improvisational rather than scripted performances. For one thing, the element of human error creeps in at a far higher frequency than it does in his formal literary compositions, which he dictated in a controlled environment and then corrected before releasing copies to a broad readership. When speaking from the pulpit the otherwise scrupulous Latinist could be rather careless about grammar and morphology, confusing the gender of some nouns,<sup>48</sup> pairing prepositions and verbs with the wrong cases,<sup>49</sup> using pronouns indiscriminately,<sup>50</sup> and sometimes ignoring the classical rules for sequence of tense.<sup>51</sup> Along these same lines, in his formal works Jerome carefully deliberated over matters of form and packaged his thoughts in accentually or metrically rhythmic prose.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, in his ecclesiastical oratory he makes no systematic attempt to round out his *clausulae* rhythmically.<sup>53</sup>

Jerome's sermons exhibit many other hallmarks of extemporaneous delivery.<sup>54</sup> There are occasional moments when he awkwardly interrupts the flow of his thought by interjecting a parenthetical remark that expands upon the topic at hand.<sup>55</sup> In an effort to keep his auditors engaged and alert he habitually poses concise questions to them which he proceeds immediately to answer,<sup>56</sup> and even more frequently he directly addresses audience members in the sec-

47 Deferrari, "St. Augustine's Method", pp. 101-06.

48 Pease, "Notes", p. 117.

49 Pease, "Notes", pp. 119, 122.

50 Pease, "Notes", pp. 120-21.

51 Pease, "Notes", p. 121.

52 See Herron, *Study of the Clausulae*; Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus*, pp. 233-42.

53 Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics*, p. 86; cf. Canellis, "Saint Jérôme prédicateur", pp. 63-79.

54 For these criteria, see Mohrmann, "Le style oral", pp. 168-77; Lazzati, "L'autenticità del *De Sacramentis*", pp. 17-48.

55 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 7, ed. Morin, p. 26, line 211-12; *Tract. de Ps.* 91, ed. Morin, p. 139, line 196-99; *Hom. in Ps. 41 ad neophytos*, ed. Morin, p. 544, line 77-82.

56 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 5, ed. Morin, p. 17, line 179; *Tract. de Ps.* 9, ed. Morin, p. 29, line 44; *Tract. de Ps.* 97, ed. Morin, p. 165, line 102-03; *Tract. de Ps.* 98, ed. Morin, p. 169, line 63.

ond-person imperative, either as a collective group (plural)<sup>57</sup> or as individuals within the group (singular).<sup>58</sup> The orality of the sermon texts is self-evident in many other ways as well.<sup>59</sup> Paratactic cola tend to be bunched together but not connected by conjunctions (asyndeton).<sup>60</sup> Verbs routinely are placed at the beginning of cola rather than at the end for stress,<sup>61</sup> and they may even be omitted altogether for greater emphasis on the nouns.<sup>62</sup> *Ergo* often occupies the frontal position in cola,<sup>63</sup> and the popular *quia* overwhelmingly is preferred to *quoniam* in causal clauses.<sup>64</sup> The sermons illuminate another peculiar feature of Jerome's spoken Latin, namely the influence of Hebrew and Greek constructions on his colloquial idiom.<sup>65</sup> His scholarly immersion in the Hebrew Old Testament starting in the late 380s certainly accounts for the Hebraisms. His Grecisms, though, are primarily a function of Greek having been his second language. He had acquired conversational fluency during his two-year stay in Constantinople in the early 380s,<sup>66</sup> and after moving to Palestine in 386 he apparently spoke Greek very often,<sup>67</sup> and indeed this was his main means of communication with the native Greek-speaking monks in his monastery.

The most revealing indicators of spontaneity in Jerome's extant sermons are his habitual complaints, usually at the ends of sermons, that he has run out of time and was not able to explore the biblical text to his satisfaction.<sup>68</sup> For instance, he concluded his sermon on Ps. 87 rather abruptly so that the presiding priest could begin the Eucharistic celebration: "If we should attempt to explain the entire psalm, obviously we would be the cause of our own delay, for

57 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 108, ed. Morin, p. 218, line 294; *Tract. in Marc.* 1, 1-12, ed. Morin, p. 457, line 199.

58 E.g. Jerome, *Hom. de pers. Chr.*, ed. Morin, p. 557, line 43.

59 Cf. Duval, "L'In Esaia parvula adabbreviatio", pp. 459-66.

60 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 98, ed. Morin, pp. 172-73, line 172-74; *Tract. in Marc.* 13, 32-33 & 14, 3-6, ed. Morin, p. 500, line 167-69.

61 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 74, ed. Morin, p. 48, line 5; Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 96, ed. Morin, p. 445, line 163-64; Jerome, *Hom. in Luc.* 16, 19-31, ed. Morin, p. 516, line 306-08.

62 E.g. Jerome, *Hom. in Luc.* 16, 19-31, ed. Morin, p. 510, line 120; Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 96, ed. Morin, p. 158, line 51; Jerome, *Tract. in Marc.* 9, 1-7, ed. Morin, p. 478, line 50.

63 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. in Marc.* 1, 1-12, ed. Morin, p. 456, line 158-59; Jerome, *Hom. in Ioh.* 1, 1-14, ed. Morin, p. 518, line 61; Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 87, ed. Morin, p. 400, line 24-25.

64 Pease, "Notes", pp. 114-16.

65 Pease, "Notes", pp. 118-20.

66 See Hamblenne, "L'apprentissage du grec", pp. 353-64.

67 Jerome, *Epist.* 50, 2, 3, ed. Hilberg, pp. 389-91.

68 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 14, ed. Morin, p. 34, line 115-16; *Tract. de Ps.* 84, ed. Morin, p. 398, line 129-30; *Tract. de Ps.* 87, ed. Morin, p. 400, line 25-26; *Tract. de Ps.* 92, ed. Morin, p. 433, line 120-22.

now the hour bids us to approach the Body of the Savior.”<sup>69</sup> On another Sunday he opened his homily on the Gospel *lectio* (Marc. 8:22-26) as follows: “Since the venerable priest has made known to us the divine message of the psalm, we shall share the Gospel and incorporate into our portion what we were going to say about the psalm.”<sup>70</sup> From this offhand remark it is clear that Jerome originally had anticipated speaking at length on the day’s psalm but, because he had been pre-empted in this by the presiding priest, he made the last-minute decision to improvise a sermon on the Gospel reading, adding to it some of the insights he had intended to share about the psalm.

## 5 Style

Jerome was well equipped to extemporize in the pulpit. He lived and breathed the biblical text daily in his scholarly work and monastic prayer life, and so the subject matter was second nature to him. Additionally, he was a trained orator. As a teenager in Rome in the 360s he studied rhetorical theory and declamation, the art of composing and delivering speeches in a forensic context.<sup>71</sup> During the course of this training he learned how to improvise speeches at a moment’s notice, a skill that obviously was to serve him well later in life, though in a way he could not have anticipated as a youth eyeing a lucrative career in law or government. He also mastered the entire repertory of traditional rhetorical figures and learned how to use these to enhance the persuasiveness of his message in his literary works and his sermons.<sup>72</sup>

All of the major and minor rhetorical figures are richly represented in the sermons. Figures of sound (e.g. alliteration<sup>73</sup> and paronomasia<sup>74</sup>), the chief

69 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 87, ed. Morin, p. 403, line 114-18.

70 Jerome, *Hom. in Marc.* 8, 22-26, ed. Morin, p. 474, line 1-3.

71 Jerome often mentions this rhetorical education (e.g. *Comm. in Am. lib.* 2, prol. line 1; *Comm. in Soph.* 3, 14-18, ed. Adriaen, p. 708, line 549-54; *Comm. in Gal.* 1, 2, 11-13, ed. Raspanti, p. 55, line 77-78; *epist.* 69, 6, 1, ed. Hilberg, p. 689), and on some occasions he specifically mentions his ability to compose declamations (e.g. *C. Vig.* 3, ed. Feiertag, pp. 8-9; *Comm. in Hiez.* 12, 40, line 1151; *Comm. in Gal. lib.* 3, prol., ed. Raspanti, p. 158, line 45; *epist.* 81, 1, 3, ed. Hilberg, pp. 106-07).

72 See Hritz, *Style of the Letters*.

73 E.g. *Errauit episcopus, peccauit presbyter, deliquit diaconus* (*Hom. in Matt.* 18, 7-9, ed. Morin, p. 504, line 64-65).

74 E.g. *Semper aut crescimus aut decrescimus* (*Tract. de Ps.* 143, ed. Morin, p. 315, line 60-61). On Jerome’s fondness for the construction *crescere* ... *decrescere*, especially when lamenting the transience of human life, see Cain, *Jerome’s Epitaph on Paula*, p. 413.

goal of which is the auricular stimulation of the audience,<sup>75</sup> are found in particularly great abundance. Figures of repetition (e.g. anaphora), which are used to single out words or ideas for emphasis, also are exceedingly common. An extreme example occurs near the end of his homily on Ps. 119, where he dilates on the importance of forgiving and living at peace with fellow Christians:

*Hoc totum quare locutus sum? Quoniam in monasteriis et maxime in coenobiis solent ista esse uitia. Non erubescimus, non dolemus: dimisimus matres, dimisimus parentes, dimisimus fratres, dimisimus sorores, dimisimus uxores, dimisimus filios, dimisimus patrias nostras, dimisimus domos, dimisimus cellulas in quibus nati sumus et nutriti, dimisimus seruulos cum quibus nutriti sumus, uenimus in monasterium: et propterea haec omnia dimisimus, ut propter rem leuem, fribolam, rixam cum fratribus faciamus in monasterio. Dimisimus possessionem, dimisimus patriam, dimisimus saeculum: et propter calamum rixam facimus in monasterio.<sup>76</sup>*

Jerome is trying to shame certain audience members from his monastery into behaving more charitably toward one another. He accordingly highlights the hypocrisy of monks renouncing all their possessions yet fighting over ownership of something as small and petty as a writing instrument. As a vivid reminder of what monks have renounced in order to serve God, he strings together a stunning 14 occurrences of *dimisimus*. The omission of conjunctions connecting the cola (asyndeton) creates an economy of expression and also maintains an energetic tempo through rapid utterance and reinforces the impression that there truly is a great amount of items being enumerated. The final three occurrences of *dimisimus* are fitted neatly into an anaphoric *tricolon crescens* in which Jerome lists the things renounced in ascending order of magnitude, moving from domestic property (*possessio*), to homeland (*patria*), and finally to the world at large (*saeculum*).

75 Cf. Lawless, "Listening to Augustine", pp. 51-66.

76 "Why have I said all this? Because these vices tend to exist in monasteries and especially in monastic communities. We are not embarrassed, we are not remorseful. We have given up mothers, we have given up parents, we have given up brothers, we have given up sisters, we have given up wives, we have given up children, we have given up our countries, we have given up homes, we have given up nurseries in which we were born and reared, we have given up servants with whom we grew up, we have entered the monastery. We have given up all these things so that in the monastery we may quarrel with our brothers over a silly, trifling thing! We have given up our property, we have given up our country, we have given up the world, and in the monastery we quarrel over a reed pen!" (Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 119*, ed. Morin, p. 259, line 380-90).

Another example of Jerome's agglomeration of rhetorical figures to make his point more forceful is found in his homily on Ps. 96, where he digresses on Job as the paragon of patience:<sup>77</sup>

*Primum ex diuite pauper factus, substantiam amisit cum filiis: egestate pariter et orbitate depressus, postremo ad ultimam uenit miseriam, morbo regio percussus et uulnere insanabili: insanabili hominibus, sed sanabili apud Deum. Quod medicina humana sanare non poterat, patientia sanauit et fides. Sedebat in stercore, et animo in paradiso deambulabat.*<sup>78</sup>

In this passage Jerome achieves rhetorical piquancy primarily through antithesis – of Job's changing fortunes (*ex diuite pauper factus*), of the hopelessness of his plight in human terms and the healing he found through his faith in God (*insanabili hominibus ... fides*), and of his bodily misery and spiritual tranquility (*sedebat ... deambulabat*). He further strengthens these antitheses through alliteration and assonance, hyperbaton (*postremo ad ultimam uenit miseriam; patientia sanauit et fides*), paronomasia (*insanabili ... sanabili*), anadiplosis (*insanabili: insanabili*), and chiasmus (*sedebat in stercore, et animo in paradiso deambulabat*).

The sermons bear the indelible imprint of their author's rhetorical training in another important respect. They are full of *sententiae*, pithy sayings, usually of a philosophical nature, which encapsulate universal truths or moralizing observations about the human condition. Roman orators would implant *sententiae* at strategic points throughout their speeches to impress auditors with their verbal ingenuity but mostly to clinch an argument in a succinct, engaging way.<sup>79</sup> Jerome larded his homilies with witty apophthegmatic formulations which memorably capture key points of his message and thus were intended to help his audience internalize his lessons. For instance, reflecting on the Pauline saying "Perfect love casts out fear" (*perfecta quippe dilectio foras mittit timorem*), he says: "To fear is for beginners; to love is for the perfect" (*Timere*

77 Cf. Baskin, "Job as Moral Exemplar", pp. 222-31; Gregg, *Consolation Philosophy*, pp. 185-92.

78 "First, he was made a poor man after being a man of wealth and lost his property along with his children. Crushed under the weight of want and bereavement, he finally reached the pinnacle of misery and was struck by jaundice and an incurable ulcer – incurable to men but curable by God. What human medicine could not cure, patience and faith cured. He sat on a dung heap, but in his soul he wandered about in Paradise" (Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 96*, ed. Morin, p. 444, line 140-46).

79 For the use of *sententiae* in an early Christian context, see Holloway, "Paul's Pointed Prose", pp. 32-53.



*incipientium est, diligere perfectorum*).<sup>80</sup> On several occasions he frames his apophthegms using the construction *quot ... tot*,<sup>81</sup> which may have been inspired by Terence,<sup>82</sup> his favorite Latin poet after Virgil. He ends his homily on Ps. 127 with rhetorical gusto: *Licet multae sunt persecutiones, licet multi sunt qui persequantur, tamen in quo Christus habitat, ille semper Christum habet* ("Although there are many persecutions, although there are many who persecute, nevertheless the man in whom Christ dwells always possesses Christ").<sup>83</sup> In this brief passage he brilliantly combines asyndetic anaphora (*licet multae sunt ... licet multi sunt*), parechesis (*habitat ... habet*), and paronomasia (*persecutiones ... persequantur*), and he finishes with a *sententia* (*in quo Christus habitat, ille semper Christum habet*).

In two of the extant sermons he makes what amount to brief mission statements about his philosophy of preaching: his goal is not to declaim like the rhetoricians but rather to elucidate Scripture.<sup>84</sup> These statements echo the guidelines he laid down for the ideal Christian preacher in 393 in his famous *Epistula* 52 to Nepotian.<sup>85</sup> He exhorts the young Italian priest:

When you preach in church, let not plaudits but penitential groans be elicited; let the tears of your listeners be your accolades. Let the presbyter's sermon be seasoned by his reading of Scripture. I do not want you to be a declaimer, a ranter, or a windbag, but an exceptionally well-trained expert on the mysteries and arcane things of your God's Scripture. Reeling off words and speaking briskly to win admiration from the unwashed masses are the plaudits of ignorant men.<sup>86</sup>

As a theorist on the priesthood Jerome harshly criticized the kind of oratorical grandstanding that was prevalent in some contemporary churches, especially those located in major urban centers where there were audiences with enough education and sophistication to appreciate preachers' verbal fireworks. In his view, all priests should be practicing ascetics and, as such, they should ascend

80 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 66*, ed. Morin, p. 38, line 135.

81 E.g. Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 67*, ed. Morin, p. 44, line 144-45; *Tract. de Ps. 102*, ed. Morin, p. 181, line 36; *Tract. de Ps. 90*, ed. Morin, p. 421, line 27.

82 I.e. his line *Quot homines, tot sententiae* (*Phormio* 454), which was prolifically quoted as a proverb throughout Late Antiquity.

83 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 127*, ed. Morin, p. 269, line 237-39.

84 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps. 7*, ed. Morin, p. 20, line 41-43; *Tract. de Ps. 77*, ed. Morin, p. 66, line 60-61.

85 For a recent study, see Cain, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy*.

86 Cain, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy*, p. 47.



the pulpit with the same sense of humility and reverence that are supposed to define the essence of their lifestyle. This is what the apostles did, and this is what they should do as well.<sup>87</sup>

Jerome's homiletical practice embodied his injunction to Nepotian. His decision to adopt an unpretentious and colloquial style (*sermo humilis*), and to eschew long periods and complex subordination for a simplistic syntax, was underpinned as much by practical as by theoretical considerations. He preached to a mixed audience which included not only native Greek-speakers who did not have a firm grasp of literary Latin,<sup>88</sup> but also "simpler brethren" (*simpliciores fratres*) who were not academically inclined and had difficulty following elaborate trains of thought even in their own language. To make himself as comprehensible as possible to them, he spoke "in a simpler manner" (*simplicius loquor/dico*).<sup>89</sup> Thus, his surviving sermons give us fascinating insight into the pastoral, down-to-earth side of the greatest biblical scholar in the ancient Latin Church.

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87 Thus at *Tract. de Ps.* 78, ed. Morin, pp. 74-75, line 29-31 he says: *Ego uero simpliciter rusticana simplicitate et ecclesiastica ita tibi respondeo: ita enim apostoli responderunt, sic sunt locuti, non uerbis rhetoricis et diabolicis.*

88 See Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 143, ed. Morin, p. 313, line 1-6.

89 Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* 76, ed. Morin, p. 59, line 136-37; *Tract. de Ps.* 90, ed. Morin, p. 129, line 80-81; *Tract. de Ps.* 91, ed. Morin, p. 139, line 197-98; *Tract. de Ps.* 114, ed. Morin, p. 236, line 63-64; *Tract. de Ps.* 119, ed. Morin, p. 235, line 207.

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# Latin Translations of Greek Homilies

*Sever J. Voicu*

This chapter deals with a very small segment of an enormous cultural phenomenon that lasted unabated almost two millenia – from the Republican period until the 17th-century theological polemics between Catholics and Protestants – and is the best evidence of the intense fascination felt by the Latin West in its contacts with the Greek culture.<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Preliminary Remarks

1. The Greek and Latin terminologies concerning the sermon are not wholly equivalent. The all-encompassing Greek word λόγος – which may apply to almost any act of communication – is the standard designation of a homily. Meanwhile, ὁμιλία is comparatively rare, and describes mostly a homily within a continuous exegetical commentary (its more common Latin counterpart would be *tractatus*). The Latin traditional distinction between short homilies (*sermones*) and long homilies (*homiliae*) does not exist in Greek, where λόγος applies to both.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, literary genre is not a fixed feature: a letter may circulate, sometimes with little or no adaptation, as a homily (and vice versa).<sup>3</sup>
2. The present paper is chiefly an overview of the Greek homilies that have been translated into Latin. However, it also gives some information about

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1 About the translations of pagan texts see Muckle, “Greek Works Translated Directly into Latin Before 1350”; Traina, “Le traduzioni”; Rochette, “Du grec au latin et du latin au grec”. For the later period, see Chiesa, “Le traduzioni in latino di testi greci”; Mavroudi, “Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages”. For an overview of the relevance of the Greek Fathers in the West, see Colombi, “Il ruolo dei padri greci nella cultura dell’Occidente altomedievale”.

2 See also Mohrmann, “Praedicare – tractare – sermo”; Grégoire, *Homélieires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 18–24.

3 E.g., two extracts from Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* entered the homiliary Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4222; see Barré, “Un homélieaire Bénéventain du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, pp. 106–08 (nr. 53 and 66).

purely Latin texts that – for some reason – are associated with names of Eastern Fathers (e.g. “Origenes latinus”, “Ephrem Latinus”, etc.).

3. The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) systematically adds information about Latin translations, rendering obsolete older inventories,<sup>4</sup> at least for the Patristic period.
4. Many homilies were translated from Greek into Latin. However comparatively few have been assigned to known translation ventures and work on translation techniques and schools is a rather neglected area.
5. Quite often translated texts – or their adaptation(s) – appear also – or even exclusively – under famous Latin names, in particular those of Augustine or Leo the Great. Gryson’s *Répertoire*<sup>5</sup> supplements the invaluable information of the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (CPL) on this topic. It stands to reason that a systematic research on the Latin spurious sermons might bring about new discoveries.
6. A notable feature is that the final doxology is mandatory in the Greek homilies, but not in Latin. However, it should not be overlooked that the doxology may have been omitted during the transmission of the homilies in Latin.
7. Although fragments and rewritings derived from the so-called New Testament apocrypha and properly hagiographical texts (lives, martyrdoms, miracles) more often than not share stylistical and transmissional patterns with the homilies, they have been usually disregarded here.<sup>6</sup>

## 2 Greek Homilies Translated into Latin before the 10th Century

### 2.1 *Ante-Nicene Homilies*

Little survives of the Greek Ante-Nicene predication besides Melito’s *Easter Homily* and a certain amount of Origen’s predication. Both authors were translated under very different circumstances.

4 In particular Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*.

5 Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins*.

6 On the texts of Greek origin in the hagiographic collections, see Goullet, “Les premiers légendiers latins et l’héritage grec”.

### 2.1.1 Melito Bishop of Sardis († after 170)

Melito is credited by Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>7</sup> with several works. Most of them are now lost, the only text transmitted in its entirety in Greek being his *Easter Homily* (*Peri Pascha*: CPG 1092), besides a few authentic fragments from other writings.<sup>8</sup>

An undated Latin *Epitome* of the *Easter Homily* is transmitted under both Leo the Great's and Augustine's names,<sup>9</sup> but it has been shown that Melito was already known by the mid-3rd century in the West, probably in North Africa.<sup>10</sup> Also other Latin works are acquainted with his prose.<sup>11</sup> However, occasionally they might have used or adapted another homily, perhaps *On the Body and the Soul* (*De corpore et anima*: CPG 1093.13; see also CPG 2004), that can be partially reconstructed thanks to several fragments and adaptations.<sup>12</sup>

The overall evidence about the circulation of Melito in Latin is rather confusing and should be the subject of renewed investigation.

### 2.1.2 Origen

Although Origen's tenets were repeatedly the subject of controversy, there was no general stigma attached to his writings in the West, where the condemnation of all of his Greek works by Justinian in 553 AD was hardly effective. For this reason the Latin tradition takes pride of place in the conservation of his works, which are largely lost in the original language.<sup>13</sup>

Rufinus and Jerome translated many of his homilies around the end of the 4th century.<sup>14</sup> Later these Latin texts entered the sermon collections and were often reused to compose new sermons.

7 Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 26, 2-3.

8 Hall, *Melito of Sardis*. See also Hall, "Melito *Peri Pascha*".

9 Chadwick, "A Latin Epitome of Melito's Homily on the Pascha".

10 See van Damme, *Pseudo-Cyprian Adversus Iudaeos*, with the considerations of Cantalamessa, "Questioni melitoniane".

11 See Leanza, "Una pagina di Melitone di Sardi in Paolino di Nola"; Cattaneo, "Il Christus patiens nel giusto perseguitato"; Lemarié, "Un sermon occidental pseudo-augustinien témoin du traité sur la Pâque de Méliton de Sardes".

12 See Gavriluk, "Melito's influence upon the Anaphora of *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.12".

13 In addition, purely Latin homilies have been attributed to Origenes ("Origenes Latinus"). See CPG 1510-18; CPL 668-75; Morin, "Les homélies latines sur S. Matthieu attribuées à Origène" (perhaps produced in the area of Ravenna during the first half of the 6th century). Also some works of Gregory of Elvira, notably his *Tractatus de libris ss. Scripturarum* (CPL 546) were transmitted under Origen's name.

14 According to Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* 100, Hilary of Poitiers had translated Origen's *Homilies on Job* (*Homiliae in Iob*: CPG 1424), but his translation is lost. On the other side, Hilary's (partial) translation of Origen's *Homilies on the Psalms* was probably merely



Jerome's translations: *Homilies on the Song of Songs* (*In Canticum canticorum homiliae* 2: CPG 1432),<sup>15</sup> *Homilies on Isaiah* (*In Isaia homiliae* 32: CPG 1437),<sup>16</sup> *Homilies on Jeremiah* (*Homiliae in Ieremiam*: CPG 1438),<sup>17</sup> *Homilies on Ezekiel* (*In Ezechielem homiliae* 14: CPG 1441),<sup>18</sup> *Homilies on Luke* (*In Lucam homiliae* 39: CPG 1451).<sup>19</sup>

Rufinus' translations: *Homilies on Genesis* (*In Genesim homiliae* 16: CPG 1411), *Homilies on Exodus* (*In Exodum homiliae* 13: CPG 1414), *Homilies on Leviticus* (*In Leuiticum homiliae* 16: CPG 1416)<sup>20</sup>; *Homilies on Numbers* (*In Numeros homiliae* 28: CPG 1418), *Homilies on Joshua* (*In Iesu Naue homiliae* 26: CPG 1420), *Homilies on Judges* (*In librum Iudicum homiliae* 9: CPG 1421),<sup>21</sup> *Homily on I Kings 1, 1* (*Homilia in I Reg. 1, 1*: CPG 1423).<sup>22</sup>

The *Homilies on the Psalms* (*Homiliae de Psalmis*: CPG 1428) deserve a special mention. According to Jerome, Origen had delivered at least 117 homilies on the Psalms. Until very recently, only nine homilies translated by Rufinus were known in their entirety.<sup>23</sup> Their authenticity has been confirmed by the dis-

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inferred by Jerome; see Prinzivalli, "Origène prédicateur et ses traducteurs latins", pp. 85-86.

15 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VIII, pp. 27-60. The enormous influence of Origen's homilies upon the Western exegesis of the Song of Songs has been underlined by Guglielmetti, "Origenes: Osculetur me osculo oris sui".

16 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VIII, pp. 242-89. Against Baehrens, the authenticity of *hom. 9* has been asserted by Peri, "Zur Frage der Echtheit von Origenes' 9. Jesajahomilie und ihrer Übersetzung durch Hieronymus".

17 In fact, according to Cassiodorus, Origen's commentary on Jeremiah had forty-five homilies (see Klostermann, *Origenes Werke*. III, p. x), but only twenty-two survive. Jerome translated fourteen homilies into Latin (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 25, 585-692); two of them are lost in Greek (Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VIII, pp. 290-317). See also Bergren, "Jerome's Translation of Origen's Homily on Jeremiah 2.21-22".

18 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VIII, pp. 319-454.

19 Rauer, *Origenes Werke*. IX, pp. 1-222. Adaptations of some homilies entered the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon.

20 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VI. See also Porta, "L'Omelia sul Levitico 5,1".

21 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VII.

22 Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*. VIII, pp. 1-25. See also Fransen, "Un nouveau témoin latin de l'homélie d'Origène sur le premier livre des Rois" (description of an abbreviated form attributed to Augustine).

23 Prinzivalli, *Origene, Omelie sui Salmi*.

covery in 2011 of a collection of twenty-nine Greek homilies in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CGM 314.<sup>24</sup>

The authorship of the seventy-four homilies on the Psalms transmitted in Latin under Jerome's name is discussed below, under Jerome.

## 2.2 *Eusebius of Emesa* († c.359)

Most of his oeuvre is lost in Greek. However, probably during the 5th century, several of his homilies were translated into Armenian, and a large corpus of his homilies was translated into Latin (CPG 3525-26).<sup>25</sup>

The connections between his Latin homilies and the collection of the so-called "Eusebius Gallicanus" are not clear (see below).

## 2.3 *Athanasius of Alexandria* († 373)

Very few of his works were translated into Latin and none of these works is a homily. Apparently not even spurious homilies appear under his name in Latin.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.4 *Ephrem* († 373)

Ephrem was a Syriac-speaking author whose homilies were translated into Greek already before the end of the 4th century. The Greek corpus attributed to Ephrem ("Ephrem Graecus"; CPG 3905-4175) was continuously expanded with the addition of spuria and rewritings of both authentic and spurious homilies. Several of these works were translated into Latin (see CPG 4125-29), but there is no reliable survey of the Latin corpus ("Ephrem Latinus"; see CPL 1143-52).<sup>27</sup> However, it should be noted that Caesarius of Arles († 543) was acquainted with at least some items attributed to Ephrem.<sup>28</sup>

24 Edition: Perrone, *Origenes, Die neuen Psalmenhomilien*. See also Molin Pradel, "Novità origeniane dalla Staatsbibliothek di Monaco di Baviera"; Perrone, "Riscoprire Origene oggi".

25 Buytaert, *L'héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Émèse*; Buytaert, *Eusèbe d'Émèse. Discours conservés en latin*.

26 See Müller, "Das Phänomen des 'lateinischen Athanasius'".

27 den Biesen, *Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian*, lists a large inventory of Latin translations, but does not supply their dates. The situation described by Ganz, "Knowledge of Ephraim's Writings in the Merovingian and Carolingian Age" still obtains. See however Pena, "Efrém Sirio traduzido en lenguas clásicas".

28 See Bardy, "Le souvenir de Saint Éphrem dans le haut moyen âge latin". See also Fransen, "Les extraits d'Éphrem latin dans la compilation des XII Pères de Florus de Lyon".

## 2.5 *Basil the Great* († 379)

Many of his homilies were translated into Latin.<sup>29</sup>

(1) Around 398-402 seven homilies were translated by Rufinus: *On Psalm 1* (*Homilia in Psalmum 1*: CPG 2836), *On "Take heed on yourself"* (*Homilia in illud: Attende tibi ipsi*: CPG 2847), *On "I will pull down my barns"* (*Homilia in illud: Destruam horrea mea*: CPG 2850), *On Envy* (*Homilia de invidia*: CPG 2855), *On the beginning of Proverbs* (*Homilia in principium prouerbiolum*: CPG 2856), *De fide* (CPG 2859), and *On Psalm 59* (*Homilia in Psalmum 59*: CPG 2836).<sup>30</sup>

(2) A certain Eustathius, probably of Italian origin, whose command of Greek was poor, translated by the end of the 4th century the *Homilies on the six days of Creation* (*Homiliae in hexaemeron*: CPG 2835).<sup>31</sup> This translation was used by Augustine sometime after the year 400.<sup>32</sup>

(3) Around the year 420 Augustine quoted also from a lost version of the *Exhortation to Baptism* (*Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptismum*: CPG 2857), placing it under John Chrysostom's name.<sup>33</sup>

(4) *On Thanksgiving* (*Homilia de gratiarum actione*: CPG 2848) and *On the martyr Julitta* (*Homilia in martyrem Iulittam*: CPG 2849) are transmit-

29 For an overview that includes also original Latin spuria see Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana universalis*, vol. 2. See also Huglo, "Les anciennes versions latines des homélies de saint Basile"; Gain, "Les traductions latines de Basile de Cesaree".

30 Critical edition: Lo Cicero, *Rufini Aquileiensis Homiliarum Basilii Magni interpretatio latina*; see pp. 147-49: examples of their usefulness for the restitution of the Greek original texts. See also Marti, *Basilius von Caesarea, Rufinus von Aquileia, Nosce te ipsum...* Basil's first homily *On fasting* (*De ieiunio homilia 1*: CPG 2845) was also used extensively by Rufinus in two of his own homilies and as the main source of Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermon 144* (CPL 368); see Marti, *Rufin von Aquileia, De ieiunio 1, 11*. See also Salvini, "Sulla tecnica di traduzione dal greco in latino nelle *Homiliae Morales* di Basilio-Rufino"; Moreschini, "La traduzione di Rufino dalle Omelie di Basilio".

31 Amand de Mendieta/Rudberg, *Eustathius*.

32 Altaner, "Eustathius, der lateinische Übersetzer der Hexaemeron-Homilien Basilii des Grossen". Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, supplemented the *Homilies on the six days of Creation* with his *On the creation of man* (*De opificio hominis*: CPG 3154), which was translated twice into Latin, but as a treatise, by Dionysius Exiguus (†540 ca?) and Iohannes Scotus Eriugena († 877). See Levine, "Two early Latin versions of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *περί κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*". See also Wicher, "Gregorius Nyssenus" [XXII. *De opificio hominis*: pp. 119-34; 1. Dionysius Exiguus: pp. 120-25; 2. Iohannes Scotus Eriugena: pp. 125-27].

33 See Altaner, "Augustinus und Basiliius der Grosse", p. 22.

ted in a late 6th-century manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10 593.<sup>34</sup>

(5) *On the forty martyrs of Sebaste* (*In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses*: CPG 2863) was translated at least twice into Latin, respectively before the mid-10th century and before the year 1400. Apparently both texts summarise the Greek text.<sup>35</sup>

(6) *Sermon XII* (*De ascetica disciplina*: CPG 2890) was translated twice into Latin; the published version has been dated to the 5th-6th century.<sup>36</sup>

(7) *Sermon X* (*Praeuia institutio ascetica*: CPG 2888; spurious) was transmitted in Latin under John Chrysostom's name (see below).

(8) A lost translation of his homily *Against drunkards* (*Contra ebriosos*: CPG 2858) may have been used by Valerian of Cimiez towards the mid-5th century.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, some texts written in Latin were also attributed to Basil, e.g. *Exhortation to a spiritual son* (*Admonitio ad filium spiritalem*: CPL 1155a).<sup>38</sup>

## 2.6 Gregory of Nazianzus († c.390)

Around the years 399-400 nine of his homilies were translated by Rufinus and enjoyed a wide circulation.<sup>39</sup> This translation is highly relevant for the reconstruction of the primitive text of the homilies, since it is independent from their Greek archetype.<sup>40</sup>

34 Both were published by Amand, "Une ancienne version latine inédite de deux homélies de saint Basile".

35 See Huglo, "Les anciennes versions latines des homélies de saint Basile", p. 132.

36 Wilmart, "Le discours de Basile sur l'ascèse en latin", who also mentions another unpublished version (pp. 233-34, n. 2). An adaptation of the earlier translation found its way into a Carolingian collection; see Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien", p. 190, nr. 13 and p. 204.

37 See Weiss, "Valérien de Cimiez".

38 Lehmann, "Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad Filium Spiritualem"; see also Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana universalis*, vol. 3, pp. 707-11.

39 Critical edition: Engelbrecht, *Tyranni Rufini orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni nouem interpretatio* (homilies 2, 38, 39, 41, 26, 17, 6, 16, 27: CPG 3010). See also Way, "Gregorius Nazianzenus" (iv. *Orationes* [...] 1. Tyrannius Rufinus: pp. 127-34); Way, "Gregorius Nazianzenus. Addenda et corrigenda", p. 420. See also Fransen, "Florilège pastoral tiré de Grégoire de Nazianze par Florus de Lyon".

40 Macé, "À propos d'une édition récente de Grégoire de Nazianze".

Augustine quoted some of Rufin's translations, but also Gregory's *Hom.* 29, probably from a lost Latin translation.<sup>41</sup> John Cassian also cited *Hom.* 38 and 39 from Rufinus' version.

An anonymous translation of *Hom.* 45 and 19 was produced before the 9th century.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.7 *John Chrysostom* († 407)

A sizeable amount of works attributed to him were translated into Latin, especially homilies, both authentic and spurious.<sup>43</sup> In addition, a large corpus of purely Latin texts circulated under his name, the so-called "Chrysostomus latinus". Almost all of them are homilies.<sup>44</sup>

The earliest translations can safely be dated to the first years of the 5th century, perhaps when he was still alive, but in exile. By the year 420, at least some form of the so-called *Collection of 38 homilies* and the translations made by An(n)ianus of Celeda (q.v.) were in existence. More homilies were translated probably during the 5th century.

### 2.7.1 The so-called *Collection of 38 homilies*

This is a convenient label for a series of texts that appears under various shapes in Latin. Three different selections were surely in existence around 420: (1) the one described by Wilmart, perhaps prevailing in the manuscripts<sup>45</sup>; (2) the so-called *Collection de l'Arsenal*<sup>46</sup>; (3) the quotations used by Augustine († 426) in his writings against Julian of Aeclanum. Additional, undated forms of the series have been identified too, and later sermon collections used it extensively. It has

41 See Altaner, "Augustinus und Gregor von Nazianz, Gregor von Nyssa".

42 Edition: Moreschini, "Rufino traduttore di Gregorio Nazianzeno". See also Way, "Gregorius Nazianzenus", pp. 134-35 (Anonymus A); Gain, *Traductions latines de Pères grecs*, pp. 73-78; Costa, "Note critiche ad una traduzione latina anonima di Gregorio Nazianzeno"; Costa, "Il manoscritto *Laurentianus Marcianus* 584 e la sua discendenza"; Capone, "Per una nuova edizione della versione latina dei testi gregoriani contenuti nel *Laurentianus San Marco* 584/ *Le Epistole a Cledonio*".

43 This translation process continues until the Renaissance. See Bouhot, "Les traductions latines de Jean Chrysostome du v<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Voicu, "Le prime traduzioni latine di Crisostomo" (mostly before the year 450); Bady, "Les traductions latines anciennes de Jean Chrysostome"; see also CPG 5130.

44 See mainly CPL 915-45; also, e.g., Bouhot, "La collection homilétique pseudo-chrysostomienne découverte par Dom Morin". The whole area needs and deserves further investigation.

45 Described by Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de saint Jean Chrysostome".

46 Described by Bouhot, "Version inédite du sermon 'Ad neophytos' de S. Jean Chrysostome, utilisée par S. Augustin". See also Lorini, "Pontificis Nicolai tempore aggressus".

been shown also that the series is the main source of Bede's acquaintance with Chrysostom.<sup>47</sup> The overall picture is amazingly complicated and so far has not been satisfactorily accounted for.

In fact the collection is a mixed bag made up of various groups of writings (not all of them homilies), both authentic and spurious (one of them explicitly attributed to Severian of Gabala) and even several original Latin homilies.<sup>48</sup> Despite a rather common assumption, the series has no definite links with the Pelagian controversy, nor any of its translated parts may be safely attributed to An(n)ianus of Celeda.<sup>49</sup>

The Latin transmission of several homilies shows special features worth mentioning, such as quotations, adaptations or duplicate translations.

*On Psalm 50 homily 2 (In Psalmum 50 homilia 2: CPG 4545; Wilmart nr. 2; spurious):* quoted by John Cassian.<sup>50</sup>

*On the treason of Judas homily 1 (De proditione Iudae homilia 1: CPG 4336; Wilmart nr. 10):* a later adaptation is known under Augustine's name (*Sermo Mai 143*).<sup>51</sup>

*On the Cross and the Robber homily 1 (De cruce et latrone homilia 1: CPG 4338; Wilmart nr. 11)* was quoted by Leo the Great. A second translation, printed among Augustine's spuria (*sermo 155*), is earlier than the end of the 6th century and was quoted around 688 by Julian of Toledo.<sup>52</sup> In turn it was used with the following homily to compose – before the 9th century – another sermon *On the Cross and the Robber*.<sup>53</sup>

*On the Cross and the Robber (De cruce et latrone: CPG 4728; Wilmart nr. 12; spurious)* is not by Severian of Gabala.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See Love, "Bede and John Chrysostom"; Hall/Norris, "The Chrysostom Texts in Bodley 516".

<sup>48</sup> Five of them have been critically edited by Wenk, *Zur Sammlung der 38 Homilien des Chrysostomus Latinus*. Wilmart nr. 5 and 9 depend on Augustine; nr. 27 is derived from Cyprian. Five homilies have been attributed to Jerome (Wilmart nr. 16 and 20-23); nr. 33 is a spurious homily, which circulated also under his name.

<sup>49</sup> This has been made clear by the detailed analysis of the collection in Voicu, "Le prime traduzioni latine di Crisostomo".

<sup>50</sup> Voicu, "Le prime traduzioni latine di Crisostomo", p. 410.

<sup>51</sup> *Patrologia Latina. Supplementum*, vol. 2, 1238-39. See Bouhot, "Un sermonnaire carolingien", pp. 201-02, nr. 79.

<sup>52</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 39, 2047-52. See Bouhot, "Une homélie de Jean Chrysostome citée par Julien de Tolède".

<sup>53</sup> See the following footnote.

<sup>54</sup> Not to be confused with the authentic *On the Cross and the Robber homily 1* (CPG 4338; Wilmart nr. 11). Before the 9th century both homilies were used as sources of a *Sermon on*

*On the Cross* (*In uenerabilem crucem sermo*: CPG 4525; Wilmart nr. 13; spurious): quoted by Augustine.

*On Ascension* (*In Ascensionem D.N. Iesu Christi*: CPG 4342; Wilmart nr. 14) was quoted by Leo the Great, and also transmitted under his name.

*On Pentecost* (*In pentecosten sermo 1*: CPG 4536) entered the *Homiliary of Agimond* (see below).

*On Lazarus' resurrection* (*In resurrectionem Lazari*: CPL 541; Wilmart nr. 18) was quoted by Augustine under Chrysostom's name. Actually it is a purely Latin text attributed to Potamius of Lisbon.<sup>55</sup>

*On the Chananite woman* (*De Chananaea*: CPG 4529; Wilmart nr. 19; spurious<sup>56</sup>) was translated twice into Latin. The later translation appears – also in abbreviated forms – under the names of Chrysostom, Origen and Laurentius (of Novara); little is known about its date, but it is not later than the 9th century. The earlier translation, variously attributed also to Augustine and Origen – also as a shortened form – entered the homiliaries.<sup>57</sup>

*Sermons on Genesis* (*Sermones in Genesim 8*: CPG 4410; Wilmart nr. 26): the collection transmits only *Sermon 1*, but Augustine quoted from *Sermon 3*. The whole series<sup>58</sup> may have been translated into Latin but seems now lost.

*On spiritual fight* (*De militia spirituali*, known also as *Praeuia institutio ascetica*: CPG 2888; Wilmart nr. 31; spurious): transmitted in Greek under Basil's name (*Sermon X*), in Latin also under Ephrem's name (CPL 1147).

*Catechesis Wenger 3* (CPG 4467; Wilmart nr. 34; known in Latin as *Sermo ad neophytos*) is the one text that, from around the year 415, had a very important role during the Pelagian controversy. About 420, this translation was revised in a more literal way, perhaps at Augustine's request.<sup>59</sup>

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*the Cross and the Robber* (*Sermo de cruce et latrone*); see Étaix, "L'ancienne collection de sermons attribués à saint Augustin 'De quatuor virtutibus caritatis'", p. 47, nr. 23.

55 Critical edition: Conti, "Potamii Episcopi Olisiponensis Opera omnia", pp. 165-95.

56 Actually it is a concoction mixing authentic parts with spurious elements. See Voicu, "La volontà e il caso", mainly pp. 112-13.

57 See Persiani, "Notes sur les deux antiques versions latines". An Italian translation of the earlier version survives in a 15th-century manuscript; see Vaccari, "Versioni umbre", p. 380, n. 1.

58 Brottier, *Jean Chrysostome, Sermons sur la Genèse*.

59 The revised form is known only from Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 175; see Bouhot, "Version inédite du sermon 'Ad neophytos' de S. Jean Chrysostome, utilisée par S. Augustin" (edition of the revised form and discussion of its differences against the earlier translation). See also Grote, "Ego ipsa uerba graeca quae a Ioanne dicta sunt ponam" (c. *Iul.* 1,22).



*On the turtle* (*De turture seu de Ecclesia sermo*: CPG 4547; Wilmart nr. 35; spurious): a shortened form entered the sermon collections.<sup>60</sup>

*On his return from Asia* (*Quando ipse de Asia regressus est*: CPG 4394; Wilmart nr. 36) entered the *Homiliary of Agimond* (see below).

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 175 (12th century) conveys another form of the series: not only the revised form of *Catechesis Wenger* 3 and fifteen homilies of Latin origin attributed to "Bishop John",<sup>61</sup> but also some additional translations from Greek:

*Catechesis 1 to those that will be baptized* (*Ad illuminandos catechesis 1*: CPG 4460).

*On penance homily 5* (*De paenitentia homilia 5*: CPG 4333), which already appears in a manuscript of the 6th century.<sup>62</sup>

An early translation of *On Statues homily 1* (*Ad populum Antiochenum hom. 1*: CPG 4330).<sup>63</sup>

Vienna, Ö.N.B., Ms. lat. 4147 is a 15th-century manuscript that displays a shorter form of the collection, but supplements it with another set of translations.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See *Florilegium casinense*, vol. 2, pp. 164-67.

<sup>61</sup> The heading John *Chrysostom* is comparatively late, since it appears only in the first years of the 6th century. See Voicu, "Per una lista delle opere trasmesse in copto sotto il nome di Giovanni Crisostomo", pp. 597-98. Like many early witnesses, the Paris manuscript does not even care to record Chrysostom's episcopal see.

<sup>62</sup> See Bouhot, "Version inédite du sermon 'Ad neophytos' de S. Jean Chrysostome, utilisée par S. Augustin", pp. 29-31. The homily was often divided into two homilies, known as *Homily on fasting* (*Omelia de ieiunio*) and *Homily on Jonas* (*Omelia de Iona*).

<sup>63</sup> Published by Bady, "*De uino modico*: une version latine ancienne et un nouveau texte grec de la première homélie de Jean Chrysostome Sur les statues", with additional information about the three Renaissance translations of this homily: by Ambrogio Traversari in 1420, by Pietro Balbi towards 1455-58, and by Lucas Bernardus Brixianus before 1503. Traversari's translation has been extensively studied by Varalda, "Ambrogio Traversari e la traduzione della prima omelia 'De Statuis' di Giovanni Crisostomo"; Varalda, "*L'Homilia I ad populum Antiochenum* (*de Statuis*) di Giovanni Crisostomo nella versione latina di Ambrogio Traversari".

<sup>64</sup> See Leroy, "Vingt-deux homélies africaines nouvelles attribuables à l'un des anonymes du Chrysostome latin (*PLS* 4) (Vienne, Ö.N.B. Ms. lat. 4147)".



*On the beheading of St John* (*In decollationem S. Iohannis*: CPG 4570; CPL 931; Leroy nr. 64; spurious): transmitted also by the homiletic collection of Paul the Deacon.<sup>65</sup>

*On the paralytic* (*In paralyticum demissum per tectum*: CPG 4370; Leroy, nr. 65).

*On Peter and Elias* (*In Petrum et Heliam*: CPG 4513; Leroy, nr. 66; spurious) was probably translated around the year 404 according to Bouhot.<sup>66</sup>

*On penance homily 2* (*De paenitentia homilia 2*: CPG 4333; Leroy, nr. 78).

### 2.7.2 Other Translations from the 5th Century

Augustine quoted also *On Romans homily 10* (*In Epistolam ad Romanos homilia 10*: CPG 4427). However, his source is unknown, since in Latin there are no other traces of the series, which might have had some relevance during the Pelagian controversy.

Other homilies attributed to Chrysostom were or might have been translated during the 5th century, but they do not show definite connections with the *Collection of 38 homilies*.

*On Joseph and chastity* (*De Ioseph et de castitate*: CPG 4566): its translation survives in one Latin manuscript under Augustine's name and was used in Pseudo-Augustine's sermon Caillau-Saint-Yves I, 45, of probable African origin, composed perhaps around the year 500.<sup>67</sup>

*On almsgiving* (*De eleemosyna*: CPG 4618) was translated twice into Latin. One of the versions predates Caesarius of Arles († 547).<sup>68</sup>

A lost translation of his homily *Against drunkards and on the Resurrection* (*Contra ebriosos et in resurrectionem*: CPG 4341) may have been used by Valerian of Cimiez towards the mid-5th century.<sup>69</sup>

65 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 95, 1508-14.

66 See Bouhot, "Adaptations latines de l'homélie de Jean Chrysostome sur Pierre et Élie (CPG 4513)", who publishes also two adaptations. Pace Bouhot, the homily is not authentic, at least not in its entirety.

67 Bouhot, "Ancienne version latine du sermon *De Joseph et de Castitate* d'un Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome".

68 Verbraken, "Deux anciennes versions latines de l'homélie sur l'aumône CPG 4618 attribuée à Jean Chrysostome". The earlier version of *De eleemosyna* (CPG 4618), was supplemented in a 9th-century manuscript with Ps.-Basil, *Admonitio ad filium spiritalem* (CPL 1155a).

69 See Weiss, "Valérien de Cimiez".

### 2.7.3 Later or Undated Translations

*On Christmas (In Christi natalem diem*: CPG 4650; spurious): transmitted by one manuscript, Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana 72, copied around the year 1200; the translation dates perhaps from the early 6th century. In Latin this homily is also attributed to Proclus.<sup>70</sup>

*On Annuntiation (In Annuntiationem B. Virginis*: CPG 4519; spurious): it is not clear whether this homily was translated once or twice into Latin (and when). Anyway, as in Greek, it is attributed to both Chrysostom and Proclus (see CPL 945d).<sup>71</sup>

*Homilies on Hebrews (In Epistulam ad Hebraeos argumentum et homiliae 1-34*: CPG 4440)<sup>72</sup> were translated towards the mid-6th century by a certain Mutianus, at the request of Cassiodorus. They had a considerable bearing upon the Latin exegesis of Hebrews.<sup>73</sup>

*Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*: CPG 4569; CPL 707) currently is considered a purely Latin work of the late 5th century by an author who was familiar with Greek sources.<sup>74</sup> Individual sections appear as homilies under Chrysostom's name in homiletic collections.

Both ancient homilies *On the consolation of death (De consolatione mortis homiliae 1-2*: CPG 4558) have no Greek counterparts. They are certainly spurious and probably Latin originals.<sup>75</sup>

### 2.8 Asterius of Amasea († c.420-25)

Fragments of his *Praise of St Euphemia (In laudem s. Euphemiae*: CPG 3260) were translated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius amidst the proceedings of the Constantinopolitan Council of 869-70.<sup>76</sup>

70 See Aubineau/Lemarié, "Une adaptation latine inédite et une version arménienne, attribuée à Proclus, du Ps.-Chrysostome, *In Christi natalem diem* (PG 61,737-38. CPG 4650)"; Aubineau/Lemarié, "Errata corrigenda dans 'Une adaptation latine inédite du Ps.-Chrysostome, *In Christi natalem diem*' (Vet. Christ., 22, 1985, pp. 35-89)".

71 See Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, p. 63; Barré, "Un homélaire Bénéventain du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle", pp. 101-02.

72 *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 63, 237-456.

73 See Wilhelmsson, *Studien zu Mutianus dem Chrysostomosübersetzer*; Colombi, "Il ruolo dei padri greci nella cultura dell'Occidente altomedievale", pp. 289-92.

74 See Mali, *Das "Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum" und sein Verhältnis zu den Matthäuskommentaren von Origenes und Hieronymus*.

75 Notably the second homily quotes a pagan *exemplum* (from Plutarch), against the known usage of Chrysostom.

76 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 129, 278-80; 425-26.

## 2.9 *Severian of Gabala († before 425)*

Several purely Latin homilies appear under the names of Severi(a)nus or Peter Chrysologus. The latter is often their true author.

A short form of Severian's homily *On peace* (*De pace*: CPG 4214) is transmitted by the *Collection of the 38 homilies* and was circulated also under the name of Peter Chrysologus.<sup>77</sup>

The beginning of Severian's homily *On Theophany* (*In theophaniam*: CPG 4212) appears in Latin under Augustine's name.<sup>78</sup>

An adaptation of the last part of his homily *On the blind born* (*De caeco nato*: CPG 4582 = 4236a.4) circulated under Augustine's name. It is not later than the 9th century.<sup>79</sup>

Pace Wenger,<sup>80</sup> the homily *On the Cross and the Robber* (*De cruce et latrone*: CPG 4728), transmitted also under Augustine's name, is not Severian's, but is transmitted among Chrysostom's spuria and its author is unknown.<sup>81</sup>

## 2.10 *Cyril of Alexandria († 444) and other 5th-century authors*

A number of his dogmatic homilies (CPG 5245-47, 5249-51, 5260) were translated into Latin, at least in part, together with the proceedings of the council of Ephesus (431). However, they never entered a homiliary.<sup>82</sup>

The same situation applies also to (1) two sermons by Theodotus of Ancyra († mid-5th century?): see CPG 6125-26; (2) several homiletical fragments by Theodoretus of Cyrus († c.457): see CPG 6226-30.

Also a number of homiletical fragments from Nestorius († after 451; CPG 5690-5720) were quoted in the conciliar proceedings of Ephesus (431) and Constantinople II (553) and/or Latin dogmatic florilegia.<sup>83</sup> However no complete homilies have been identified in Latin.

77 Critical edition in Olivar, *Sancti Petri Chrysologi Collectio sermonum a Felice episcopo parata, sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*, vol. 3, pp. 927-30.

78 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 39, 2017-18. See Voicu, "Due sermoni pseudoagostiniani tradotti dal greco".

79 *Patrologia Latina. Supplementum*, vol. 2, 1071-73. See Étaix, "L'ancienne collection de sermons attribués à saint Augustin 'De quatuor virtutibus caritatis'", p. 46, nr. 22.

80 See Wenger, "Le sermon LXXX de la collection de Mai restitué à Sévérien de Gabala".

81 See Altendorf, "Untersuchungen zu Severian von Gabala", pp. 78-85.

82 Instead, a fragment from his *Letter 4* (CPG 5304) was used as a homily; see Barré, "Un homélaire Bénéventain du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Vatican lat. 4222)", p. 114, nr. 110.

83 Loofs, *Nestoriana*.

### 2.11 *Proclus of Constantinople* († 446)

His famous homily 1 *In praise of St Mary* (*De laudibus s. Mariae*: CPG 5800) was translated into many languages. In Latin it was circulated also under Leo the Great's name.<sup>84</sup> A second translation has been attributed – for some reason – to Marius Mercator († after 431).<sup>85</sup>

Homily 5 *On the Virgin Mary* (*In s. uirginem*: CPG 5804; CPL 942a) appears under the names of Chrysostom and Leo the Great.<sup>86</sup>

Homily 20 *On St John Chrysostom* (*In s. Iohannem Chrysostomum*: CPG 5819) is lost in Greek and survives in Latin<sup>87</sup> and Old Slavic.

The spurious homily *On the Annunciation* (*In annuntiationem beatissimae dei genitricis*: CPG 5875), with no known counterpart in Greek, is attributed in Latin to both Proclus and Leo the Great.<sup>88</sup>

Also two homilies published in Greek among John Chrysostom's spuria occasionally appear in Latin under Proclus' name: *On Annuntiation* (*In Annuntiationem B. Virginis*: CPG 4519) and *On Christmas* (*In Christi natalem diem*: CPG 4650; see above). Their authors are unknown.

### 2.12 *Antipater of Bostra* († after 457)

A Latin mariological homily, derived probably from a lost Greek original, is attributed to Antipater (and, alternatively, to Chrysostom) (CPG 6681).<sup>89</sup>

### 2.13 *Leontius of Constantinople* († after 557)<sup>90</sup>

The recovery of Leontius' Greek homilies is a rather complicated venture, since they were transmitted (perhaps on purpose) under a variety of names.<sup>91</sup>

His *Homily on Candlemas* (*Oratio in occursum domini*: CPG 7900.13; see CPG 3232), transmitted only under the name of Amphilocheius of Iconium, was

84 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 56, 1140-44.

85 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 48, 777-81. See Gain, *Traductions latines de Pères grecs*, pp. 143-59.

86 See Gain, *Traductions latines de Pères grecs*, p. 149; Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, p. 84.

87 See Halkin, "L'éloge de Jean Chrysostome par Proclus de Constantinople".

88 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, 508-11. See Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, pp. 63-64.

89 The CPG title, *On the Assumption* (*Homilia in assumptionem s. Mariae*), is misleading, since the homily does not deal with Mary's assumption. Edition: Grégoire, "L'homélie d'Antipater de Bostra pour l'assomption de la Mère de Dieu".

90 According to Voicu, "La data di Leonzio presbitero di Costantinopoli", Leontius is a late 7th-century author.

91 See Voicu, "Dieci omelie di Leonzio di Costantinopoli".

translated into Latin,<sup>92</sup> likely during the second half of the 9th century, perhaps by Anastasius Bibliothecarius († 879).<sup>93</sup>

#### 2.14 *Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria (6th century?)*

The origin of this author and his date are debated, for lack of internal and external evidence.<sup>94</sup>

The Latin *Sermon on the Devil's upsetting* (*Sermo de confusione diaboli*) is a conflation of *On Devil and Hades* (*In diabolum et orcum*: CPG 5524) and *On Christ's passion* (*De Christi passione*: CPG 5526).<sup>95</sup>

His sermon *On Sunday* (*De die dominica*: CPG 5525) is the main source of the *Sermon on the observance of Sunday* (*Sermo de dominicae obseruatione*).<sup>96</sup>

The homily *On Christ's passion* (*De Christi passione*: CPG 5526) is one of the sources of a homily *On Easter*, transmitted under Augustine's and Severian's name. In addition, several of his homilies are among the sources of the so-called collection of "Eusebius Gallicanus" (sometimes confused with Eusebius of Emesa).<sup>97</sup>

#### 2.15 *Gregory of Antioch († after 593)*

Anastasius Bibliothecarius would have authored the Latin version of his second homily *On Epiphany* (*In s. theophaniam II*: CPG 7385) which survives in an 11th-century manuscript.<sup>98</sup>

### 3 Translation Ventures

Towards the end of the 4th century, the knowledge of Greek in the West decayed markedly.<sup>99</sup> Ambrose of Milan was still capable of using Greek sources

92 Orbán, *Sermones in Dormitionem Mariae*, pp. 83-91.

93 See Chiesa, "Una traduzione inedita di Anastasio Bibliotecario?", pp. 883-84.

94 See MacCoull, "Who was Eusebius of Alexandria?"

95 Rand, "Sermo de Confusione Diaboli". Reprinted with additional notes in Hey, "Eine Rede über Christi Höllenfahrt". See also Izydorczyk, "Two newly identified manuscripts of the *Sermo de confusione diaboli*".

96 Morin, "*Sermo de dominicae obseruatione*".

97 Leroy/Glorie, "'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie' source d'Eusèbe de Gaule".

98 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4222, f. 92v-94r; see Barré, "Un homélie Bénéventain du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Vatican lat. 4222)", p. 110.

99 The standard work on the knowledge and use of Greek in the West is Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en occident*. See also Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*.

in their original language,<sup>100</sup> and neither promoted nor made formal translations, but his case was rather exceptional. In other quarters there was an increasing need of Latin translations for both doctrinal and spiritual reasons.<sup>101</sup>

### 3.1 *Rufinus of Aquileia († c.412) and Jerome († 419)*

Both translated large numbers of works, among them homilies. Both felt it necessary to adapt the originals to a Latin audience too, but criticised each other acrimoniously about the actual application of this method.<sup>102</sup>

As we have already seen, Rufinus translated homilies of Origen,<sup>103</sup> Basil of Caesarea<sup>104</sup> and Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>105</sup> Jerome translated many homilies of Origen. It has been affirmed that his own homilies on Psalms are plain translations of Origen's (lost) homilies.<sup>106</sup> However, obvious stylistic and contextual considerations indicate that the homilies were actually delivered by Jerome and they simply mirror the known fact that Origen is one of Jerome's preferred sources.<sup>107</sup>

### 3.2 *An(n)ianus of Celeda (early 5th century)*

An(n)ianus of Celeda was probably a Latin speaker from the East.<sup>108</sup> He translated Chrysostom's homilies *In praise of St Paul* (*De laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli*:

100 Seemingly there is no comprehensive overview of the large spectrum of his Greek sources (Philo, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Didymus, etc.). See, however, the bibliography mentioned by Cutino, "Ambroise de Milan et l'exégèse vétérotestamentaire d'Origène", pp. 13-15. See also Graumann, "Origen and Ambrose on the Gospel of Luke"; Rizzi, "L'epistolario di Ambrogio e il commento di Origene alla Lettera ai Romani".

101 See Bardy, "Traducteurs et adaptateurs au quatrième siècle"; Gribomont, "Le traduzioni. Girolamo e Rufino".

102 See Winkelmann, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Aussagen des Rufinus von Aquileia und des Hieronymus über ihre Übersetzungs-Theorie und -Methode"; Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*; Prinzivalli, "Origène prédicateur et ses traducteurs latins".

103 See Grappone, *Omellie origeniane nella traduzione di Rufino*; Grappone, "Omellie tradotte e/o tradite?".

104 See Lo Cicero, *Tradurre i Greci nel IV secolo*; Lo Cicero, "Rufino e i Cappadoci".

105 See also Wagner, *Rufinus, the translator*; Brooks, "The Translation Techniques of Rufinus of Aquileia (343-411)".

106 The contention, first voiced by Peri, *Omellie origeniane sui Salmi*, is still explicit in the title of the Italian translation. See Coppa, *Origene – Gerolamo, 74 omellie sul Libro dei salmi*.

107 The two homilies on the Psalm 82 seemingly take their cue from Origen. See Voicu, "How many authors?", pp. 318-19.

108 The rather frequent assumption that he was from Teleda, a place in northern Italy, lacks any serious foundation. The variations concerning the spelling of his name point rather

CPG 4344)<sup>109</sup> and the *Homilies on Matthew* (*Homiliae in Matthaëum*: CPG 4424). According to his prefatory letters to both works, he deemed his translations useful for fighting against Augustine's "traducianism", namely the doctrine of original sin, in the context of the Pelagian controversy. However, whereas the seven homilies on Paul survive in their entirety,<sup>110</sup> only about a third of the ninety *Homiliae in Matthaëum* survive in Latin, and it is not known whether he completed his project.<sup>111</sup>

Even if it has been repeatedly affirmed, the attribution to An(n)ianus of other translations of Chrysostom's works has never been substantiated.

### 3.3 *Julian of Aeclanum* († first half of the 5th century)<sup>112</sup>

A supporter of the Pelagian doctrines, Julian did use, around the year 415, the earlier Latin translation of Chrysostom's *Catechesis Wenger* 3 (CPG 4467), but there is no reason to surmise that he produced it, although he translated other works from Greek.<sup>113</sup>

### 3.4 *Dionysius Exiguus* († c.540?)

Cassiodorus praised the quality of his translations.<sup>114</sup> He translated mainly canonical texts, but also Gregory of Nyssa's *On the creation of man*.<sup>115</sup>

### 3.5 *Cassiodorus* († c.580)

Cassiodorus promoted several translations from Greek.<sup>116</sup> Among those which have survived is John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Hebrews* (*In Epistulam ad Hebraeos*: CPG 4440), produced by a certain Mutianus.<sup>117</sup>

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to a Greek form of the Latin name Annianus. See Honigmann, "Annianus, Deacon of Celeda (415 AD)".

<sup>109</sup> *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 50, 473-514.

<sup>110</sup> *Homily* 3 entered the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon (q.v.).

<sup>111</sup> See Musurillo, "John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* and the version of Annianus". An(n)ianus did not give his translations a Pelagian twist according to Bonfiglio, "Anianus Celedensis Translator of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew*".

<sup>112</sup> See Lössl, *Julian von Aeclanum*.

<sup>113</sup> Notably the initial part of Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on the Psalms* (CPG 3833); see Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar zu den Propheten Osee, Joel und Amos*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>114</sup> Mynors, *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>115</sup> See note 32 and Valli, "Tradurre dal greco in latino".

<sup>116</sup> See Garzya, "Cassiodoro e la grecità".

<sup>117</sup> See Mynors, *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, p. 29. Cassiodorus also promoted a translation of Chrysostom's homilies on Acts (CPG 4426), that is lost (Mynors, *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, p. 33).

### 3.6 *Late-Antique Translations*

Occasional translations from Greek have been produced between the last years of the 6th century and the early 10th century, but research so far has centered around hagiographical, monastic or profane texts.<sup>118</sup>

#### 3.6.1 Anastasius Bibliothecarius († 879)

Anastasius Bibliothecarius translated many works from Greek, particularly hagiographical and conciliar texts,<sup>119</sup> but perhaps also the collection of mariological homilies transmitted by the manuscript Reichenau, Augiensis 80 (early 10th century),<sup>120</sup> and, tentatively, the homily *On Epiphany* attributed to Gregory of Antioch.

## 4 Selected Sermon Collections

As in the Greek realm, the first Latin patristic homiliaries organised according to the liturgical year or some of its parts arose probably not much later than the mid-6th century.<sup>121</sup> The earliest collections already used translations of Greek homilies, as it can be seen from the following selected examples

### 4.1 *The “Primitive” St Peter’s Homiliary*

This collection was probably created around the end of the 6th century, but its original form is lost. The *Homiliary of Eginon of Verona* (796-99)<sup>122</sup> depends on a revised version of the mid-7th century which is more faithful than other

<sup>118</sup> See Franklin, “Hagiographic Translations in the Early Middle Ages (7th-10th Century)”; Irigoien, “La culture grecque dans l’Occident latin du VII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle”; Rapp, “Hagiography and Monastic Literature between Greek East and Latin West in Late Antiquity”. An extensive exposé of translation problems is Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der christlichen Latinität*.

<sup>119</sup> See Leonardi, “Anastasio Bibliotecario e le traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale”; Forrai, *The Interpreter of the Popes*; Chiesa/Cupiccia/Galli, “Anastasius Bibliothecarius”. About Anastasius’ translation technique, see Chiesa, “Interpres et expositor”.

<sup>120</sup> Orbán, *Sermones in Dormitionem Mariae*. The manuscript contains homilies by John of Damascus (CPG 8061-62), Leontius of Constantinople (= Pseudo-Amphilochius of Iconium; CPG 7900.13), Germanus I of Constantinople (CPG 8010-11); Cosmas Vestitor (CPG 8155-58); Andrew of Crete (CPG 8170, 8172, 8181-83). About Anastasius’ authorship see Cupiccia, “Anastasio Bibliotecario traduttore delle omelie di Reichenau (Aug. LXXX)?”.

<sup>121</sup> Overview of some comparatively early manuscripts from Luxeuil in Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 48-65.

<sup>122</sup> Analysis in Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 189-221.



homiliaries derived from the same source,<sup>123</sup> viz. the *Homiliary of Agimond* (early 8th century), the later *Homiliary of St Peter* (about 900), and the reconstructed *Homiliary of Alain of Farfa* (mid-8th century).

Eginon's manuscript, Berlin, Phillipps 1676, contains two homilies attributed to Chrysostom.

#### 4.2 *The Homiliary of Agimond*

This collection comprised three tomes (the first of which is lost) copied for the Basilica of Saints Philip and James in Rome (present-day Basilica of the Holy Apostles), using basically the earlier *St Peter's Homiliary* with several supplements.<sup>124</sup> It transmits or adapts homilies attributed to Chrysostom, some of Greek (nr. II, 15, 21-24, 27, 43, 56, 115; III, 91), some of Latin origin (nr. II, 12, 14, 17-20, 25, 30-31, 33-34, 36, 38, 46, 110-12; often under Augustine's name), but also to Gregory of Nazianzus (nr. II, 104), Proclus of Constantinople (III, nr. 19, but under Chrysostom's name, and 21g), Antipater of Bostra (III, nr. 21a-f).

#### 4.3 *The Homiliary of Paul the Deacon († after 792)*

At Charlemagne's request, Paul the Deacon compiled a collection of 244 sermons divided into two tomes (Winter and Summer).<sup>125</sup> Later it was used as the source of other collections, such the homiliary of *Sancti catholici patres*.<sup>126</sup>

Paul used several Latin homilies attributed to Chrysostom, often of African origin (I, nr. 35, 68, 70, 72, 85, 88-89, 91, 93; II, nr. 56, 59, 71-72, 78, 89, 91, 117, 120, 130), the *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew* (I, nr. 2; II, nr. 90), Chrysostom's *In praise of St Paul* (II, nr. 53), Origenes Latinus (I, nr. 15, 61, 64), and revised forms of Origen's homilies on Luke (I, nr. 38, 41).

### 5 Early Latin Florilegia

Even if patristic florilegia were comparatively rare in Latin, a comprehensive overview would require a specialised article.<sup>127</sup> Here we should content ourselves with a few early examples.

<sup>123</sup> See Bouhot, "L'homélaire de s. Pierre au Vatican au milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> s. et sa postérité".

<sup>124</sup> Analysis in Grégoire, *Homélaïres liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 343-92.

<sup>125</sup> Analysis in Grégoire, *Homélaïres liturgiques médiévaux*, pp. 423-78.

<sup>126</sup> Composed in the 12th century. See Bouhot, "L'homélaire des Sancti catholici patres".

<sup>127</sup> For a handy list of comparatively late Latin florilegia see Grégoire, "I Padri nel Medio Evo", pp. 765-69.

### 5.1 *Augustine († 430)*

Augustine never mastered Greek and only occasionally paid attention to the Greek Fathers.<sup>128</sup> However, against Julian of Aeclanum, he used several extant Latin translations of the writings – often homilies – of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom.<sup>129</sup>

### 5.2 *John Cassian († c.432-33)*

In book VII of his treatise against Nestorius, John Cassian used a few Greek patristic homilies. Although he knew Greek, he quoted Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom from existing Latin versions.<sup>130</sup>

### 5.3 *Leo the Great's Florilegium*

In his *Letter* 28, composed in 449, known also as *Tomus ad Flavianum* (CPL 1656), Leo the Great quoted Gregory of Nazianzus' *Hom.* 38 and Chrysostom's *On Ascension (In Ascensionem D.N. Iesu Christi: CPG 4342)*, both from their Latin translations.<sup>131</sup>

An expanded version of the same florilegium was sent to Emperor Leo in 458 (*Letter* 104). It adds a quotation from Chrysostom's *On the Cross and the Robber homily* 1 (*De cruce et latrone homilia* 1: CPG 4338) that is taken from the Latin version.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> See Bartelink, "Die Beeinflussung Augustins durch die griechischen Patres".

<sup>129</sup> See the indexes of Zelzer, *Sancti Aureli Augustini opera*, sect. VIII, pars IV. Analysis in Caruso, "Ex Orientis partibus".

<sup>130</sup> See Petschenig, *Iohannis Cassiani De institutis coenobiorum... De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*.

<sup>131</sup> See *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 2, 1.1, pp. 20-25, nr. 4-5 and 10-12.

<sup>132</sup> See *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 2, 4, pp. 119-31, here p. 126, nr. 18.

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# Leo Magnus

*Bronwen Neil*

## 1 Introduction

Throughout his long incumbency as bishop of Rome in the uncertain times of the mid-5th century, Leo Magnus (*sedes* 440-61) was a prolific preacher. His are the only sermons surviving from any bishop of Rome in the 5th century, a fact all the more remarkable in view of the great quantity of papal letter production of this period, especially from Innocent I and Gelasius I. Like them, Leo was a great letter-writer, but his sermons were also considered of sufficient value in Late Antiquity to have been preserved.

The sources and history of the Leonian homiletic corpus are treated first in this chapter. Such a sizeable collection allows us to discover what Leo was trying to achieve with his sermons, and how he understood the role of preaching. We then examine the threefold structure of many of his sermons, their style and target audience, and the recurring themes in his preaching on the great feasts and fasts of the Roman liturgical calendar. This allows us to measure Leo's contribution as a preacher in the Latin West, both in itself and in relation to his letters on similar themes. We conclude with an analysis of one sermon of dubious authenticity but indubitable liturgical significance.

## 2 Sources and History of the Corpus

Some 97 extant sermons survive from the pen of Leo Magnus, along with 143 letters. Only one of his sermons has been attributed to the pen of another, that entitled "On the Neglected Feast",<sup>1</sup> to which we shall return below. Leo preached some 15 times each year on significant occasions throughout the liturgical yearly cycle:<sup>2</sup> the anniversary of his ordination (29 September), the solemn fasts, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, the Feast of the Ascension, Pentecost, and the anniversary of Saints Peter and Paul. Of these sermons, about 12 were chosen from each year and put together in an edited collection for circulation

<sup>1</sup> Leo, s. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Green, *Soteriology*, p. 97.

in Leo's lifetime, soon after 445.<sup>3</sup> These 59 sermons from 440 to 445 formed the basis of Leo's first sermon collection.<sup>4</sup> The second collection comprises revisions of 11 sermons of the first collection,<sup>5</sup> and several new sermons from 446 to 461, the principal texts being preached between 452 and 454.<sup>6</sup> Most of these concern the Eutychian controversy. Dolle completed his four-volume French translation of the sermons in 1976, unfortunately with limited reference to Chavassee's critical edition, which appeared in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* in 1973.<sup>7</sup> Chavassee's careful division of the sermons by liturgical occasion has allowed the dating of the majority, and it is his numbering that I have followed here. Dolle's arrangement of the sermons is chronological rather than liturgical. The sermons have recently been published in an Italian translation, superseding the incomplete English version which appeared in 1996.<sup>8</sup> These translations have made the riches of Leo's sermons much more accessible to modern scholars.

### 3 Leo's Views on Preaching and His Own Sermons

Only on rare occasions did Leo use the sermon as an opportunity for the explication of a biblical text. This distinguishes him from other western preachers of his day, such as Ambrose, Augustine, and Hilary of Poitiers.<sup>9</sup> Notable exceptions were Homily 51 on the Transfiguration, and Homily 95 on the Beatitudes,

3 Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. CXCIII.

4 Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. CLXXVII.

5 Leo, s. 22, 33, 34, 39, 40, 42, 58, 59, 61, 76, and 90.

6 Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. CLXXVII, p. CXCIX; Dolle, "Les sermons en double édition".

7 Only Dolle, *Léon le Grand* (Sources Chrétiennes, 74bis), vol. 3, Paris 1976, was based on Chavassee's text. Vol. 4 (Sources Chrétiennes, 200), Paris 1973, which came out in the same year as *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 138 and 138A, was revised only to include a note of the most important textual variants. The second editions of vol. 1 (Sources Chrétiennes, 22bis), Paris 1964, and vol. 2 (Sources Chrétiennes, 49bis), Paris 1969, were made solely on the basis of the edition of the Ballerini brothers, reproduced in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54.

8 Leo, *Homilies*, eds. Cremascoli/Montanari/Naldini, *I Sermoni*, vols. 2-4; Leo the Great, *Sermons*, trans. Freeland/Conway. Selected sermons to do with Manicheism (s. IX, XVI, XXIV, XXXIV, XLII, LXXII, LXXVI) are edited and translated by Schipper/van Oort, pp. 24-47; and by Neil, *Leo the Great* (s. 4, 16, 27, 69, 73, 82B, 84, 85, and 87).

9 Green, *Soteriology*, p. 1.



to which we return below.<sup>10</sup> Rather, Leo's concern as a preacher was for the spiritual direction of the general Roman congregation. This somewhat neglected aspect of his activity as pontiff is most readily discovered in homilies that offer advice on a broad range of themes relating to the spiritual life, including fasting and almsgiving, the proper relation between Christian and Jew, and correct attitudes towards astrology and other "pagan" religious practices. These homilies span the whole liturgical cycle and give us some insight into Leo's concern with liturgical uniformity within the city of Rome. Only two churches are mentioned in the course of his homilies: St Peter's Basilica in the Christmas homily for 451,<sup>11</sup> and the Basilica of St Anastasia in his Christmas homily for 457.

#### 4 Content, Style, Aim, and Audience

Leo's sermons are aimed at establishing the liturgical cycle in Rome, and offering pastoral care to his target audience, the Roman people. He sought through his preaching to make Christianity a civic religion for the people of Rome, one that would replace the pre-Christian practices on which the idea of the *ciuitas* was based. The people of Rome were contiguous, in his mind, with the Church of Rome, "a priestly and royal city" in an echo of I Petr. 2:9. At the same time, he appealed to civic pride by stressing Roman primacy over the universal Church, through the unbroken line of descent from the first apostle, Peter.<sup>12</sup>

Leo was concerned to forge a Christian civic identity that was distinct from both the Roman pagan and Jewish traditions. One way of doing this was through the implementation of a distinct Christian calendar, which divided civic time according to the liturgical cycle rather than according to secular festivals.<sup>13</sup> In particular this meant reinforcing Constantine the Great's introduction of Sunday as the Lord's Day rather than Saturday – the day of the Jewish Shabbat – and replacing other Jewish and pagan festivals with Christian ones, such as the solemn fasts. Some pagan feasts, whose religious content had all but disappeared, were allowed to stand. For example, the festival of *Lupercalia* (15 February) appears in the calendar of the Roman Christian, Polemius Silvius,

10 Studer, *La riflessione*, p. 135, mentions also Homilies 58 and 59 on the Passion of Christ, but these are only loosely based on the Prayer of Gethsemane (Matth. 26:39-42) in the first case, and the Passion narrative in the second.

11 Leo, s. 27, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, p. 135, line 85. On this homily, see "Christmas and Epiphany" below.

12 Green, *Soteriology*, pp. 133-35; Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of Rome*, pp. 345-76; Salzman, "Leo in Rome"; Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter*.

13 Markus, *End of Ancient Christianity*, pp. 126-31.

in the year 448/449.<sup>14</sup> The pontificates of Sixtus III and Leo I mark the high point of the partnership between the papacy and the Christian aristocracy of Rome, a partnership that ended with the papal attack on the feast of the *Lupercalia* by Felix III or his successor Gelasius, later in the same century.<sup>15</sup> In terms of the number of ordinations he performed, Leo far outstripped any other bishop of Rome in the 5th century. Leo is said to have ordained 81 priests and 31 deacons for Rome, and 185 bishops for “various places”.<sup>16</sup> Even if the latter figure is simply implausible, as Davis claims,<sup>17</sup> this account points to the great emphasis Leo placed on the clerical orders.

#### 4.1 *Solemn Fasts*

Four fasts were celebrated in the time of Leo: the September fast, the December fast, the Lenten fast,<sup>18</sup> and the fast after Pentecost. The three solemn fasts of September, December, and Pentecost were probably instituted in Rome as early as the late 2nd or early 3rd century. According to *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Callistus (217–22) established this practice: “He decreed that on Saturdays, three times a year, there should be a fast from corn, wine and oil according to the prophecy” (cf. Zach. 8:19). An interpolator added that the solemn fasts were held in the fourth, seventh and tenth months.<sup>19</sup> These solemn fasts required fasting from food on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and a vigil from Saturday evening to Sunday morning. In his 22 homilies on the fasts, Leo highlights the great apotropaic power of collective fasting. Fasting by the community, accompanied by almsgiving, was meant to ward off evil and to placate God.<sup>20</sup> In Homily 89 Leo is concerned to emphasise the differences between the Christian fast of September and the Jewish fast of Yom Kippur, which fell in the same month. Leo apparently had real experience of Yom Kippur in Rome in his day,

14 *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum*, ed. Mommsen, vol. 1: *Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem*, Berlin 1863, p. 337. Salzman, *On Roman Time*, p. 241, cites the Gelasian tract *Adversus Andromachum* (CPL 1671) as evidence that the *Lupercalia* was actually celebrated in 495.

15 See Gelasius' tract. 6, *Adversus Andromachum*, ed. Pomarès, *Contre les Lupercales*.

16 *Liber Pontificalis*, eds. Duchesne/Vogel, vol. 1, p. 239.

17 Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. XXI.

18 As evidenced by Leo, s. 39–50, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 211–94. Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra, “Whose Fast Is It?”, p. 263, who states that the solemn fast during Lent was not yet introduced in Leo's day.

19 *Liber Pontificalis*, eds. Duchesne/Vogel, vol. 1, p. 141: Pentecost in May, the September fast, and pre-Christmas in December.

20 E.g. Leo, s. 88, 2–4.

as opposed to a merely academic knowledge. His references in Homily 89 may, as Stökl Ben Ezra believes, actually give an accurate portrayal of contemporary Jewish customs in association with the festival of Yom Kippur.<sup>21</sup> Leo condemned the ostentatious fasting of the Jews, and advised his congregation not to starve themselves, and wander about in barefoot processions, having ceased all work, but to choose moderation and simple frugality.<sup>22</sup> A similar message is given on the September fast in Homily 87. In his Resurrection homily of 444, Leo stressed that, “since the Paschal celebration of the Lord should not be celebrated by the impure, the gluttonous, the proud or the greedy, no one is separated further from this feast than the heretics ...”, and especially those who dismiss the incarnation of Christ.<sup>23</sup> He traces the name *Pascha* to the Hebrew Passover, connecting it with Christ’s passing over into our human nature.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.2 Feasts

In Leo’s Easter and Pentecost homilies, we find Leo adapting the occasion of two of the most significant feasts of the Christian calendar – when he could be assured of a large audience – to the doctrinal issues of the day. The Feast of Saints Peter and Paul in June, and of Saint Lawrence in August, was an opportunity to boost civic pride and build a sense of Christian *romanitas* among the faithful, as was the celebration of the Collects in November.

##### 4.2.1 Christmas and Epiphany

Leo’s 11 Christmas homilies, delivered between 440 and 457, were a conscious attempt to strengthen the newly-established tradition of Christmas, which started at Rome as a relatively minor occasion in the liturgical year. Its association with the Feast of the Unconquered Sun, the Roman feast of *Saturnalia* on the winter solstice, was an occasion for syncretism which Leo was keen to disavow in his Christmas homilies against sun worship (e.g. s. 27). The obeisance to the rising sun, “an abominable perversity” (*damnanda peruersitas*),<sup>25</sup> even

21 Stökl Ben Ezra, “Whose Fast Is It?”, p. 274.

22 Leo, s. 89, 1, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 551, line 9-19.

23 Leo, s. 72, 5, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 446: *Nam cum Pascha Domini non inpudicus, non luxuriosus, non superbus celebret, non auarus, nulli tamen ab hac festiuitate longius quam haeretici separantur, maximeque illi qui de Verbi incarnatione male sentient....*

24 Leo, s. 72, 6, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 447.

25 Leo, s. 27, 5, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, p. 136.

took place outside the doors to St Peter's Basilica as people were on their way in to church on Christmas Day:<sup>26</sup>

This action, performed partly out of the vice of ignorance, and partly in the spirit of paganism, causes us much grief and sorrow: because even if some people do perhaps worship the Creator of the beautiful light, rather than the light itself, which is created, they should in fact refrain from the very appearance of this practice.

The first five (s. 21-25) belong to his first collection, delivered from 441 to 445, the next five (s. 26-30), between 450 and 454, according to the reconstruction of Chavasse.<sup>27</sup> A late addition to the Christmas series was Homily 96, from 25 December 457.<sup>28</sup> The content of this homily was a condemnation of Eutychianism, delivered as the news had just broken of the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria's lynching by a mob in the baptistery on Easter Sunday of that year, to make way for the anti-Chalcedonian candidate, Timothy Aelurus.<sup>29</sup> Leo's fiery condemnation of the "wickedness of wolves and robbers", delivered in the church of St Anastasia, was a plea for ecclesiastical unity, against "the enemies of the Catholic faith, foes of the Church, deniers of the Lord's incarnation, and rejecters of the creed established by the holy apostles".<sup>30</sup> Leo used the occasion of Christmas to focus on his twin bêtes-noires, paganism and Christian heresy. Five of Leo's homilies on the Epiphany (s. 31-35) pertain to the first collection of sermons, with three more (s. 36-38) in the later series from the years immediately following the Council of Chalcedon, 451 to 453.<sup>31</sup> In Homily 38, Leo gives a clear statement of the purpose of his duty to

26 Leo, s. 27, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, pp. 135-36: *Quod fieri partim ignorantiae uitio, partim paganitatis spiritu, multum tabescimus et dolemus, quia etsi quidam forte Creatorem potius pulchri luminis quam ipsum lumen, quod est creatura, uenerantur, abstinendum tamen est ab ipsa specie huius officii....* Trans. Neil, *Leo the Great*, p. 66. On the pagan Feast of the New Light, see Neil, "Leo the Great's Preaching on Sun Worship", pp. 128-29.

27 Chavasse, vol. 1, p. CLXXIX and p. CXCIV.

28 Leo, s. 96, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 593-95.

29 Cf. Leo, ep. 165 to Emperor Leo, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 1155A-73A, to which he attached a florilegium of patristic sources supporting the Chalcedonian definition of faith. This letter, known as the *Second Tome*, and presenting Leo's definitive Christological statement, was written in 458.

30 Leo, s. 96, 1, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 593-94, line 10, 25-27: *luporum et latronum improbitas ... inimicos catholicae fidei, hostes Ecclesiae, incarnationis dominicae negatores, et instituto a sanctis apostolis simbolo repugnantes....*

31 Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, p. CLXXIX and p. CXCIV.

preach (*sacerdotalis sermonis officium*) on such a holy occasion: to make them understand, with the help of the Holy Spirit, how the mystery of the sacrament is a present reality in the lives of believers.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Feast of the Transfiguration (s. 51)

This is one of only two homilies in which Leo exegetes a passage of Scripture, the reading for the day. In Homily 51, on the Transfiguration, the set text was Matth. 17:1-9.<sup>33</sup> Little is known of the Roman lectionary in Leo's day, so this sermon from 445 is a valuable testimony. The other is his Homily 95, also on a Matthean text, the Beatitudes (Matth. 5:1-9).<sup>34</sup> Demacopoulos describes this homily as "perhaps the only homily intended for lay consumption that does convey some of the markings of a more robust Petrine discourse".<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.2.3 The Paschal Homilies (s. 52-72)

Five homilies survive for the Sunday before Easter, for the years 441, 442, 444, 445, and 453, Palm Sunday (s. 52, 54, 55, 60, 64). They occur in pairs with homilies preached on the Wednesday or Friday after Easter. Chavasse observes that most are called in the manuscripts "Passion homilies" and it is only very late that the term "Resurrection" appears as a rubric for those preached on Fridays and those which were delivered on the Easter Vigil.<sup>36</sup> So we will discuss all 21 homilies here as a single group.

In two of the Palm Sunday homilies (52 and 60), Leo concentrated on the apostle Peter as an example of the sinful leader, due to his violent assault on the servant of the high priest who came to arrest Jesus, and his subsequent denial of Christ. Leo turns the first sinful act into a positive by describing it as an act of loyalty to Christ. Even the denial of Christ did not disqualify Peter from becoming the rock upon which the Church was built.<sup>37</sup> Peter was permitted to hesitate so that he might become an example for all sinners to learn the

32 Leo, s. 38, 1, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, p. 205: *Sed quia in sacratissimo die reddendum expectationi uestrae est sacerdotalis sermonis officium, nitamur, ut possumus adiuvante Spiritu Dei, eo per intelligentiae semitas peruenire, ut cognoscamus sacramentum praesentis festi ad omnium fidelium tempora pertinere, nec ullo modo habeatur insolitum, quod in dispensationum ordine adoratur antiquum.*

33 Leo, s. 51, 1, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 296-303.

34 Leo, s. 95, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 582-90. Chavasse does not date this text with any precision, limiting it to the second collection, from 446-61.

35 Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter*, p. 48.

36 Fridays: s. 70 of April 443, and s. 72 of April 444. Easter Vigil: s. 71; Saturday 3-4 April 443; s. 69, Saturday 4 April 454. See Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 304.

37 Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter*, pp. 47-48.

power of repentance, and so that none might dare to rely on their own virtue.<sup>38</sup> This is the third stage in the movement of the sermon, stating the mystery's function as an example for Christian believers. It may be that there was a particular message here for those influenced by the Pelagian doctrine of virtue unaided by grace.<sup>39</sup>

Anang identified a threefold movement in the passion homilies, from the discussion of the paschal mystery (*paschale sacramentum*) as a present reality in the liturgy; through the integration of the paschal mystery into the overall mystery of salvation; and finally, an identification of its function as an example for Christian believers.<sup>40</sup> This last movement gave his paschal homilies a pastoral imperative that has already been discussed by Studer.<sup>41</sup>

The image of physical ascent is always implicit in Leo's preaching on Christ's resurrection. Leo was one of the first preachers to associate the ascension of Christ with an interpretation of his resurrection.<sup>42</sup> Leo's Homily 71 on the Resurrection – preached on the Easter Vigil of 443 – begins with a discussion of the resurrection or salvation of our spiritual nature (what Anang called “mystery as a present reality”),<sup>43</sup> and ends with the resurrection's function as an example to the faithful to remedy cures now.<sup>44</sup> Christ's movement from the spiritual nature of Christ to his glorified flesh is thus portrayed as a powerful example of the believer's own glorification after the resurrection of the flesh.

In Homily 72 of 444, Christ's ascension is again presented as a prefigurement of our own ascension. “The risen and ascended Lord strengthens those who

38 Leo, s. 60, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 367: *sicut apparet, haesitare permissus, ut in Ecclesiae principe remedium paenitentiae conderetur, et nemo auderet de sua uirtute confidere, quando mutabilitatis periculum nec beatus Petrus potuisset euadere.*

39 Cf. Leo's *epp.* 1 and 2 on Pelagian clergy, discussed in Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 131–33.

40 Anang, “The Theology of the Passion”, p. XII.

41 Studer, *La riflessione*, pp. 154–55.

42 Leo, *ep.* 28, ed. Schwartz, *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, ACO 2, 2, 1, pp. 24–33. See Staats, “Auferstehung Jesu Christi” 11/2. *Alte Kirche*, p. 519 on “Himmelfahrt und Erhöhung Jesus Christi als Interpretament seiner Auferstehung”, and secondary literature cited on pp. 526–29.

43 Anang, “The Theology of the Passion”, p. XXII.

44 Leo, s. 71, 6, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 440: *Et quia antiquorum morborum difficilis et tarda curatio est, tanto uelocius adhibeantur remedia, quanto recentiora sunt uulnera, ut semper ab omnibus offensionibus in integrum resurgentes, ad illam incorruptibilem glorificandae carnis resurrectionem pertinere mereamur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro....* “And because the cure of old-standing diseases is slow and difficult, so much more quickly should remedies be applied, when the wounds are fresh, so that we, rising always to wholeness from all our transgressions, may deserve to attain to that incorruptible resurrection of our flesh to be glorified in Christ Jesus our Lord...”

wait to ascend with him to his glory" (72, 3). Leo advises his hearers to: "Despise earthly things that you may gain heavenly things" (72, 4), in his version of the doctrine of atonement – Christ's suffering in his "spotless" flesh was the price of our redemption from our earthly flesh. This doctrine finds strong echoes in certain of Augustine's Ascension homilies.<sup>45</sup>

Leo uses the strikingly neo-Platonic image of rising up above the flesh to wisdom in Homily 72. This is reminiscent of the Platonic ascent of the soul through the seven stages, not to contemplation of the truth (as in the early Augustine) but to peace with God, through the attainment of wisdom (as in the later Augustine and in Leo's Homily 95).<sup>46</sup> The image of ascent is always implicit in Christ's resurrection. Again, Christ's ascension is the prefigurement of our own ascension. "The risen and ascended Lord strengthens those who wait to ascend with him to his glory" (s. 72, 3).

In Homily 72, Leo attacks heretics in general, with Eutyches in mind:

None are held so far aloof from this [Paschal] festival as heretics, and especially those who have wrong views on the Incarnation of the Word, either disparaging what belongs to the Godhead or treating what is of the flesh as unreal.<sup>47</sup>

Leo also criticizes those who deny the Holy Spirit an equal role in the Trinity. The same theme occurs in the Pentecost homilies, where he attacks Arians and Macedonians for doing just that.

In a nice juxtaposition of two opposites, at the end of Homily 72 Leo stresses that the incarnation of Christ in human flesh was to effect the glorification of believers' flesh.<sup>48</sup> As in Homily 71, the present reality of the sacrament is followed up by an example of how this functions as an example for believers.

45 Dupont, "Augustine's *sermones ad populum*", esp. on s. 265B (p. 352), s. 265F (p. 355), and s. 377, the authenticity of which is somewhat dubious (p. 356 n. 81).

46 Neil, "Spiritual Peace", pp. 276–77.

47 Leo, s. 72, 5, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 446: *Nulli tamen ab hac festiuitate longius quam haeretici separantur, maximeque illi qui de Verbi incarnatione male sentiunt, aut minuendo quod est Deitatis, aut euacuando quod carnis*. A similar critique of Eutychian docetism is found in his famous *Tome to Flavian* (ep. 28, 3).

48 Leo, s. 72, 7, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 448: *Vnde etiam, sicut Apostolus ait, expectamus Salvatorem Dominum Iesum Christum, qui reformauit corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme fieri corpori gloriae suae*. "Whence also" as the Apostle says, "we look for a Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who refashioned the body of our humility to become conformed to the body of his glory" (Phil. 3:20–21).



However, this time the emphasis on the glorified flesh of the believer sounds a more positive note than before. I have contended elsewhere that Leo's stronger emphasis on Christ's human nature and the value of the human body in the second Resurrection homily (s. 72) was a product of the polemical context of his fight against Manicheism in Rome.<sup>49</sup> Bernard Green's comment supports this view: "[Leo's] response to Manichaeism in 443-44 led him to a further appraisal of the humanity of Christ and to a deeper appreciation of both Christ's suffering and his glorification. This in turn led him to a clearer exposition of the unity of divine and human in Christ".<sup>50</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Ascension (s. 73 and 74) and Pentecost (s. 75-81)

The feast of the Ascension, introduced in the 4th century, was well established in Rome by the end of the 5th, although its content was still being explored in the time of Augustine.<sup>51</sup> Ascension was celebrated 40 days after the Resurrection. The feast of the Ascension was of course closely linked in the liturgy and in Leo's theological system with the advent of the Holy Spirit, celebrated ten days later at Pentecost over two days, Sunday and Monday. Pentecost was a well-established feast in the Roman Church by this time, as Leo's seven Pentecost homilies show, although the Pentecost fast, to which we return below, was probably a relatively new invention.<sup>52</sup> Pentecost Sunday was one of two legitimate occasions for the performance of baptisms, the other being on the Easter Vigil.<sup>53</sup> Leo described the Pentecost feast as the only one equal to Easter.<sup>54</sup> Thus it was an occasion for going over the basics of Christian doctrine for new believers. Indeed, in one Pentecost homily Leo apologized to the more mature members of the faith for going back to basics for the sake of the catechumens who were about to be baptized.<sup>55</sup>

Leo's nine homilies on these two feasts offer a glimpse into the caritative practices that were common in the Church of Rome. Leo was concerned with

49 Neil, "The Resurrection of the Body", pp. 377-78.

50 Green, *Soteriology*, p. 138.

51 Schmidt-Lauber, "Himmelfahrtsfest". See the secondary lit. cited there on 394; Dupont, "Augustine's *sermones ad populum*", p. 440; Greenacre and Haselock, *The Sacrament of Easter*, pp. 148-49; Cabié, *La pentecôte*, pp. 192-94.

52 Leo, s. 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, 465-505; ed. Dolle, *Léon le Grand*.

53 Leo, ep. 168 to bishops of Campania, Samnium and Picenum in 459, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 1210A, which condemns the southern Italians' practice of baptizing candidates on saints' days.

54 Leo, ep. 168, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 1210A: *paschalem festiuitatem, cui sola Pentecostes solemnitas comparatur....*

55 Leo, s. 76, 1, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 472.



doctrinal questions against heresies that were well known in Rome, as well as issues of practical observance, such as almsgiving and fasting – both of these concerns come together in his preaching on Ascension and Pentecost.<sup>56</sup> Homily 76 on Pentecost, where he attacks the Manichees, shows this clearly, and it can be seen that the Ascension homily from the same year, Homily 73, has a similar subtext. The theological and pastoral context of both these homilies is the Manichean investigation of late 443 to 444, when for 18 months Leo presided over a tribunal that heard allegations of sexual abuse of minors, by a network of Manichean Elect, including bishops.<sup>57</sup> The workings of this tribunal are discussed briefly in Homily 16, of December 443.<sup>58</sup>

Leo's Ascension and Pentecost homilies of 444 also sought to meet the challenge that Manicheans posed to orthodox resurrection theology.<sup>59</sup> The same passage from Luke (Luc. 24:36-39) that was used by Augustine in Homily 265D,<sup>60</sup> where Augustine objects to the Manichean belief that Christ is only *spiritus* and not *corpus*, is discussed by Leo in Homily 73, 3, confirming Augustine's likely influence. Augustine and Leo also share the idea of being made members of Christ's body, as shown in the former's statement in Ascension Homily 265B: "Through Christ we are inheritors of eternal life; through him we are rescued from continuing death, and have become members of his body".<sup>61</sup> In Leo's Homily 73, Adam and Eve, the first parents, are "joined in body" (*concorporatos*) with the son of God through the Ascension.<sup>62</sup>

56 On doctrinal questions, e.g. Leo's s. 9, 16, 24, 34, 42, 72, and 76; on practical pastoral care, e.g. s. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, 35, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52, 55, 62, 65, 67, 73, 78, 80, 84, 86-89, 91-95.

57 See Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2/1, pp. 172-94; Casula, *La cristologia di San Leone Magno*, pp. 132-38; Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 31-33, 73-74.

58 Leo, s. 16, 4-6, ed., trans. Schipper/van Oort, pp. 24-29.

59 See further Neil, "The Resurrection of the Body", pp. 378-82.

60 Augustine, s. 17, dated to ca. 416-18; see Dupont, "Augustine's *sermones ad populum*", p. 353 and n. 66.

61 This is the paraphrase of Dupont, "Augustine's *sermones ad populum*", p. 352. S. 265B is dated by most scholars to 396/397. The question of Ambrose's influence on Leo via Augustine's Ascension homilies is discussed by Giannarelli, "Fra tradizione classica e innovazione Cristiana", p. 122.

62 Leo, s. 73, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 454: *Nam quos uirulentus inimicus primi habitaculi felicitate deiecit, eos sibi incorporatos Dei Filius ad Patris dexteram conlocavit qui uiuit et regnat....* "For those whom the poisonous enemy drove out from the happiness of their first dwelling are seated at the right hand of the Father with the Son of God, *joined in body to him* who lives and reigns...". The translation by Freeland/Conway, *Sermons*, p. 325, is ambiguous on the point of just who had been made members of God.

Homily 73 ends on a triumphant note: "Since therefore the Ascension of Christ is our elevation, and since, where the glory of the Head has preceded us, there hope for the body is also invited".<sup>63</sup> The individual's body will be advanced in the footsteps of the risen Christ.<sup>64</sup>

The present verbs stress the immediacy of this particular liturgical celebration for the hearer's salvation. "Leo perceives that Christ's mysteries have passed over into the sacraments, so that Christ's redemption is fulfilled "today" (*praesens, hodie*) in its actualization in the Church's liturgy".<sup>65</sup> What Anang calls the "once-for-all aspect" of Christ's passion means that the present-time Eucharistic celebration is drawn into eternity.<sup>66</sup> liturgical time takes place, in a sense, out of time. It transcends time and makes all time one.<sup>67</sup> Just as this happens in the Eucharist, it also happens in Ascension and Pentecost. The hearers of the sermon are meant to experience the sacrament (through faith) as if they were there. In effect, those present see the ascending Christ and receive the Holy Spirit anew, every time they participate in the liturgies of Ascension and Pentecost.

#### 4.2.5 Feasts of Roman Saints

##### 4.2.5.1 *Feast of St Lawrence* (s. 85)<sup>68</sup>

The feast of the local Roman saint Lawrence was celebrated on 10 August, and one homily in his honour survives from Leo's second collection (446-61).<sup>69</sup> Lawrence, an archdeacon under Sixtus II (257-58) was martyred for refusing Emperor Valerian's instruction to sacrifice to demons.<sup>70</sup> A later accretion to the legend was his refusal to turn over the Church's wealth to imperial officials.

63 Leo, s. 73, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 453: *Quia igitur Christi ascensio, nostra prouectio est, et quo praecessit gloria capitis, eo spes uocatur et corporis....* Trans. Neil, *Leo the Great*, p. 81.

64 Leo, s. 73, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 453: *Hodie enim non solum paradisi possessores firmati sumus, sed etiam caelorum in Christo superna penetrauimus, ampliora adepti per ineffabilem Christi gratiam quam per diaboli amiseramus inuidiam.* "For today we are not only confirmed as those who possess paradise, but in Christ we have even gained entrance to the heavens above. We have gained greater things through Christ's ineffable grace than we had lost through the devil's envy (cf. Sap. 2:24)". We note that Freeland/Conway's translation, p. 325 ("prepared more fully for it through the indescribable grace of Christ *which* we had lost through the 'ill will of the devil'"), loses the comparison in the final clause, that humankind gained more by the Resurrection than it had lost through the Fall.

65 Anang, "The Theology of the Passion", p. 241.

66 Anang, "The Theology of the Passion", p. 212.

67 So Holeyton, "The sacramental language of St Leo the Great", p. 163.

68 Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 121.

69 Leo, s. 85, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 534-37.

70 *Liber Pontificalis*, eds. Duchesne/Vogel, vol. 1, p. 155.

Instead he presented the poor, saying, “These are the wealth of the Church”. After his beheading, or roasting on a gridiron (when he allegedly told his torturers to turn him over when he was done on one side), he was buried in the cemetery of Cyriaces on the Tibur Way. The cult of St Lawrence was boosted in the late 4th century by Ambrose of Milan with prose and verse accounts of the martyrdom. Leo’s predecessor Sixtus III founded St Lawrence *in Lucina*, a church on the *uia Lata*, and a confessional at the Lateran basilica, an area in front of an altar above a martyr’s tomb that was excavated to allow a glimpse of the tomb below. Similar confessions at the tombs of St Peter and St Paul did much to improve public access and build the cult of these patron saints of Rome. In this homily Leo reinforces his message about the salvific power of almsgiving: riches that are given away to the poor are secured for the giver eternally. Leo also appealed to Lawrence’s powers of intercession for the faithful in times of persecution.<sup>71</sup>

4.2.5.2 *Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) and the Collects (November)*  
Leo’s sermons on these two feasts allow us to see the development of a civic cult of the apostles Peter and Paul. The Feast of Peter and Paul was native to the city of Rome, and was celebrated in the octave when the *Ludi Apollinares* were held in ancient times.<sup>72</sup> The double vigil of Rome’s founding saints was an opportunity to stress Roman primacy. Two homilies for this feast survive (s. 82 and 83). Homily 82 was delivered in three versions. Recension C is merely a slight alteration of Recension B, while Recensions A and B differ quite significantly. The first recension was delivered on 29 June 441.

The second homily of the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul was delivered on 29 June 443 (s. 83). Most of its content can be found in Homily 4, delivered on the fourth anniversary of Leo’s consecration, 29 September 444, at the time of his dispute with Hilary of Arles.<sup>73</sup> This may explain his focus on the authority of Rome’s bishop over other bishops.<sup>74</sup> This claim was ratified by Valentinian’s edict of June 445, which reinforced Leo’s authority in unambiguous terms, and insisted that all appeals in ecclesiastical matters be made directly to Rome.<sup>75</sup>

In Leo’s preaching on the Collects, his stress on the triumph of Christianity over Rome shows the need to break with that city’s proudly held pagan traditions. In Homily 9, Leo explicitly links the relatively new “apostolic” tradition

<sup>71</sup> Leo, s. 85, 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 537.

<sup>72</sup> Neil, *Leo the Great*, p. 113.

<sup>73</sup> Leo, s. 4, ed. Chavasse, vol. 1, pp. 16–21; trans. Neil, *Leo the Great*, pp. 127–30.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Dolle, *Léon le Grand*, vol. 1, pp. 19–21.

<sup>75</sup> Valentinian III, *Novella*, eds. Schipper/van Oort, pp. 48, 50.

of collections for the poor with the effacing of pre-Christian civic traditions. Likewise in Homily 8 (November 442), Leo claims that the date for the Church Collects was deliberately chosen in order to destroy “the snares of the ancient enemy on the day on which the impious used to serve the devil in the name of their idols”.<sup>76</sup> The traditional dating of the Collect homilies to 29 June, the feast of St Peter and St Paul, has hindered the correct interpretation of the five sermons on the Collects. The incorrect dating led several commentators to read Leo’s remarks on ancient pagan festivals as referring to the *Ludi Apollinares*, celebrated over eight days from 6 to 13 July.<sup>77</sup> These games were, as the name implies, dedicated to Apollo and comprised contests in literature, music and dance. Chavassee has restored Homilies 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 to their original context in November.<sup>78</sup>

On two occasions (s. 9, 3 and s. 10, 1), Leo refers to the November collections as an apostolic institution, initiated by Peter and Paul themselves, but elsewhere he modifies such lofty claims for its beginnings (s. 7 and s. 11, 2). The purpose of the offering of alms was to protest “against the unholy victims of the wicked” (*contra profanas hostias impiorum*), Leo declares in a homily delivered in the same year as the investigation against the Manichees was to take place.<sup>79</sup> Later in the same homily (s. 9), Leo asked the congregation to denounce to their priests the Manichees hiding in their midst.<sup>80</sup> The “unholy victims of the wicked” can thus be read both as the sacrifices that accompanied pagan games, as well as the contemporary sacrifices of the Manichees in their immoral rituals.<sup>81</sup> Leo wanted his hearers to understand that alms were an effective remedy against the sin of heresy.

## 5 The Achievements of Leo’s Sermons

We can identify three major achievements in Leo’s sermons, which make them worthy of attention even today. First, the sermons allowed Leo to present important theological messages in a simplified form and presented in more

<sup>76</sup> Leo, s. 8, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. *Admonitio in sequentes sermones de collectis*, from the Ballerini edition reproduced in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 155-58.

<sup>78</sup> Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. 26.

<sup>79</sup> Leo, s. 9, 3, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, pp. 35-36.

<sup>80</sup> Leo, s. 9, 4, ed. Chavassee, vol. 1, p. 38: *prodendi sunt, ne in aliqua ciuitatis nostrae parte consistant*.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Leo, s. 16, 4, ed. Schipper/van Oort, pp. 24, 26.

understandable language. As Armitage observed, the tension that is often encountered in modern theology between orthodoxy and orthopraxis was annihilated by Leo:<sup>82</sup>

Orthodox faith is useless without practical charity, but practical charity needs to be grounded in orthodox faith if it is to lead to assimilation to the divine. In this way Leo succeeds in uniting the intensely spiritual theology of “divinisation” which we encounter in Greek writers such as Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa with the penetrating social vision of a Latin author like Salvian of Marseilles, and so presents us with a theology – and a spirituality – which is simultaneously mystical, dogmatic and thoroughly practical.

Second is his effort to establish the Roman liturgical calendar. Leo’s letters allow us to see what was going on in the background to his preaching in this respect. Two examples will suffice: the dating of Easter and the right times for baptism.

Like his predecessor Innocent I, Leo was concerned to distinguish Easter from its Jewish antecedent, the Passover feast. This explains his concern to devise a system for calculating the date of Easter that was independent of Jewish *Nisan*, the formula used in Alexandria and elsewhere in the East. The various systems necessitated frequent enquiry by bishops of the West to the patriarch of Alexandria for the proper date in any given year.<sup>83</sup> Even the emperor consulted Leo about when he planned to celebrate Easter in 455 (*ep.* 137). On that occasion Leo decided to follow the emperor’s preference and celebrate according to the Alexandrian calculation on 24 April. He instructs the bishops of Gaul and Spain that they should do the same, for the sake of unity and peace (*ep.* 138). In this case, Leo’s desire for ecclesiastical peace and liturgical uniformity won out over his desire to uphold local custom: “We must be particularly cautious above all that no fault occurs in observing the Easter festival on different dates, out of ignorance or presumption.”<sup>84</sup>

Leo’s concern with liturgical uniformity also extended to the performance of the rite of baptism. A practice had arisen in southern Italy of baptizing candidates “even on saints’ days” (*et in natalibus martyrum*). Leo points out that the apostolic tradition only sanctioned the performance of baptisms on the

82 Armitage, *A Twofold Solidarity*, p. 230.

83 Compare *ep.* 3 in which Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybaeum, inquires about the date of Easter in 444, and *ep.* 88 of Leo to the same Paschasinus in 451, asking him to verify the western date for Easter in 455, four years later.

84 Leo, *ep.* 138; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 1101-02.

Easter Vigil and on Pentecost Sunday, apart from life-threatening situations such as shipwreck, enemy invasion, or desperate illness.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, Leo's sermons allow us to see the development of a civic cult of the apostles Peter and Paul, much more clearly than do his letters. Partly this was achieved by the Christianization of the civic calendar, beyond the content of his preaching on those occasions. The liturgical year became the new focus of Roman gatherings: from the beginning of the liturgical year at Advent, four Sundays before the birth of Christ celebrated on the Saturnalia, or the festival of the Rising Sun on the winter solstice; Epiphany on 6 January; the Transfiguration; through the Paschal season replacing the Jewish Passover, with its Lenten fast, and the Easter Vigil celebration of Palm Sunday, the Passion, and Resurrection; the Ascension; the coming of the Holy Spirit celebrated 50 days after Easter, on Pentecost, followed by the fast after Pentecost; the octave of Saints Peter and Paul in June, coinciding roughly with the ancient *Ludi Apollinares* in the second week of July; the celebration of Rome's liberation from the Goths on 28 August; the September fast; Leo's anniversary homilies on 29 September; the November fast and the Collects, which were an occasion for almsgiving for the urban poor, with the new year starting again at Advent. Each of these occasions for preaching offered Leo an opportunity to strengthen the Christian traditions of Rome, even though that process was a gradual one, not without its opponents, as the affair of Gelasius and the *Lupercalia* shows, more than 100 years after Emperor Gratian had outlawed pagan cults in Rome.<sup>86</sup>

## 6 Pseudo-tradition

As mentioned above, Leo's authorship of one of the 97 sermons attributed to him has been questioned, because of ambiguity around the historical circumstances of its delivery. Homily 84 was composed on the occasion of a neglected feast celebrating Rome's delivery from barbarian attack. Janini believed that this must refer to Geiseric's sack of Rome in 455, and therefore must be attributed to Gelasius (492-96) some 40 years later.<sup>87</sup> However, others have argued convincingly that it could just as easily refer to the final sack of Rome by Alaric in 410. This is suggested by the homily's rubric in a 13th- or 14th-century codex

85 Leo, *ep.* 168, 1 to bishops of Campania, Samnium and Picenum, dated 459; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 54, col. 1210A-C.

86 Pomarès, *Contre les Lupercales*; Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter*, pp. 76-80.

87 Janini, "Gelasio I y el sermón *De neglecta solemnitate*".

from Dublin: “On the anniversary of Alaric’s sack of Rome”.<sup>88</sup> In this case the feast which has “lately been neglected by almost everyone” must have been established some 30 years before the sermon was composed, probably in the pontificate of Innocent I. Chavasse placed this sermon in Leo’s first cycle, composed between 440 and 445, arguing that the feast most likely fell on the first Sunday after 28 August, the date of Alaric’s withdrawal from the city in 410.<sup>89</sup> Leo portrays this event as the triumph of saints over demons, neglecting to mention that Alaric was a Christian, albeit an Arian.

### 6.1 *The Sacramentarium Leonianum*

Leo’s contribution to the development of the Roman liturgy has long been recognised, even though the sacramentary ascribed to him does not date from his day. The *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (CPL 1897) is also known as the *Veronense* after the manuscript in which it is conserved, dating to the first half of the 7th century.<sup>90</sup> The *Leonian Sacramentary* developed with the addition of several prefaces and prayers into the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* (CPL 1899), falsely attributed to Pope Gelasius. The *Gelasian Sacramentary* was amplified in turn by Pope Vigilius (537–55), and formed the basis of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* (CPL 1902) of ca. 600, attributed to Gregory the Great (590–604).<sup>91</sup> A 98th sermon, the *Preface to the Creed* addressed to catechumens and contained in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, was included in Dolle’s edition of the sermons,<sup>92</sup> but was excluded by Chavasse due to its dubious authenticity.

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88 Leo, s. 84, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, p. 525: *Item sermo eiusdem ad populum de celebratione diei qua ab Alarico irrupta est Roma.*

89 Leo the Great, *Homilies*, ed. Chavasse, vol. 2, pp. 523–24.

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# Maximus of Turin. Two Preachers of the Fifth Century

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## 1 Introduction

Two distinct figures bear the name of Maximus of Turin. Maximus I was probably the first bishop of Turin and, according to Gennadius, died under the rule of Honorius and Theodosius II, between 408-23 AD. Maximus II took part in the councils of Milan in 451 AD and Rome in 465 AD and signed their acts. Both authors left behind a large corpus of more than 100 sermons each, which were mixed up by medieval scribes and modern scholars, probably because they share the same name. Moreover, a considerable number of sermons forged in the 18th century, were included in Bruni's edition of Maximus' sermons and homilies. The problem surrounding the proper attribution of the sermons was largely settled in the 19th century and was definitively solved by Almut Mutzenbecher's ground-breaking 1962-edition of Maximus I's sermons.

## 2 Maximus I

### 2.1 *The Life of Maximus I*

Late-antique sources provide scant information on the life of Maximus I. Apart from his authentic sermons and a medieval biography devoid of any historical value,<sup>1</sup> the sole source from the period is Gennadius of Marseille. In the 41st chapter of his *De uiris illustribus* Gennadius states that Maximus, bishop of Turin, was well versed in sacred Scripture and was able to teach his flock extemporaneously, *Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus, uir in diuinis scripturis satis intentus et ad docendam ex tempore plebem sufficiens composuit* .... He then lists his works as follows:

1. *in laudem apostolorum tractatus*
2. *et Iohannis baptistae*

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1 Bolland/Henschen, "De S. Joanne Matherensi", pp. 43-47.

3. *et generalem in omnium martyrum homiliam,*
4. *sed et de capitulis euangeliorum*
5. *et actuum apostolorum multa sapienter exposuit;*
6. *fecit et duos de sancti Eusebii uita, Vercellensis episcopi et confessoris, tractatus,*
7. *et de sancti Cypriani;*
8. *specialem de baptismi gratia librum edidit.*
9. *de auaritia,*
10. *de hospitalitate,*
11. *de defectu lunae,*
12. *de eleemosynis,*
13. *de eo quod scriptum est in Esaia: caupones tui miscunt uino aquam,*
14. *de passione domini,*
15. *de ieiunio seruorum dei generali,*
16. *de ieiunio speciali quadragesimae et quod non sit in eo iocandum,*
17. *de Iuda traditore,*
18. *de cruce domini,*
19. *de sepulcro eius,*
20. *de resurrectione ipsius,*
21. *de accusato et iudicato domino apud Pilatum,*
22. *de calendis Ianuariis,*
23. *homilias de natali domini,*
24. *homilias et de epiphania*
25. *et de pascha*
26. *et pentecosten multas,*
27. *de hostibus carnalibus non timendis <et> de gratiis post cibum deo agendis,*
28. *de paenitentia Niniuitarum*  
*et multas alias eius homilias de diuersis causis habitas legi, quas nec retineo.*

Gennadius may have had access to a collection which is related to those that survive. Although he did not enumerate all of Maximus' sermons, nearly all the ones he mentioned are extant.<sup>2</sup> He concluded his account by noting that Maximus died during the reign of Honorius and Theodosius II, between 408-23 AD, *Moritur Honorio et Theodosio iuniore regnantibus*.

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2 For the authenticity, transmission and date of the corpus, see Merkt, *Maximus I. von Turin*, pp. 1-8.

Maximus I was the first known bishop of Turin, and he may have been the first ever to hold that office. His ordination was possibly related to the establishment of Turin as an episcopal see and to the synod held there on 22 September 398 AD.<sup>3</sup> This is the sole date which can be linked to Maximus' life with probability, as it is generally assumed that on this occasion Maximus exhorted his flock to give hospitality to the bishops who came to the town for this synod.<sup>4</sup>

Maximus provided very little autobiographical information in his sermons. In *sermo* 33, 1 he indicated that he was not born in Turin but relocated there when he was ordained bishop.<sup>5</sup> On several occasions, he mentions that he had to be separated from his flock for ecclesiastical reasons.<sup>6</sup> On another occasion, he invited an unnamed bishop to deliver a sermon and praised his rhetorical skill.<sup>7</sup> Ambrose of Milan was Maximus' most important literary source, but it is unclear whether the two were in personal contact. According to an intriguing speculation, Maximus may have been present as a secretary at the Synod of Aquileia in 381 AD while he was still a priest. This synod was also attended by Chromatius, who later became bishop of that Aquileia.<sup>8</sup>

None of the events reported in Maximus' sermons can be dated precisely, including the lunar eclipse mentioned in *sermones* 30 and 31, the prohibition of gladiatorial games, and the barbarian invasions. However, many of his sermons reveal a growing Christian community within a predominantly pagan society. The martyrdom of Alexander, Martyrius, and Sisinius on 29 May 397 AD was a vivid memory: "they suffered death in our time."<sup>9</sup> Maximus alluded to laws which prohibited pagan cults. In *sermo* 106 he seemed to have in mind the imperial law of 399 AD, which ordered the destruction of rural temples. In *sermo* 107 he referred to the prohibition of gladiatorial games which were forbidden very early in the 5th century. Since there was no allusion to later events and the topics of the sermons better fit the beginning than the middle of the 5th century, Gennadius' dating seems to be reliable. Maximus I must therefore be distinguished from the bishop who participated in the Synods of Rome and Milan in 451-65 AD.

3 Heggelbacher, *Das Gesetz im Dienste des Evangeliums*, p. 13.

4 *Sermo* 21, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 79-81; transl. Ramsey, pp. 52-53.

5 *Sermo* 33, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 128; transl. Ramsey, p. 79: *ex qua die uobiscum esse coepi*.

6 *Sermo* 3, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 10; transl. Ramsey, p. 19.

7 *Sermo* 78, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 324; transl. Ramsey, p. 189.

8 Merkt, *Maximus I von Turin*, p. 287.

9 *Sermo* 105, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 414; transl. Ramsey, pp. 232-34: *temporibus nostris passi sunt*.

## 2.2 *Topics*

Maximus' sermons cover a variety of topics. Most of the extant sermons were delivered for liturgical feasts, including Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter and Pentecost. Additionally, there are sermons associated with the feasts of saints and martyrs throughout the year. There are many sermons in which Maximus expounded on biblical pericopes. Other sermons focus on the dangerous situation caused by barbaric invasions during the first decade of the 5th century. Several sermons address various virtues and vices. In a large number of these ethical sermons, Maximus reflected on the goals and effects of his preaching.

In his festal sermons, he did not merely recount events that happened centuries prior, but rather underscored that the miracles of biblical times continue to take place in the present day before the eyes of the community. He expressed this principle in a sermon on Epiphany:

I said that we have seen now what once took place; we have seen it clearly and we see it daily. For those miracles of Christ do not exist so that they may fall into neglect because they happened long ago, but so that they may increase in grace; not so that they may be buried in forgetfulness, but so that they may be renewed in strength.<sup>10</sup>

In his next sermon he insisted that whatever Christ, the Apostles, the saints and martyrs did, they did not only for themselves but also for us:

For what Christ accomplished he accomplished not only for those who were then with him but also for us who were to follow afterwards.... For the same power that was exhibited to them in present wonders has been preserved for us in a treasury in written form so that the written page might offer us what history showed them.<sup>11</sup>

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10 *Sermo* 102, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 406; transl. Ramsey, p. 230: *quod autem dixi uidisse nos modo quod olim gestum est, uidimus plane uidemusque cotidie. Ea enim sunt Christi mirabilia, ut non antiquitate praetereant, sed gratia conualescant, non obliuione sepeliantur, sed uirtutibus innouentur.*

11 *Sermo* 103, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 409; transl. Ramsey, p. 231: *Christus enim quod operatus est non illis tantum operatus est quos habebat tunc praesentes, sed et nobis postea secuturis. ... Quae enim illis exhibita est praesentiarum in mirabilibus uirtus, eadem uirtus nobis est litterarum thesauro conseruata, ut nobis praestaret pagina quod illis gerebat historia.*

In the sermons delivered before Christmas, Maximus emphasizes the necessity of preparing for the coming of Christ through alms, prayer, and abstinence.<sup>12</sup> As an attentive observer of Roman politics, he compared the *uisitatio Christi* to the *uisitatio Caesaris* and recalled the image of the joyful celebration of an emperor who distributes money and gifts to his soldiers on his birthday. This secular image illustrated the much greater generosity of Christ:

If, therefore, brethren, those of this world celebrate the birthday of an earthly king with such an outlay for the sake of the glory of present honor, with what solicitude ought we to celebrate the birthday of our eternal king Jesus Christ, who in return for our devotion will bestow on us not temporal but eternal glory.<sup>13</sup>

In the sermons for Christmas, Maximus makes frequent use of several stereotypical motifs including the angels, the shepherds, the Magi, Mary's virginity and Christ's birth as the rising sun.<sup>14</sup>

According to Maximus' sermons Epiphany played a more important role than Christmas because Epiphany reveals the second, even more miraculous birth of Christ:<sup>15</sup> his baptism in the Jordan, "Today, then, is another kind of birth of the Savior. We see him born with the same sort of signs, the same sort of wonders, but with greater mystery."<sup>16</sup> It is not the adoration of the Magi but Christ's baptism which is celebrated on Epiphany and outshines Christmas.<sup>17</sup> Maximus also remarked that the baptism of catechumens by the Church was in some sense greater than the baptism of Christ, "I think that the baptism by

<sup>12</sup> *Sermones* 60; 61; 61A, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 240-51; transl. Ramsey, pp. 144-52.

<sup>13</sup> *Sermo* 60, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 240-41; transl. Ramsey, pp. 144-45; *Si ergo, fratres, saeculi istius homines propter praesentis honoris gloriam terreni regis sui natalis diem tanta apparatione suscipiunt, qua nos accuratione aeterni regis nostri Iesu Christi natalem suscipere debemus, qui pro deuotione nostra non nobis temporalem largietur gloriam sed aeternam.*

<sup>14</sup> *Sermones* 61B; 61C; 62; 97; 99, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 253-64; 386-88; 393-97; transl. Ramsey, pp. 152-55; 250-55; 223-25.

<sup>15</sup> *Sermones* 13A; 13B; 13; 64; 65; 100-03, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 44-52; 269-74, 398-410; Ramsey, pp. 33-39; 157-61; 225-32; Weidmann, "Vier unerkannte Predigten des Maximus von Turin", pp. 99-130.

<sup>16</sup> *Sermo* 13A, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 44-45; Ramsey, pp. 34-35; *Natalis ergo hodie alter est quodammodo saluatoris. Nam isdem eum signis isdem miraculis uidemus genitum sed maiore mysterio.*

<sup>17</sup> Conroy, *Imagery in the Sermones of Maximus, Bishop of Turin*, p. 123. *Sermo* 13A, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 44; transl. Ramsey, pp. 33-34.

which we are washed is more grace-filled than the baptism by which the Savior was baptized.”<sup>18</sup> Christ consecrated the water of the Jordan, consecrating even the spring, such that the entire world is consecrated and no one is required to travel to the Jordan for baptism. According to Maximus, Christ and the Jordan are everywhere.<sup>19</sup> Maximus also preached on the transformation of water into wine at the wedding at Cana,<sup>20</sup> another event commemorated at Epiphany. He endeavored to reconcile both miracles by teaching that the same miracle which transformed the wine is at work in baptism, “although it is believed by different people that only one of these took place, I hold that both took place and that one is a sign of the other.”<sup>21</sup> The cold, tasteless and odorless water was turned into hot, tasteful and fragrant wine just as the vile water of Jordan was changed into a life-giving substance, washing away sins. Hence, for Maximus, the shift from water to wine mirrored the transition from sin to holiness, from paganism or Judaism to Christianity, from the synagogue to the church. This interpretation is Maximus’ most specific theological contribution and underlies several other sermons on martyrs and the synagogue/church.<sup>22</sup>

In the liturgical tradition of Maximus’ day, Lent was the time of fasting, almsgiving and prayer, and, for the catechumens, the time of preparation for baptism, to which they are invited after Epiphany. Christ’s fasting and his endurance against the temptations of the devil constitute an example to be imitated: “This he did for the sake of our salvation so that he might not only teach what was useful by words but also instill it by examples.”<sup>23</sup> Fasting, therefore, was compared to a wall which protects the soul against evils.<sup>24</sup> In his

18 *Sermo* 13, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 51; transl. Ramsey, pp. 37-38: *gratius puto hoc baptismum esse quo nos abluimur quam illud quo saluator est baptizatus.*

19 *Sermo* 13, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 51; transl. Ramsey, pp. 37-38.

20 Weidmann, “Vier unerkannte Predigten des Maximus von Turin”; Maximus of Turin, *sermo* 65, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 237; transl. Ramsey, p. 159.

21 *Sermo* 65, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 237; transl. Ramsey, p. 159: *Quod licet a diuersis alterutrum factum esse credatur, ego tamen utrumque factum esse confirmo, et aliud signum de alio contineri.*

22 *Sermo* 10 on Cyprian, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 35-36; transl. Ramsey, pp. 28-30; 24 on Lawrence and the mustard seed, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 93-95; transl. Ramsey, pp. 58-60; 28 on Is. 1, 22, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 108-10; transl. Ramsey, pp. 67-69.

23 *Sermo* 50A, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 202; transl. Ramsey, p. 121: *Hoc enim fecit causa salutis nostrae ut rem utilem non solum doceret uerbis sed etiam exemplis instrueret.*

24 *Sermo* 69, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 288-89; transl. Ramsey, p. 169.



numerous Lent sermons,<sup>25</sup> Maximus exhorted his flock to adhere to an uninterrupted 40-day fast, admonishing them not to break it.<sup>26</sup> He remonstrated: “a person who fails to observe the established number by eating on one day is not accused of being the violator of one day but is charged with having transgressed the whole of Lent.”<sup>27</sup> As he pointed out from the example of Jonathan, Saul’s son, who, unaware of the command, violated fasting: “by the sin of one person guilt is laid upon all, and by the crime of one person weakness is produced in all.”<sup>28</sup> Above all, Maximus argued against the practice of a 50-day fast which, unlike the 40-day fast, is not commanded by Scripture.<sup>29</sup> Although baptism played a prominent role in his sermons and catechumens were addressed frequently,<sup>30</sup> there are no sermons exclusively dedicated to catechesis.

In the sermons delivered during the spring, Maximus frequently drew illustrations from nature. Just as ice melts during spring, so too the harshness of the sins is washed away. Like the farmer, the bishop must prepare the ground for the seeds: “Now the farmer, wielding his knife, prunes the branches of the vine, now also does the bishop, preaching the gospel, cut off the sins of his people.”<sup>31</sup> One particular analogy is found in a series of three Easter sermons<sup>32</sup> and one on Pentecost.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps a favorite illustration of Maximus’, he lyrically described the natural world in bloom, like a *locus amoenus*, a sympathetic identification with Christ’s resurrection and ascension: “All things, then, are clothed in flowers, when the flesh of Christ blossoms anew.”<sup>34</sup> Because Ascension is observed on the same day as Pentecost, Maximus did not deliver a

25 *Sermones* 35; 36; 50; 50A; 51; 52; 66-70; 111, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 136-43; 197-212; 276-95; 430-32; transl. Ramsey, pp. 83-89; 117-28; 161-73; 240-42.

26 *Sermo* 111, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 431-32; transl. Ramsey, pp. 241-42.

27 *Sermo* 66, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 276; transl. Ramsey, p. 161: *Atque ideo qui constitutum numerum una die manducando praeterit, non ut unius diei uiolator accusatur, sed ut totius quadragensimae transgressor arguitur.*

28 *Sermo* 69, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 290-91; transl. Ramsey, pp. 170-71: *Denique unius culpa cunctis confertur ignauia, et unius delicto omnibus generatur infirmitas.*

29 *Sermones* 50; 66; 67, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 197-200; 276-82; transl. Ramsey, pp. 117-21; 161-65.

30 *Sermones* 13, 1; 65, 1; 111, 3; Mutzenbecher, pp. 44; 276; 431-32; transl. Ramsey, pp. 37; 159; 241-42.

31 *Sermo* 66, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 276-77; transl. Ramsey, pp. 161-62: *Modo ferrum gestans agricola sarmenta deputat uinearum, ita et nunc euangelium tractans episcopus sordes amputat populorum.*

32 *Sermones* 53-55, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 214-22; transl. Ramsey, pp. 128-34.

33 *Sermo* 56, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 224-26; ed. Ramsey, pp. 134-37.

34 *Sermo* 56, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 224; transl. Ramsey, pp. 134-35: *Cum reflorescit Christi caro, omnia floribus uestiuntur.*

specific sermon for this feast, but mentioned both together.<sup>35</sup> Most of Maximus' sermons from Eastertide deal with specific topics. Four sermons of a homiletic series are entitled *De die sancto Paschae et de cruce domini*,<sup>36</sup> *item de cruce et resurrectione domini*,<sup>37</sup> *sequentia de sepulchro domini saluatoris*,<sup>38</sup> *de Maria Magdalena*.<sup>39</sup> For thematic reasons, scholars add to these three the lost sermon on Thomas' doubt and its sequel on believing in Christ's resurrection.<sup>40</sup> More numerous are sermons on Christ's passion: *De psalmo XXI et de passione domini*,<sup>41</sup> and the two series *De accusato domino apud Pilatum et de Susanna*,<sup>42</sup> and *De latrone*.<sup>43</sup>

Maximus devoted a large part of his homiletic oeuvre to the celebration of saints and martyrs. He emphasized the exemplarity of their faith and steadfastness: "We are, therefore, better taught by deed than by word."<sup>44</sup> He considered all the saints together to be branches of the one tree, the Church, which provide shade to believers against the heat of hell.<sup>45</sup> In his sermons on Peter and Paul, Maximus preached the tradition that both suffered death on the same day.<sup>46</sup> Maximus' comparison of Peter and Paul confirmed their equal merit. Each of them received a key: Peter received the key of power and became the shepherd of the Christians, Paul received the key of doctrine and became the teacher: "the one dispenses the riches of immortality, the other distributes the treasures of knowledge."<sup>47</sup> It was through Peter and Paul that the city of Rome, the former center of paganism, became the capital of Christendom, as honorable as the places where Christ lived.<sup>48</sup> Although there is no evidence that extra-biblical hagiographical texts were read during liturgy, the first ser-

35 *Sermones* 44, 2; 56, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 178-79; 276-77; transl. Ramsey, pp. 110-11; 135-36.

36 *Sermo* 37, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 145-47; transl. Ramsey, pp. 89-92.

37 *Sermo* 38, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 149-50; transl. Ramsey, pp. 92-94.

38 *Sermo* 39, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 152-54; transl. Ramsey, pp. 94-96.

39 *Sermo* 39A, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 156-58; transl. Ramsey, pp. 96-98.

40 Weidmann, "Vier unerkannte Predigten des Maximus von Turin", p. 4.

41 *Sermo* 29, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 112-15; transl. Ramsey, pp. 69-72.

42 *Sermones* 57-59, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 228-38; transl. Ramsey, pp. 137-44.

43 *Sermones* 74-77, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 309-22; transl. Ramsey, pp. 181-89.

44 *Sermo* 16, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 60-61; transl. Ramsey, p. 41: *Melius ergo docemur facto quam uoce*.

45 *Sermo* 25, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 99; transl. Ramsey, p. 62.

46 *Sermones* 1; 2; 9; 110, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 2-8; 31-33; 427-28; transl. Ramsey, pp. 15-19; 26-28; 238-40.

47 *Sermo* 1, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 2; transl. Ramsey, p. 15: *Diuitias immortalitatis ille dispensat, scientiae thesauros iste largitur*.

48 *Sermo* 1, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 2-3; transl. Ramsey, pp. 15-16.

mon on Peter and Paul recounts Peter's struggle with Simon Magus based on apocryphal texts.<sup>49</sup> Maximus composed other hagiographic sermons by comparison, contrasting John the Baptist with Christ,<sup>50</sup> Lawrence with the three young men in the furnace,<sup>51</sup> and Eusebius with the Maccabees.<sup>52</sup> The feasts of Cyprian and Lawrence provided the background for sermons comparing their martyrdoms with the images of the grape harvest and the mustard seed.<sup>53</sup> What these two feast days lacked, particularly in the case of Cyprian, were concrete details of their passions. Thus, Maximus was more concrete when he celebrated regional saints who had recently died. He emphasized the role of the Torinese martyrs Octauus, Aduentus and Solutor,<sup>54</sup> whose relics are present,<sup>55</sup> and who protect the city: "Though all saints are everywhere and are useful to everyone, it is nonetheless the case that those who suffered for our sake intercede especially for us."<sup>56</sup> Beside two general sermons dedicated to local saints and martyrs in Eastertide,<sup>57</sup> there is one sermon on the three Cantiani of Aquileia – Cantus, Cantianus, and Cantianilla – whose flight from persecution on a chariot is compared to Elijah's assumption to heaven and is depicted as a triumphal journey.<sup>58</sup> There is also a series of two sermons on the martyrs of the Non Valley – Alexander, Martyrius, and Sisinnius – who were upright opponents of paganism.<sup>59</sup>

Less important in Maximus' homiletic oeuvre are sermons on Scripture, although he wrote that the Gospel is the center of Christian life.<sup>60</sup> The textual sermons that he wrote often cover one or two sequential verses from the Old

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49 *Sermo* 1, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 3; transl. Ramsey, p. 16.

50 *Sermones* 5; 6, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 17-22; transl. Ramsey, pp. 22-26.

51 *Sermo* 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 13-15; transl. Ramsey, pp. 20-22.

52 *Sermo* 7, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 24-26; transl. Ramsey, pp. 243-45.

53 *Sermones* 10-11; 24, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 35-37; 91; transl. Ramsey, pp. 28-31; 58-60.

54 *Sermo* 12, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 41-42; transl. Ramsey, pp. 31-33.

55 *Sermo* 12, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 41-42; transl. Ramsey, pp. 32-33.

56 *Sermo* 12, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 41; transl. Ramsey, p. 31: *Licet uniuersi sancti ubique sint et omnibus prosint, specialiter tamen illi pro nobis interueniunt, qui et supplicia pertulere pro nobis.*

57 *Sermones* 14 and 16, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 54-55; 60-61; transl. Ramsey, pp. 40-42 (s. 16).

58 *Sermo* 15, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 57-58; transl. Ramsey, pp. 39-40.

59 *Sermones* 105 and 106, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 414-18; transl. Ramsey, pp. 232-35.

60 *Sermo* 39, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 152-54; transl. Ramsey, pp. 94-96.

Testament,<sup>61</sup> the Gospels,<sup>62</sup> or the Acts of the Apostles.<sup>63</sup> The Pauline epistles are notably absent from Maximus' repertoire. Maximus never merely commented on the words of Scripture but attempted to extract the spiritual meaning(s): "for if it is pleasing from the literal point of view, perhaps in mystery it will be yet more pleasing."<sup>64</sup>

For Maximus, the present age was a time of temptation and testing: "for the endurance of adversity is an exercise in virtue for the one who is wise,"<sup>65</sup> but God did not deny help to those who were ensnared by pleasure or blasphemy. Indefatigably, the bishop consoled his flock: "therefore I must not be afraid of the approaching adversary, since by these signs I understand instead that the Savior is approaching."<sup>66</sup> Because he considered life to be filled with evils, he preached that death ought to be considered a relief and not a punishment.<sup>67</sup> Maximus was bishop in perilous times and often encouraged his flock to stand fast against barbarian invasions.<sup>68</sup> The fortification of Turin offered him the opportunity to draw an analogy: "seeing that the gates of the city are fortified, we ought first to fortify the gates of righteousness in ourselves."<sup>69</sup> The cities were overflowing with refugees,<sup>70</sup> and biblical Nineveh became Maximus' model of Turin.<sup>71</sup> Since Maximus believed that "ruin befalls a city for no other reason than the sins of its citizens,"<sup>72</sup> he exhorted his flock to fast in order to cleanse their sins and avert danger. He emphatically tried to hinder his fellow-citizens from taking flight: "tell me, O good citizen, why are you getting ready

61 *Sermones* 28; 29; 93-94, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 108-15; 374-75; transl. Ramsey, pp. 67-72; 215-16.

62 Weidmann, "Vier unerkannte Predigten des Maximus von Turin". *Sermones* 3; 19; 26; 32; 33; 41; 42; 48; 49, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 10-11; 71-73; 101-03; 125-31; 164-72; 187-95; transl. Ramsey, pp. 19-20; 46-49; 63-65; 77-79; 101-07; 112-17.

63 *Sermo* 17, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 63-65; transl. Ramsey, pp. 42-44.

64 *Sermo* 34, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 134; transl. Ramsey, pp. 82-83; *Si enim in littera placet, in mysterio forsitan plus placebit.*

65 *Sermo* 72, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 301-02; transl. Ramsey, pp. 176-77; *Aduersa enim tolerare sapienti uirtutis exercitium est.*

66 *Sermo* 85, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 348; transl. Ramsey, pp. 203-04; *Atque ideo uenientem aduersarium timere non debeo, quia per haec signa uenire potius intellego saluatorem.*

67 *Sermo* 72, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 301; transl. Ramsey, pp. 175-76.

68 *Sermones* 72; 81; 82; 86, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 301-03; 332-38; 352-53; transl. Ramsey, pp. 75-77; 194-98; 205-07.

69 *Sermo* 85, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 348-49; transl. Ramsey, p. 204; *Cernimus armari ciuitatis portas, debemus etiam prius in nobis portas armare iustitiae.*

70 *Sermo* 17, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 65; transl. Ramsey, pp. 43-44.

71 *Sermones* 81 and 82, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 332-34; transl. Ramsey, pp. 194-98.

72 *Sermo* 82, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 336; transl. Ramsey, p. 196.

to flee? Why are you leaving your native land? Do you perhaps fear captivity?"<sup>73</sup> He adds that the city of Turin is like a mother who must not be abandoned: "for one's native land is a sweet mother, so to speak, who has begotten you, nurtured you, and, so that you might be able to flee, enriched you."<sup>74</sup>

Maximus understood that particularly in times of war, morale is put to the test, and he repeatedly preached against the dangers of unjust wealth.<sup>75</sup> In a sermon against avarice, Maximus directed his congregation to purchase pillaged property from barbarians and to return it to its Roman owners:

How did bejewelled gold necklaces fall into the hands of a barbarian?  
How did someone who wears skins get hold of silken garments? ... A Christian and a citizen acts in such a way that he buys something in order to return it to its proper owner.<sup>76</sup>

Maximus contrasted the ideal of the Acts of the Apostles against the avarice and moral misconduct of his time, and he believed that his flock could attain to such a standard.<sup>77</sup> Severely and unwaveringly, he criticized all the vices of his fellow-citizens such as avarice,<sup>78</sup> the passion for hunting,<sup>79</sup> laxity of faith and other vices. He particularly criticized the late-antique custom of giving presents (*strenae*) on credit:

... but how unjust this is in its very wickedness – that an inferior is expected to make a gift to his better and that one who perhaps borrows in order to give is forced to give to someone who is rich! ... A poor wretch ... is forced to give what he does not have, and to make a gift for which he leaves his sons liable.<sup>80</sup>

73 *Sermo* 82, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 336-37; transl. Ramsey, pp. 196-97: *Dic mihi, o bone ciuis, cur fugere disponis? Cur patriam derelinquis? Captiuitatem fortasse metuis?*

74 *Sermo* 82, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 336; transl. Ramsey, p. 197: *Mater enim quodammodo dulcis est patria, quae te genuit, quae te nutriuit, quae, ut fugere possis, te diuitem fecit.*

75 *Sermo* 32, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 125-26; transl. Ramsey, pp. 77-78.

76 *Sermo* 18, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 68-69; transl. Ramsey, p. 46: *Unde enim barbaro auri gemmarumque monilia? Unde pellito serica uestimenta? ... facit ergo ut christianus et ciuis qui ideo emit ut reddat.*

77 *Sermo* 17, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 63-65; transl. Ramsey, pp. 42-44; Act. 4:32.

78 *Sermo* 17, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 63-65; transl. Ramsey, pp. 42-44.

79 *Sermo* 36, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 141-42; transl. Ramsey, pp. 87-88: hounds are treated more comfortably than slaves.

80 *Sermo* 98, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 390-91; transl. Ramsey, pp. 222-23: *Hoc autem in ipsa iniquitate quam iniustum est, quod expectatur donare inferior potiori, et diuiti cogitur ille*

In disciplinary matters, he taught a rather laxist doctrine that any sin can be forgiven by fasting and almsgiving<sup>81</sup> and that God's grace can be merited by good deeds. Sin, in Maximus' sermons, does not only affect the individual, but the presence of one sinner afflicts the entire community.<sup>82</sup> The virtues of charity and hospitality for refugees and clerics occupied an important place in his sermons.<sup>83</sup>

Maximus warned his audience against participating in pagan cults which were still practiced in rural areas.<sup>84</sup> According to him, idolatry was a great evil. Idolatry polluted those who practiced it, those who lived nearby, and those who witnessed it.<sup>85</sup> He taught that the statues of pagan gods were nothing more than mere stones.<sup>86</sup> Symbols of paganism remained visible everywhere: "for hardly anyone's field is unpolluted by idols, hardly any property is kept free from the cult of demons ... wherever you turn you see either the altars of the devil or the profane auguries of the pagans or the heads of animals fixed to boundary posts."<sup>87</sup> Maximus admonished landowners to no longer tolerate pagan temples on their estates and appealed to their sense of responsibility for their subordinates. No one could excuse himself from this responsibility by pleading ignorance: "I don't know, I didn't order it, it's none of my business, it has nothing to do with me."<sup>88</sup> In two sermons, Maximus rebuked those in his community who superstitiously shouted to the fading moon during a lunar eclipse, which is nothing but a natural phenomenon.<sup>89</sup> He also taught that the moon influences the tides and is illuminated by the sun,<sup>90</sup> similarly to the

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*largiri qui quod largiatur forsitan mutuatur. ... cogitur ... miser donare quod non habet et munus offerre pro quo filios suos obnoxios derelinquat.*

81 *Sermones* 22A, 4; 61, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 89; 164; transl. Ramsey, pp. 57; 147.

82 *Sermones* 49, 4; 69, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 194-95; 290-91; transl. Ramsey, pp. 116-17; 170-71.

83 *Sermones* 21; 34, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 79-81; 133-34; transl. Ramsey, pp. 51-53; 82-83.

84 Ghetta, *Spätantikes Heidentum: Trier und das Trevererland*, pp. 229-44.

85 *Sermo* 107, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 420-21; transl. Ramsey, pp. 236-37.

86 *Sermo* 48, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 189-90; transl. Ramsey, pp. 113-14.

87 *Sermo* 91, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 366-67; transl. Ramsey, p. 212: *Vix cuiusque ager est inpollutus ab idolis, uix aliqua possessio a daemoniorum cultu habetur immunis ... quocumque te uerteris, aut aras diaboli perspicis aut auguria profana gentilium aut pecudum capita adfixa liminibus.*

88 *Sermo* 106, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 417-18; transl. Ramsey, pp. 234-35: *nescio, non iussi; causa mea non est, non me tangit.* *Sermones* 107, 1 and 108, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 420; 423; transl. Ramsey, pp. 236; 237-38.

89 *Sermones* 30; 31, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 117-23; transl. Ramsey, pp. 73-77.

90 *Sermo* 31, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 121; transl. Ramsey, pp. 75-76.

manner in which the Church waxes and wanes and is illuminated by Christ.<sup>91</sup> From the eclipse, Maximus drew a moral lesson regarding faith: “and if only, oh fool, you were changed like the moon! For it quickly returns to its fullness, but not even over a long time are you converted to wisdom; it speedily gathers up the light that it had lost, but not even slowly do you get back the faith that you denied.”<sup>92</sup> Two sermons deal with the Kalends of January<sup>93</sup> against which Maximus warned the members of his community: “for this is the essence of the divine cult, that whoever wishes to be associated with the vanity of the Gentiles cannot have union with the truth of the saints.”<sup>94</sup> Maximus warned his audience not only against pagans: “therefore, brethren, let us turn away with all our might from the festivity and the feasts of the pagans so that, when they banquet and enjoy themselves, we might be sober and fasting,”<sup>95</sup> but also warned them even more strongly against the Jews:

... but we ought to avoid the companionship not only of the pagans but also of the Jews, with whom even a conversation is a great contamination. For with their artfulness they ingratiate themselves with people, get into homes, enter into the palaces of governors, and disturb the ears of judges and of the common folk, and the more shameless they are, the more influential they are.<sup>96</sup>

From this exceptionally harsh warning it can be inferred that Maximus was acquainted with the local Jewish community and that he maintained a strict division between Christians and Jews. Jews were, unlike pagans, not objects of proselytization.<sup>97</sup> Maximus mentioned the Jewish synagogue, comparing its

91 *Sermo* 31, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 121-22; transl. Ramsey, p. 76.

92 *Sermo* 30, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 118-19; transl. Ramsey, pp. 74-75: *Atque utinam, o stulte, sicut luna muteris! Illa enim cito ad plenitudinem suam redit, tu ad sapientiam nec sero conuerteris; illa uelociter colligit quod amiserat lumen, tu nec tarde fidem recipis quam negasti.*

93 *Sermones* 63; 98, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 266-67; 390-92; transl. Ramsey, pp. 155-57.

94 *Sermo* 98, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 390; transl. Ramsey, pp. 221-22: *Haec enim diuini cultus ratio est, ut qui societatem habuerit cum uanitate gentilium, copulam non possit habere cum ueritate sanctorum.*

95 *Sermo* 63, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 266-67; transl. Ramsey, p. 156: *Ergo fratres omni studio gentilium festiuitatem et ferias declinemus, ut quando illi epulantur et laeti sunt, tunc nos simus sobrii atque ieiuni.*

96 *Sermo* 63, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 267; transl. Ramsey, p. 156: *Non solum autem gentilium sed et Iudaeorum consortia uitare debemus, quorum etiam confabulatio est magna pollutio. Hi enim arte quadam insinuant se hominibus, domos penetrant, ingrediuntur praetoria, aures iudicum et publicas inquietant, et ideo magis praeualent, quo magis sunt impudentes.*

97 *Sermo* 91, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 369; transl. Ramsey, p. 212.



fruitlessness to the bounty of the Church. From various passages of Scripture, Maximus interpreted that the synagogue had been replaced by the Church. He used numerous illustrations to contrast the synagogue and the Church, comparing them to two boats, the one of Moses which Christ left behind, the other of Peter which he entered;<sup>98</sup> the two in one bed, one of whom was rejected, the other one accepted;<sup>99</sup> the two millstones, one motionless, the other active;<sup>100</sup> the two scouts who entered the Promised Land, one having Christ behind him, the other having Christ before him;<sup>101</sup> the withered hand,<sup>102</sup> and many more. Maximus adhered to a theology of supersessionism according to which divine power migrated from the synagogue to the Church.

Unlike pagans and Jews, heretics played a rather unimportant role in Maximus' sermons. Indeed, many biblical images were identified with heretics, such as the fox in Matth. 8:20<sup>103</sup> or the indivisible garment in Christ's passion,<sup>104</sup> but heretics appear to not have been a serious danger to his community. The label of heretic was given to an unnamed group of clerics who dealt in sins: "what a foolish smoothing-over, in which it is said that the one who has given more to the priest has sinned less against the Lord!"<sup>105</sup> The Arians were mentioned only once by name.<sup>106</sup> In a few cases, Maximus alluded to them, referring to the question of whether or not the Son is consubstantial with the Father, but he did so without any polemics.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, the lack of reference to other heresies, such as Pelagianism and Nestorianism, should not be invoked as an *argumentum ex silentio* in favor of early dating of Maximus' sermons.

Maximus frequently reflected on his role as bishop, specifically the role of the bishop as God's mouthpiece on earth, and the effect of his preaching.<sup>108</sup> In one of his most famous comparisons, Maximus likened bishops to bees who

98 *Sermo* 49, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 192-93; transl. Ramsey, pp. 115-16.

99 *Sermones* 20; 33, Luc. 17:34, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 75-77; 128-31; transl. Ramsey, pp. 49-51; 79-82.

100 *Sermones* 20; 33, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 75-77; 128-31; transl. Ramsey, pp. 49-51; 79-82.

101 *Sermo* 10, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 35-36; transl. Ramsey, pp. 28-30.

102 *Sermo* 43, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 173-76; transl. Ramsey, pp. 107-09.

103 *Sermo* 41, 5, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 166-67; transl. Ramsey, pp. 103-04.

104 *Sermo* 29, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 114-15; transl. Ramsey, p. 72.

105 *Sermo* 90, 3, of disputed authenticity (ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 367; transl. Ramsey, p. 259): *Vanum placitum in quo dicitur minus deliquisse domino qui plus contulerit sacerdoti.*

106 *Sermo* 26, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 103; transl. Ramsey, pp. 64-65.

107 *Sermones* 40, 2; 56, 3; 58, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 160-61; 225-26; 233-34; transl. Ramsey, pp. 99-100; 136-37; 141.

108 *Sermo* 66, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 276; transl. Ramsey, p. 161.



gather honey from the blossoms of Scripture, store it in their cells and distribute it to their flock: “they produce many swarms of Christians from the one swarm of the Savior, arranging little cells of different merits by their most sweet preaching.”<sup>109</sup> According to Maximus, bishops and clerics had to lead an impeccable life and avoid worldly affairs.<sup>110</sup> Maximus’ role model, mentioned in various sermons, was the guardian whom God appointed over Israel,<sup>111</sup> who raised his voice like a tuba.<sup>112</sup> Similarly to the guardian over Israel, the bishop was responsible for the spiritual well-being of his city. His most important episcopal duty was preaching and expounding God’s word to his flock and protecting it against all spiritual dangers: “we call fearful things to the attention of others inasmuch as we ourselves tremble for our own salvation. This, then, is the preachers’s situation – that he should not be silent with respect to the sins of another if he wishes to avoid sinning himself.”<sup>113</sup> Maximus saw his episcopal function<sup>114</sup> as a spiritual exchange to which the people will give witness in the final judgment: “To be a Christian is a kind of business, then, and the priestly function is a very lucrative business. For we receive the money of the Lord – the words of the Savior – which are to be distributed to the people.”<sup>115</sup> Maximus compared the bishop who failed to proclaim the Gospel to the unreliable servant who buries the talents entrusted to him.<sup>116</sup>

Maximus expected strict obedience from his audience to the Word of God expounded from the bishop’s mouth. He desired his preaching efforts to benefit his audience: “consequently, ... I believe that you have made progress on account of my many sermons.”<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless he understood that his words often missed their target: “yet it upsets me that these same sermons of mine

109 *Sermo* 89, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 364; transl. Ramsey, p. 211: *Diuersorum meritorum cellulas dulcissimis praedicationibus componentes de uno saluatoris examine Christianorum examina multa producunt.*

110 *Sermones* 28, 2; 88, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 108-09; 359-62; transl. Ramsey, pp. 68; 208-11.

111 Ez. 3:17; *Sermo* 92, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 371-72; transl. Ramsey, pp. 213-15.

112 Is. 58:1; *Sermones* 93 and 94, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 374-78; transl. Ramsey, pp. 215-18.

113 *Sermo* 92, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 371; transl. Ramsey, pp. 213-14: *Metuenda aliis ingerimus, dum ipsi saluti propriae formidamus. Haec autem est condicio praedicantis ut non alterius peccata taceat, si sua uult declinare peccata.*

114 *Sermo* 27, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 105; transl. Ramsey, pp. 65-66: *sacerdotalis ministerii functio.*

115 *Sermo* 27, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 105-06; transl. Ramsey, pp. 66-67: *Mercimonium enim quoddam est Christianitatis officium et negotiatio pretiosa functio sacerdotum. Pecunias enim domini, hoc est eloquia saluatoris, populis eroganda suscipimus.*

116 *Sermo* 28, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 108; transl. Ramsey, pp. 67-68.

117 *Sermo* 33, 2, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 128; transl. Ramsey, p. 80: *Igitur ... tot tractatibus meis profecisse uos credo.*

charm your ears and do not penetrate your hearts."<sup>118</sup> He expected his community to come to church every Sunday. Those who preferred worldly affairs such as business, banquets or hunting – clergy among them – were targets of severe criticism.<sup>119</sup> The criticism which he maintained was objective, discrete: "I name no one; let everyone's conscience speak for itself",<sup>120</sup> and justified: "truly, this is of no concern to me, for I rejoice in the knowledge that the disciple's sadness is the master's joy."<sup>121</sup> He admittedly expected his words to be relayed to those who were absent.<sup>122</sup> As the most severe punishment, he threatened to abandon preaching: "it is a strong and far-reaching punishment at the disposal of the priests not to entrust to whoever is unworthy the sacraments of the heavenly Scriptures."<sup>123</sup> Maximus never put this threat into practice but instead addressed a few words of severe rebuke (*inreptiones*) to his audience.<sup>124</sup> All in all, he understood himself to be an affectionate father (*pious pater*) and a hard master (*durus magister*)<sup>125</sup> who enjoyed preaching to an attentive audience.<sup>126</sup> In the event of bodily absence, Maximus mentioned having an anxious fatherly feeling for his flock, fearing that someone might lapse.<sup>127</sup>

### 2.3 General Characteristics of Maximus I's Sermons

Maximus' sermons are quite brief allocutions with an average length of not more than 50 to 100 printed lines and an estimated duration of about five to eight minutes. Some *inreptiones* in which he rebukes his flock for improper behavior are even shorter. For example, *sermo* 23 is no more than 14 printed lines. Most sermons deal with one specific topic around which associative explanations are developed; hence, they have been called an "inorganic unit".<sup>128</sup>

118 *Sermo* 91, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 369; transl. Ramsey, p. 211: *Sed illud me permouet quod iidem tractatus mei aures uestras permulcent et corda uestra non penetrant.*

119 *Sermones* 3; 23; 32, 2; 71; 79 etc., ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 10-11; 91; 126; 297-99; 327; transl. Ramsey, pp. 19-25; 78-79; 173-75; 191-92.

120 *Sermo* 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 327; transl. Ramsey, pp. 191-92: *Ego neminem nomino, conscientia sua unumquemque conueniat!*

121 *Sermo* 80, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 329; transl. Ramsey, p. 192: *Verum nihil mea interest; ego enim gaudeo sciens discipuli tristitiam magistri esse laetitiam.*

122 *Sermones* 42, 1; 92, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 169; 371; transl. Ramsey, pp. 104-05; 213-14.

123 *Sermo* 3, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 10; transl. Ramsey, p. 19: *Haec enim sacerdotum uehemens et copiosa uindicta est indignis quibusque scripturarum caelestium sacramenta non credere. Cf. also sermo 42, 1.*

124 *Sermones* 3, 1; 23; 79, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 19; 91; 327; transl. Ramsey, pp. 19; 58; 191-92.

125 *Sermo* 33, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 121; transl. Ramsey, p. 79.

126 *Sermo* 102, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 406, transl. Ramsey, p. 230.

127 *Sermones* 19, 1; 71, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 71; 297; transl. Ramsey, pp. 46-47; 173-74.

128 Merkt, *Maximus I von Turin*, p. 11.

They are rather simple considerations devoted to a single theme. The sermons mostly begin with an explicit reference to the sermon he preached on the previous Sunday. In one case he even referenced a sermon from the preceding year.<sup>129</sup>

A couple of series of three or more sermons have been preserved, including the series *sermones* 13A, 13B, 13 (on Epiphany and Christ's baptism); 37, 38, 39, 39A (on Christ's passion and resurrection); 54, 55, 56 (on Easter); 57, 58, 59 (on Christ's trial); and 74, 75, 76 (on the good thief). Many sermons end abruptly without any final exhortation to the audience.

Maximus' audience was heterogeneous, although he wrote sermons with members of the upper class in mind. He addressed his listeners as *sanctitas uestra*, *dilectio uestra*, or simply *fratres* and expected his teaching regarding Christian living and his condemnation of pagan cults to be passed top-down from the landowners to their absent subordinates. His perspective was Roman and anti-barbarian.

Maximus was not an academic teacher and he did not take pleasure in demonstrating his learning.<sup>130</sup> He was neither an intellectual nor an outstanding preacher, but a pleasing shepherd who knew how to lead his flock in a time of barbarian invasions. He was not an original theological thinker – parallels of most of his theological statements can be found in Jerome, Ambrose, Chromatius and others. His main source was Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke* from which he borrowed many sections and adapted them freely for his purpose. He used other works of Ambrose as well, such as the *Hexaemeron*, *De Cain et Abel*, the exposition of Psalm 118, and *De Tobia*. From Jerome's *Epistle* 78 he employed a passage in *sermon* 67 to discuss the symbolic value of a 40 or 42-day fast. He never quoted his sources by name. Maximus was well versed in the Bible, which he often explained using another biblical quotation. He used a pre-Vulgate version of the Bible. In some cases, he is the only witness of a specific wording. He also quoted apocryphal texts in his sermons.<sup>131</sup>

Maximus lacked a tendency toward systematic lemmatic commentary. The focus of his preaching was spiritual meaning and Christ's presence, not the specific wording of Scripture. He did not give philological interpretation of the biblical text nor did he adhere to number-symbolism or etymological interpre-

<sup>129</sup> *Sermo* 67, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 280-82; transl. Ramsey, pp. 163-65.

<sup>130</sup> On a general survey on Maximus see Ramsey, pp. 5-11; Merkt, *Maximus I von Turin*, pp. 1-17; 267-87.

<sup>131</sup> *Sermo* 60, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 246-47; transl. Ramsey, pp. 146-47, with an unregistered quotation of 11 Clem. 13:2.

tation of biblical names.<sup>132</sup> He never expounded on long sections of Scripture. The only exception is *sermo* 29 on Psalm 21, for which he selected a few verses which he interpreted in the context of Christ's passion. Above all, he exhibited pastoral concern for his community, indefatigably preaching God's Word in a pagan society. Thus, Maximus is a valuable source for the contemporary study of liturgy and the dissemination of Christianity in late-antique Turin, Italy.

According to Gennadius, Maximus was able to deliver sermons extemporaneously. However, there are no records of interaction with the audience, such as acclamations or interruptions. There are also no records about the time of the day he preached or whether the bishop or his audience were standing or sitting.

Maximus was a gifted preacher, although not a celebrated figure such as Augustine or Leo. He knew that his rhetorical ability was limited and modestly underrated his rhetorical skills, especially when praising the outstanding sermon of an unnamed colleague<sup>133</sup> or when celebrating the feast of a saint, who does not permit him to be silent.<sup>134</sup> His language was a gentle Late Latin prose, not at all vulgar, characterized by parataxis and short subordinate clauses instead of complex syntactic structures. He frequently used rhetorical figures such as antithesis, tricola and clausula-rhythm. On the other hand, word-play or rhetorical exclamations are seldom used in his sermons.<sup>135</sup> His sermon-rhetoric was subordinate to the priority of the theological message. Tedious repetition rendered his sermon-style somewhat clumsy.

Comparison and figurative language are highly characteristic of Maximus' sermons. The relationship between idea and image approaches identity.<sup>136</sup> The dominating features are Maximus' use of Scripture, biblical figures, and nature and light motifs.<sup>137</sup> Time and again he compares biblical figures and events. For example, he drew analogies from the thief's faith to Peter's,<sup>138</sup> Christ's trial to that of Susanna,<sup>139</sup> and Mary's womb to the sepulchre of Jesus.<sup>140</sup> Many Old Testament characters prefigure the guardian of a city living in danger, such as

132 The cases of *sermo* 54, 1: *pascha*, *sermo* 77, 1: *Petrus*, or *sermo* 101, 2: *epifania*, are patristic commonplaces, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 218; 320; 402; transl. Ramsey, pp. 131-32; 187; 228.

133 *Sermo* 78, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 324-25; transl. Ramsey, pp. 189-90.

134 *Sermo* 6, 1, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 21-22; transl. Ramsey, pp. 24-25.

135 Such as *sermo* 61, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 245-46; transl. Ramsey, pp. 148-49: *o beata uiolentia*.

136 Conroy, *Imagery in the Sermones of Maximus, Bishop of Turin*, p. 172.

137 Conroy, *Imagery in the Sermones of Maximus, Bishop of Turin*, p. 17.

138 *Sermo* 75, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 314-15; transl. Ramsey, pp. 184-85.

139 *Sermones* 57-59, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 228-38; transl. Ramsey, pp. 137-44.

140 *Sermo* 38, 4, ed. Mutzenbecher, p. 150; transl. Ramsey, pp. 93-94.

the watchman,<sup>141</sup> the king of Nineveh,<sup>142</sup> and Elisha.<sup>143</sup> Maximus was a good observer of events taking place around him. He frequently included commonplace images in his sermons and developed theological lessons from them, like the grinding mill which consists of two stones, one still, the other in motion, as a figure for the Jewish Law and the Gospel.<sup>144</sup> Birds were used as a symbol for praising God all day long.<sup>145</sup> The mast of a ship, a plough, the four cardinal directions, and the prayer position of Moses, each of these reminded him of the Cross, and he used them in his sermons to remind his audience of the Cross as well.<sup>146</sup> In *sermo* 37, Maximus made the most elaborate comparison in the patristic era between the myth of Odysseus bound to the mast of his ship and Christ tied to the cross. The use of such figurative language allowed the preacher to hint at the mysteries of liturgy when catechumens were present.

#### 2.4 *The Corpus of Maximus' Genuine Sermons*

Most of Maximus' sermons have been handed down in collections anonymously or under the names of more famous patristic authorities such as Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo or Leo. Only individual sermons were disseminated under the name of Maximus. On the other hand, many sermons preserved under the name of Maximus are not derived from Maximus I. The corpus of Maximus' genuine sermons has been masterfully established by Almut Mutzenbecher.

The core of Mutzenbecher's edition is constituted by 89 sermons from a reconstructed collection of Maximus' sermons (*sermones* 1-89), which is preserved in this order in manuscripts *s* and *c* (on the manuscripts and their collections see below), and in a differing order in manuscripts *MLR*. Besides these "Sammlungssermones" (*sermones collectionis*), 30 sermons are transmitted by only one or a few manuscript-collections or completely outside the collection, labelled "out-of-order sermons" (*sermones extrauagantes*). If they refer to items in the main series (or are referred to by them) Mutzenbecher includes them on the appropriate position of the collection, as in the case of *sermones* 13A; 13B; 22A; 39A; 50A; 61A; 61B; 61C. If they stand alone they are appended in the final section, as in the case of *sermones* 90-111.

<sup>141</sup> *Sermones* 92 and 93, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 371-72; transl. Ramsey, pp. 213-16.

<sup>142</sup> *Sermones* 81 and 82, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 332-34; transl. Ramsey, pp. 194-98.

<sup>143</sup> *Sermo* 84, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 344-45; transl. Ramsey, p. 202.

<sup>144</sup> *Sermo* 20, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 75-77; transl. Ramsey, pp. 49-51.

<sup>145</sup> *Sermo* 73, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 305-07; transl. Ramsey, pp. 178-80.

<sup>146</sup> *Sermones* 37 and 38, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 145-50; transl. Ramsey, pp. 89-94.

Neither all sermons in the collection nor all sermons attributed to Maximus in manuscripts can be regarded as authentic.<sup>147</sup> Therefore, thorough examination regarding authenticity is required for all Maximus' sermons. By examining sermons which were preserved in all manuscript-collections, selecting those which are clearly linked together ("Forsetzungssermones") and which depend on Maximus' favorite commentary by Ambrose, Almut Mutzenbecher established a nucleus of authentic sermons. From these she defined a set of 16 criteria against which she examined all other sermons.

The 16 criteria are as follows: First, the title of the sermon is identifiable in Gennadius.<sup>148</sup> Second, presence of the sermon in the collection reconstructed from the manuscripts *SG-MLR* (see below). Third, the context of transmission, such that if a sermon is transmitted within a group of authentic sermons, the authenticity is probable.<sup>149</sup> Fourth, the pericope is in many cases referred to using common phrases like *euangelica lectio quae lecta est*. Fifth, biblical quotations are given in a specific pre-Vulgate form. Sixth, biblical quotations are often introduced with typical words such as *quod ... sit ... testatur dicens* or *unde ait*. Seventh, parts of a biblical quotation are highlighted through words like *non dicit ... sed ait*. Eighth, quotations from Scripture are often paraphrased with words such as *hoc est*, and *scilicet*. Ninth, biblical passages are frequently illustrated by antitheses and comparisons. Tenth, allegorical interpretations and comparisons are typically described using vocabulary like *diligentius intendamus*, *uideamus quid sit*, *dixerim*, *plane est*, and *quodammodo*. Eleventh, many sermons continue a previous sermon. Twelfth, the initial words and the first sentence, often referring to a preceding sermon, feature specific vocabulary exclusively used in the opening of Maximus' sermons, such as *ante dies*, *superiore dominica*, *retinet*, and *descripsimus*. At the beginning of many sermons, Maximus summarized the contents of his previous preaching and developed his actual sermon around the previous topic. Thirteenth, linguistic and stylistic features revealing Maximus' distinctive style, such as summarizing his thoughts with words such as *ergo*, *igitur*, *inquam* or *plane*. Fourteenth, Mutzenbecher identified specific content characteristic of Maximus' sermons: bap-

147 *Sermo* 46 derives from Jerome, *sermo* 47 is a translation of Basil by Rufinus, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 184-85; transl. Ramsey, p. 250.

148 *Sermo* 28 with the specific title *De eo quod propheta ait ad filios Israel: Caupones uestri miscent aquam uino* (Is. 1:22; "On what the prophet says to the children of Israel: Your innkeepers mix water with their wine") is undoubtedly referred to by Gennadius' item 13, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 108-10; transl. Ramsey, pp. 67-69.

149 *Sermo* 110 is anonymously preserved only through the miscellaneous homiliary of Alanus of Farfa, but its position amidst genuine sermons of Maximus makes its authenticity highly plausible, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 427-28; transl. Ramsey, pp. 238-40.

tism, criticism of improper behavior, the role of a priest, threat of war, heretics, idolatry, fasting, avarice and alms-giving. Fifteenth, frequent use and modification of Ambrose's commentary on Luke. Sixteenth, self-quotations.<sup>150</sup>

Examining the sermons against these 16 criteria, Mutzenbecher concluded that 5 sermons of the collections are spurious<sup>151</sup> and 6 are dubious.<sup>152</sup> Thus, Mutzenbecher accepted 106 sermons as authentic. In some cases Mutzenbecher's criteria have been questioned. For instance, some have contested the 14th criterium, maintaining that a topic which is not attested elsewhere in Maximus' sermons cannot be a serious reason against authenticity. During his career as a bishop, Maximus did not have many opportunities to preach on the dedication of a church. This fact alone does not, however, offer a good reason for excluding *sermo* 87 from the authentic sermons, particularly if most of the other criteria are in favor of its authenticity. Similarly, the authorship of *sermo* 97 on the topic of Christmas should not be questioned simply because the Magi, who appear in most Christmas sermons, are not mentioned. In *sermo* 14, an Easter sermon preached on a cemetery, the bishop addressed the martyrs buried there and recollected what happened when Christ resurrected from hell. Indeed, there are no sermons featuring similar content in Maximus' oeuvre, but this alone does not constitute a sufficient argument against authenticity. For these reasons, there are no substantial objections to the authenticity of *sermones* 14, 61B, 61C, 87, 90, and 97. The sermons on the martyr Eusebius, *sermones* 7 and 8, seem to be inauthentic although they are mentioned by Gennadius, however, a critical examination might shed new light on them.

More sermons have recently been attributed to Maximus I. In 1987, Raymond Étaix completed an acephalous fragment from Italian homiliaries<sup>153</sup> which had escaped Mutzenbecher's attention. In a recent article, I attributed four anonymously transmitted sermons to Maximus I,<sup>154</sup> the authenticity of which is convincingly proven on the basis of Mutzenbecher's criteria. In each of these

150 E.g. *sermo* 38, 4 ≈ *sermo* 78, 2; *sermo* 42, 5 ≈ 65, 3, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 150; 324-25; 171-72; 274; transl. Ramsey, pp. 93-94; 190; 106-07; 160-61.

151 *Sermones* 7 and 8 on Eusebius of Vercelli, *sermo* 45 on Epiphany, *sermo* 87 on a dedication of a church, and *sermo* 90 on heretics who forgive sins for money, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 24-29; 182-83; 355-57; 366-68; transl. Ramsey, pp. 243-47; 249-50; 255-57; 257-59.

152 *Sermo* 14 on martyrs, *sermones* 61B, 61C, and 97 on Christ's birth as well as the two fragments, *sermones* 104 and 109, which according to Étaix both derive from Maximus II, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 54-55; 253-59; 386-88; 412; 425; transl. Ramsey, pp. 247-48; 250-55; 259-61; 262.

153 Ps.-Maximus, *sermo* 10B.

154 Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo* Caillau II 43 on Epiphany, two sermons edited by Étaix from the Beneventan homiliary Ms. 6 on Christ's friendship with the apostles, and Ps.-Augustine,



new sermons, the similarity of the opening words with incipits of authentic sermons is striking.

## 2.5 *Manuscripts*

Nothing is known about the process of recording and editing Maximus' sermons, nor do we know if Maximus revised his sermons or adapted them for a collection. The manuscript transmission process was twofold, collections of sermons attributed to a single author on the one hand, and homiliaries containing sermons of different authors on the other. Mutzenbecher's edition is mainly based on the collection of manuscripts *SG-MLR*:

- Roma, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Codex Sessorianus 55/2099, s. V/VI (= *s*), which contains with some omissions (*sermones* 7; 8; 60; 61) *sermones* 1-66; the sermons are attributed to Ambrose, whose name appears over an illegible erasure.
- Sankt Gallen, Ms. 188 (= *G*), s. VIII, contains *sermones* 3-44; 46-49; 56-89; 22A; 39A; 90; 27; 28; 61A-C; 13A-B; 91; 93-98. *s* and *G* constitute the frame of the sermon collection, the order of which is closely related to the order followed by Gennadius.

In addition to those mentioned above, Mutzenbecher used three closely related collections, each of them with a different order:

- Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1236 (1108), s. IX (= *M*), which contains 94 sermons (85 of the collection, 9 out of order); no author's name has been preserved; the first leaf is missing.
- Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 14.10, s. XV (= *L*), which contains the same sermons as *M*, but arranges them in a different order and attributes them to Ambrose.
- Roma, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Codex Sessorianus 470/2103, s. XVIII (= *R*), is a very recent copy of Roma, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Codex Sessorianus 99, s. XII, which attributes the entire corpus to Maximus. This manuscript was not accessible to Mutzenbecher when she was preparing her edition.

Two further manuscripts are related to the collection:

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*Sermo* 162 on the belief in Christ's resurrection; = *sermo* Weidmann, 1-4 "Vier unerkannte Predigten des Maximus von Turin".



- St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Lat. Q. v. I 5, s. VI/VII (= P), which contains a brief series of three sermons on the Good Thief (*sermones* 74-76) under the name of Augustine.
- Milano, Codex Ambrosianus C. 98 inf., s. VII/VIII (= A), a fragmentary collection which contains sermons not only of Maximus I but also of Maximus II.

An independent attestation is Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 279, s. IX, which contains *sermones* 22, 81, 30, 32, 33, 95 and others. It was not used by Mutzenbecher.

Some sermons with a specific relationship to events of Maximus' time or to local saints have been preserved only in one or two manuscript collections, some of them only occur in one, such as A G. Due to their popular homiletic style and to their brevity, Maximus' liturgical sermons enjoyed high popularity during the Middle Ages. They were used for homiliaries, among which the homiliary of Alanus of Farfa plays the most important role. Its section for the summer contains more than 30 complete sermons of Maximus as well as many pastiches compiled from two or even more sermons.<sup>155</sup> The collection *Sancti catholici patres* inherited its more than 70 sermons from a collection which was closely related to the Lyonesse manuscript (M) and ascribed them to Ambrose. Maximus' sermons were also used by later authors to compile new sermons. For example, "Eusebius Gallicanus" and Caesarius of Arles borrowed many passages from Maximus for their own compilations.<sup>156</sup> Many quotations of Maximus' sermons can also be found in medieval liturgical prayers or in *florilegia*, such as Defensor's *Liber scintillarum*, who attributed the quotations to Augustine.

### 3 Maximus II

Maximus II is an enigmatic figure. Nothing is known about his life, his name or his career. His existence is evidenced by two witnesses: the vast corpus of inauthentic sermons preserved under the name of Maximus, which do not distinguish between the different authors bearing the name of Maximus, and two signatures by a certain Milanese bishop Maximus in the Acts of the Synodes of Milan in 451 AD and Rome in 465 AD. Since these data are not compatible with the Maximus mentioned by Gennadius, the person has been

<sup>155</sup> *Sermo* Alanus II 24 was compiled from Maximus' *sermones* 40 and 44, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 160-62; 178-80.

<sup>156</sup> *Sermones* 17 and 18 for Caesarius' *sermo* 71; *sermones* 93 and 94 for Caesarius' *sermo* 115; *sermo* 53 for Caesarius' *sermo* 204, ed. Mutzenbecher, pp. 63-69; 374-78; transl. Ramsey, pp. 42-46; 215-18.

commonly labelled 'Maximus II'. The problem of identification is further complicated because Maximus II depended on his homonymous predecessor for phraseology and theological issues. For example, Maximus II's third sermon, discovered by Étaix in Melk-homiliary, borrowed a final phrase from Maximus I's *sermo* 14. Additionally, on some topics, Maximus II was closely related to Maximus I, as in the case of his numerous sermons on Christ's temptation, paralleled by Maximus I's *sermo* 51. However, on a stylistic level, Maximus II differed much from his predecessor. His style was smoother, abounding in rhetorical figures, like anaphora and tricola, and his style was more narratival. The structure of his sermons possessed greater clarity than those of Maximus I, and contained a final appeal to his audience.

The corpus of his sermons has not yet been appropriately defined. It consists of about 100 sermons which are mostly transmitted under the name of his more famous predecessor. The chief manuscripts are the aforementioned Codex Ambrosianus (A), in which his sermons constitute half of the manuscript, and the homiliary compiled by Paul the Deacon, in which the sermons are attributed to a Maximus episcopus without indicating his see. In recent times further sermons have been discovered in Austrian homiliaries.<sup>157</sup> The sermons mainly cover different feasts of the liturgical year: Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, two sermons on the *traditio symboli*, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and many sermons celebrating commonly venerated saints such as Agnes, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, the Maccabees, Lawrence, Cyprian, and all martyrs. Specific North Italian saints are lacking. The sermon *In reparatione ecclesiae* is argued to have been delivered on 18 October 453 AD on the occasion of the rededication of the Church of Milan after being damaged by the Huns. In most sermons there is an emphasis on Christ's possession of both a divine and human nature, which would be fitting for texts written in the post-Chalcedonian era. The text of this important patristic preacher is still available only through Bruni's insufficient edition. A critical edition of this unfairly neglected preacher is forthcoming and has been announced by V. Zangara.

<sup>157</sup> Étaix, "Trois nouveaux sermons à restituer à la collection du pseudo-Maxime": three sermons ascribed to Leo in Melk; Weidmann, "Neue Predigten des Maximus II. zur Fasten- und Osterzeit": six sermons in Heiligenkreuz; both manuscripts are closely related to the fragmentary codex Ambrosianus.

#### 4 Maximus III

The edition of Bruni, containing 118 homilies and 116 sermons, is crowded with many sermons derived neither from Maximus I nor Maximus II. Alongside patristic authors such as Peter Chrysologus, Augustine, “Eusebius Gallicanus”, Caesarius, and some anonymous preachers, Bruni printed a couple of sermons which were forged from patristic sermons, even some from authentic sermons of Maximus I. These forgeries were done by Meyranesio in the 18th century (Pellegrino), who sought to vindicate anonymous patristic texts for Maximus. For example, the three tractates on baptism which today are ascribed to the ‘Anonymus Veronensis’ have been quoted under Maximus’ name since Bruni.<sup>158</sup>

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## Donatist Sermons

*Maureen Tilley*

Prof. Maureen A. Tilley passed away on 3 April 2016. We publish this article she authored with her permission and in honor of her memory, with the caveat that she was not able to complete a final revision before publication. Some recent developments regarding the corpus of Donatist sermons were therefore not integrated in this chapter.



### 1 Introduction

Donatist sermons provide a window into North African Christianity in the 4th and early 5th centuries. In many ways this window is very cloudy. Because Donatists were condemned as heretics and much of their literature lost, much of what scholars would like to know about them and their sermons remains unclear. However, examining the sermons that do exist provides readers with some of the central and distinctive aspects of Donatist theology.

Before exploring the sermons themselves, the first part of this chapter provides an introduction to the Donatist movement itself to contextualize the sermons. The second part discusses the particular challenges in finding and reading them. The third portion of the chapter identifies and discusses doctrinal themes and rhetorical techniques Donatist preachers used. Not all scholarly problems and opportunities presented by Donatist sermons have been solved so the final pages suggest some avenues for further research.

### 2 Introduction to Donatism

In Late Antiquity North African Christians in the area from current-day Western Libya to Morocco did not constitute a single homogenous believing community. From the early 4th century forward, they divided themselves into two groups over a nexus of issues related to the legalization of Christianity by

Constantine. Both claimed the title 'catholic', but both the eventual victors in the fray and Church historians have dubbed one group 'Catholic' and the other 'Donatist'. While other less prejudicial names might be suggested, names found among 4th- and 5th-century authors will be retained for the sake of simplicity.

The split between Donatists and Catholics was occasioned by several factors. The first was how much to trust the imperial authorities as they supported Christianity and occasionally attempted to control its adherents. Christians in Africa had experienced persecutions off and on from 256 to 305. If imperial policy was dependent on the will of the emperor and emperors came and went, how far could the imperial administration be trusted? The second issue was the treatment of Christians who had given up their faith during the persecutions. Were they to be welcomed back with short or long penance or permanently excluded? Most Christians opted for some process of reconciliation. If they were to be reintegrated into the community, what sort of ritual would they use? By the time the persecutions ended in the 4th century, there were multiple practices of reconciliation including rebaptism and the laying on of hands in canonical penance. The third issue was a corollary of the second. It concerned clergy who had defected or become traitors, *traditores* in North African parlance, during persecution but had not yet been reconciled to the Church. Did the sacramental rituals they celebrated before reconciliation have any validity? This was especially crucial for the ritual of baptism. If the Holy Spirit had fled from the apostate bishop or priest in his perfidy and he had not yet been formally reconciled, i.e., received the Holy Spirit again, could he transmit the Spirit in administering the sacrament? Did someone he baptized need to be rebaptized? Variant beliefs and practices about reconciliation had split Christians of North Africa in the 3rd century. The issues became much more neuralgic after the legalization of Christianity.

In the initial decades of the 4th century, Africans developed two religious communities, each with its own line of bishops, often in the same cities. Those who promoted cooperation with imperial authorities and took a softer line toward *traditores* appropriated for themselves the title Catholic and deemed their rivals Donatists, an appellation based on the name of one of their earliest leaders, Donatus of Carthage (bishop ca. 311 to ca. 355).

The Donatists had on their side many traditional beliefs. They valued a well-defined community faithful to the Christian tradition, revered martyrs, and professed the idea that clergy should be exemplary members of the community, i.e., never having sacrificed to Roman gods. The Catholics had on their side official recognition and imperial donations in support of their party's buildings and clergy.

The major fault line between the two communities centered on the Donatist practice of rebaptism of idolaters and on converts from the Catholic

communities, i.e., those who associated with the Spirit-less *traditores* and their ecclesiastical progeny. Eventually, by the 390s, Catholics had convinced the imperial authorities that Donatists were not merely schismatics and thus an internal Christian problem, but also heretics and therefore subject to imperial prosecution. Saint Augustine joined the fray with several treatises and with many letters and sermons. As a result of Catholic pressure, in 405 the imperial Edict of Unity outlawed Donatists.<sup>1</sup> Donatist churches were seized, their assemblies banned, and their adherents fined. While this did not completely suppress the movement, it did make it difficult for Donatists to build churches and maintain membership.

With the advent of the Vandal invasion in 429 the leaders of both Churches were martyred or exiled by the Arian rulers. By the time of the reconquest under Justinian's general Belisarius in 533-34, the division between the two forms of African Christianity seems to have been effaced.

### 3 The Recovery of Donatist Sermons

Any consideration of Donatist sermons must begin with identifying the texts. This is no easy task. Since Donatists were labeled an heretical movement, Catholic writers had little incentive to copy and recopy their sermons. If they were copied – mostly in part and not as a whole – the reasons were sometimes inimical to an accurate portrait of the movement. If a Donatist writing stressed what Catholics considered deviant, it might be copied as an example of what not to believe or do. On the other hand, it might provide an opportunity for a positive articulation of Catholic teaching. In doing so they preserved what was *distinctive* about the theology of their enemies, what stood out for them, not necessarily what was *central* to the theology of their opponents. Writers such as Optatus of Milevis, a 4th-century African bishop, Augustine of Hippo, and Augustine's biographer Possidius of Calama confined their remarks to the distinctions: the Donatist valorization of martyrdom and – paradoxically – violence against other Christians, Donatist claims of the presence of the Holy Spirit within their own clergy, a denigration of Catholic sacramental rituals as invalid due to the Spirit's absence, and the Donatists' identification of the imperial government and Catholic authorities as minions of Satan. For example, in *Against the letter of Petilian* Augustine provided point by point responses to direct quotations from his Donatist opponent.

Often what was central to Donatist theology overlapped significantly with the beliefs and practices of the orthodox, but since it drew no negative

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<sup>1</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16, 5, 39-40.

attention, it would not have been considered useful for preservation. However, some Donatist sermons demonstrating central beliefs did survive. Because they seemed so much like Catholic rhetoric they were often transmitted under the name of revered theologians such as Augustine or John Chrysostom.

Historians of Christianity, even those who focused on Donatism, perpetuated the effacement of Donatist literature and theology well into the 20th century. Paul Monceaux in his extensive treatment of Donatism provides a list of Donatist writings, yet in his discussion he provides no analysis of Donatist preaching, except through the lens of Catholic literature, e.g. the works of Optatus, Augustine, and Possidius,<sup>2</sup> save for one fleeting reference to the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati*.<sup>3</sup> This sermon is attributed to Donatus the Great and dates from around 320.<sup>4</sup> Its original audience was a group of African catechumens. It encourages them to step forward and be baptized. W.H.C. Frend lists only one other sermon among “Extant Donatist Texts”, *Sermo in natali sanctorum infantium*.<sup>5</sup> The latter probably dates from between 347 and 362. It is composed of two parts. The first concerns Herod’s slaughter of the innocents and persecution of Jesus, reflecting the imperial harassment of Donatists which continued until the reign of Julian. The second details the gifts of the Magi as emblems of the ascetic life.<sup>6</sup>

In the last century scholars have turned their eyes to Donatist texts and theology as a variety of Christian belief in the ancient Mediterranean,<sup>7</sup> and, as a result of the discovery of Donatist texts and the reattribution of others to Donatists, scholars can know more about Donatist theology.

Small collections of sermons attributed to Donatists had already been studied by Germain Morin, André Wilmart, and Jean-Paul Bouhot, altogether 48

2 Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu’à l’invasion arabe*. The list of Donatist writings covering the years 303-598 is in vol. 4, pp. 487-510; the discussion is in vol. 6, pp. 336-58.

3 Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu’à l’invasion arabe*, vol. 6, p. 331.

4 The probability that this was written around 320 by Donatus is discussed in Schäferdiek, “Der *Sermo de Passione sanctorum Donati et Advocati* als donatistischen Selbstzeugnis”. See also the discussion and English translation in Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, pp. 51-60. This translation is based on the lightly edited version published in Maier, *Le Dossier du donatisme*, vol. 1, pp. 201-11.

5 Frend, *The Donatist Church*, p. 337.

6 See the treatment of this sermon in Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, pp. 86-89.

7 E.g. *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, ed. Lancel; *Gesta conlationis Carthaginensis, anno 411*, ed. Lancel; Maier, *Le Dossier du donatisme*; Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*; and Tilley, “Redefining Donatism”.



sermons.<sup>8</sup> All of these plus several more were later studied by François J. Leroy. They were in a single 60-sermon collection in the Austrian National Library, manuscript ÖNB lat. 4147, dated to 1453, a manuscript in a single hand probably reflecting a collection compiled in the first half of the 5th century.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence for the early-5th-century dating is primarily internal. Leroy sees references to persecution as reflecting the promulgation of the Edict of Unity of 405 which called for Donatists to join the Catholic Church or face fines and legal disabilities. Alternatively these references may reflect the debates and decrees of the Conference of Carthage in 411 when Catholic and Donatist bishops debated who represented the true Church. In Escorial Homily 18 and at the Conference one finds the Donatist key claim that the true Church is the one that suffers persecution, not the one that persecutes.<sup>10</sup> Escorial 16 also provides an Old Latin version of Sirach (Eccli.) 13:21. The only other place this reading is attested, is in the speech of the Donatist bishop Habetdeum at the Conference of Carthage in 411.<sup>11</sup> In any case, the *terminus post quem* would be around the end of the first decade of the 5th century. The *terminus ante quem* would be approximately 429 because of the presence of quotations in Augustine's *Contra Julianum opus imperfectum* (dated to 429/430)<sup>12</sup> and the lack of references to the Arian controversy or to the Vandal invasion in 429. Hence, the collection likely portrays Donatist catechesis in a period when the movement had already been labeled as heresy but was still very active<sup>13</sup> and

8 Morin, "Les sources non-identifiées de l'homélaire de Paul Diacre"; Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome"; and Bouhot, "Les traductions latines de Jean Chrysostome de ve au xvie siècle".

9 The various collections of sermons that comprise the larger Vienna collection, ÖNB LAT 4147, are collated in the Appendix to this chapter. Leroy provides a full history of the discovery and attribution of the subsidiary collections in "L'homilétique africaine masquée sous le Chrysostomus latinus, Sévérien de Cérāmussa et la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne".

10 Escorial Homily 18, ed. Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", p. 260, line 55-56 (cf. p. 254); and Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne", p. 152; and *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, III, 251, ed. Lancel, pp. 1188-90.

11 Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", p. 256, comparing Escorial Homily 16, line 37 to *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, III, 258, ed. Lancel, pp. 1200-02, line 88-89.

12 Bouhot, "Les traductions latines de Jean Chrysostome de ve au xvie siècle", p. 32; Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome", p. 318; and Bass, "Fifth-Century Catechesis", p. 46. I am grateful to Dr. Bass for access to his text.

13 *Codex Theodosianus* 16, 6, 4.

active in multiple forms, i.e., with partisans still loyal to the memory of various sectarian leaders within Donatism at the time, e.g. like Primian and Maximian.<sup>14</sup>

It is not possible to present a complete and continuous history of the transmission of the Donatist sermon collection from its 5th-century origins in North Africa to the 60-sermon collection in Vienna in the 15th century. A few points along the way are all that survive. A small portion of the Vienna sermons was used by Paul the Deacon in the Carolingian period.<sup>15</sup> These survived as a discrete collection in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 12141, dated to the 9th or 10th century<sup>16</sup> and in a 14th-century collection, Escorial ms R.III.5, printed in *PLS* 4. See the Appendix to this chapter for a correlation of the survivals.

While many of these were previously attributed to Ps-Augustine or Ps-Chrysostom, scholars now find that they represent one or more Donatist authors. The characteristics of the sermons which prompt this attribution are the correlation of ideas and uses of Scripture with those prevalent in literature undeniably Donatist: being persecuted as the hallmark of a true Christians, the alliance of 'false Christians' with the devil, the sin of false Christians as *traditio*, the duty to separate true Christians from the false, as well as echoes of the scriptural interpretations of Donatist bishops at the Conference of Carthage in 411. Not every sermon in the collection exhibits all of these characteristics but with many doing so and with the congruencies within the collection, Leroy and J.S. Alexander posit that the collection as a whole is composed of Donatist sermons.<sup>17</sup> To their criteria I add the treatment of Scripture and the commands of God as law. Based on the strong Donatist character of some of the sermons and the theological congruence of the others, their survival together in the larger group in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4147, as well as the smaller groups already mentioned, it is clear that this group of sermons can be used to augment the two earlier known sermons and to give readers a glimpse of Donatist preaching.

14 Primian was elected bishop of Carthage in 391 or 392. He excommunicated his deacon Maximian, precipitating a schism within Donatist ranks. For a history of the schism, see Frend, *The Donatist Church*, pp. 213-20.

15 Morin, "Les sources non-identifiées de l'homélaire de Paul Diacre", pp. 400-03; and Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome", p. 305.

16 Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", p. 257 n. 19.

17 Leroy wrote a series of articles on his discoveries, the most significant of which argue for the Donatist character of the sermons considered here. These are "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne"; "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", pp. 250-62. See also Alexander, "Criteria for Discerning Donatist Sermons".

### 3.1 *Catechetical Sermons*

The work of Leroy, Alexander, and most recently Alden Lee Bass argues that the sermons included in Wien, ÖNB, lat. 4147 (including both the Escorial and Wilmart sermons) are catechetical in nature and, according to Bass, represent a specific type of catechesis, the preparation of converts for rebaptism.<sup>18</sup> This characterization is based on the content of the sermons: moral teachings and encouragement to be baptized. This would explain their concentration on ideas that divide Donatists and Catholics and their lighter treatment of Christian doctrines both Churches shared. This would also mean that the sermons were preached over a short period of time, i.e., during Lent, and would thus account for the lack of references to the annual cycle of the Sunday liturgy from Advent through Pentecost.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2 *What is a Sermon?*

The next significant set of obstacles in the study of Donatist sermons *qua* sermons is one that affects the transmission of all sermons and most other documents from antiquity. The first of these is the definition of 'sermon' itself. Must one restrict the genre to words delivered orally or may one include prepared materials or those redacted by the author or one of his amanuenses? While there were scribes who took dictation during sermons, the use of such transcripts preserves the sermon at least some remove from their oral delivery. Sermon collections, even those by the authors themselves, raise questions regarding the criteria for selection. Even more problematic is the fact that some sermons appear to have been edited for length. Nearly all texts found in the Vienna collection are short by the homiletic standards of antiquity, mostly 60 to 100 lines in critical editions. Finally, yet another problem is the textual transmission by scriptoria workers who often introduced their own agenda.<sup>20</sup>

18 Most Donatists rebaptized Catholic converts; Bass, "Fifth-Century Catechesis", pp. 14-15 and pp. 36-43.

19 Few indications of the Donatist liturgical cycle survive, except in the comments of Augustine who mentions that they did not celebrate the Epiphany (*Sermon* 202) or, perhaps celebrated it on a day different from the Catholics. See Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial (Chrysostomus Latinus, *PLS* IV, sermon 18)", p. 256 n. 17.

20 A significant example of such material is the variant readings of the *Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs* (*Passio ss. Saturnini, Felicis, Datui, Ampelii et aliorum*) found in *Patrologia Latina* 8, col. 689-715; and the *Sermo de Passione Donati et Aduocati* (*Patrologia Latina* 8, col. 752-58); both translated with commentary in Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, pp. 25-49 and 51-60. See also the interpolation of a warning against Pelagians discussed below.

### 3.3 *Preachers, Audiences and the Delivery of Sermons*

Once the text of a sermon is established, there is the question of who might have preached such a sermon. Unquestionably bishops of major cities preached and Donatists stationed bishops in even the smaller towns where they too preached.<sup>21</sup> But did priests or deacons preach? This is a possibility as clerical roles were not well defined. For example, priests in North Africa were sometimes deputed to preach in place of a bishop.<sup>22</sup> The Council of Arles in 314, at the beginning of the Catholic-Donatist split provides evidence of this. The assembled bishops tried to enforce their version of order on the African Church by forbidding deacons from offering the Eucharist.<sup>23</sup> Christians were still trying to differentiate the duties of bishops and presbyters as late as the final decade of the 4th century when bishops in council at Arles forbade presbyters from blessing chrism, reconciling penitents or receiving the vows of virgins, all duties they thought should be performed by bishops.<sup>24</sup> So whether priests or deacons preached from their own notes or from sermons fully written out by their bishop, a variety of grades of clergy might have preached.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, the texts that survive do not give us a sense of the manner in which they were delivered or the way in which they were received. They are, in a sense, bare scripts. This is unlike the recorded sermons of Augustine. Quite often he provides descriptions of the behavior of the congregations, including comments on their attention flagging or the density of the crowd listening.<sup>26</sup> We have no such signals in the Donatist sermons which have survived except indications of direct address to the members of the congregation, usually toward the end of homilies where the auditors are encouraged to repent – presumably of their previous attachment to Catholic Christianity<sup>27</sup> or of the sins mentioned below.

21 See the accounting of Donatist bishops in their see in *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, I, 149–208, ed. Lancel, pp. 800–96; and Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 126–30 and pp. 154–55.

22 Evidence includes Augustine, *Letters* 66, 18\*, and 20\* and Ferrandi *Ecclesiae Carthagenensis Diaconi Breuiatio Canonum*, Canon 96 in *Concilia Africae A. 345–A. 525*, ed. Munier, p. 295; see the discussion in Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 159–62.

23 Council of Arles 15 (14), in *Concilia Galliae A. 314–A. 506*, ed. Munier, p. 12.

24 *Concilium Carthagenensis a. 390*, canons 3–4, in *Concilia Africae A. 345–A. 525*, ed. Munier, pp. 13–14.

25 See the discussion on the topic in Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, pp. 160–62.

26 E.g. Augustine, Sermon 359B (Dolbeau 2, Mainz 6) section 3.

27 E.g. Escorial Homily 21, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 720A.

Even under these circumstances it appears from the Escorial homilies and the Vienna sermons that there is no other audience for these sermons than a general group of catechumens. The one exception is Vienna Sermon 27, an exposition of Scriptures about judgement (Wisdom 6 and several passages from the Pauline letters). The consistently developed theme of living the upright life while judging rightly and the counsel not to flee their office suggests that this sermon had as its addressees judges and members of their staff who were tempted to believe that being a member of the true, i.e., persecuted, Church and being a member of the imperial religio-political apparatus were incompatible. However, even this sermon belongs with the others by moral content and homiletic style.

### 3.4 *Provenance*

The next question is how to determine the specifically Donatist provenance of a sermon. The two earliest sermons, the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* and the *Sermo de natali sanctorum innocentium* have long been assigned a Donatist provenance. Criteria for considering sermons 'Donatist' include content reflecting the hallmarks of Donatist theology mentioned above and the scriptural themes they share with other Donatist writings. Add to this the fact that the less distinctively Donatist homilies were transmitted in a collection with the more distinctive ones. So the corpus for investigation includes the 60 homilies of Wien, ÖNB lat. 4147 from the early 4th century plus the two earlier ones.

## 4 Analyzing the Sermons

In this section, I will not recount the content of individual sermons. The reader may do that by consulting the printed editions listed in the Appendix. Instead I will consider the sermons as a group and review the theological themes and homiletic practices in them, offering a few examples along the way.

The only exceptions to homogeneity in time and transmission are the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* and the *Sermo de natali sanctorum innocentium*. Since the former is manifestly a pre-baptismal homily like those in the larger collection, I will include its teaching with the Vienna corpus where appropriate. The latter focuses on two themes. One of its themes, namely persecution, was popular at the time of its composition in the mid-4th century, and remained so into the period of the Vienna sermons, so it is not a total outlier and will occasionally be included.

#### 4.1 *Doctrinal Themes and Rhetorical Techniques*

What is central to Donatist belief? What creedal issues arise in their homilies? Some central Christian doctrines seem taken for granted, e.g. the Incarnation of the Son of God and his saving life, death and resurrection. Donatist preachers share some concerns with their Catholic counterparts, e.g. the difference between grave and lesser sins, although for pastoral reasons Donatists seem wary of making too much of the distinction.<sup>28</sup> But a lack of focus on what was held in common with other Christians may be an accident of preservation or, more likely, it is an indication that the catechumens are conversant with the lineaments of Christian doctrine from their time in the Church of the *traditores*, i.e., among the Catholics.

##### 4.1.1 God and the Trinity

Two doctrinal issues that do surface in Donatist sermons parallel Catholic concerns of the time. The first are teachings on the nature of God and of the Trinity. The Vienna sermons affirm God as creator of a good creation.<sup>29</sup> The homilist reflects on the whole of creation, the heavens, the earth, the sea, and stars and proclaims that God is one and beyond the capacities of human beings to understand.<sup>30</sup> The parallel with Augustine, *Confessions* 9, 10 is quite striking. There Augustine recalls a meditation with Monnica at Ostia. The created universe silently proclaims its praise of its Creator. However, the likely source of this confession of the Creator is the often repeated verbally similar affirmations in Scripture and Donatist martyr stories.<sup>31</sup>

Members of the Trinity are named in passing with the traditional enumeration of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, usually with no comment or elucidation,<sup>32</sup> save for the distinction between the words 'God' and 'Lord', the first being a representation of the eternal nature of God and the second a temporally conditioned function of Divinity only after creating the world and what it contains, i.e., having something to lord over.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Vienna Sermon 50, 4, ed. Leroy, p. 209, line 70-82.

<sup>29</sup> Vienna Sermon 19, 1, ed. Leroy, p. 179; cf. Augustine, *In Epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos* 1, 6, *Patrologia Latina* 35, col. 1982.

<sup>30</sup> Vienna Sermon 35, 3-4, ed. Leroy, pp. 200-01; cf. Vienna Sermon 10, ed. Leroy, p. 164, line 1-6 for the theme of recognizing the Creator from creation, and Vienna Sermon 29, ed. Leroy, pp. 192-94 on learning this truth from observing animals.

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. Act. 4:24 and *Acta Proconsularia* 1, 2 (the martyrdom of Cyprian) in *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia*, ed. W. Hartel (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 3/3), Vienna 1871, p. cx.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Vienna Sermon 59 = S. app. 97 (*Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 1931D).

<sup>33</sup> Vienna Sermon 19, ed. Leroy, p. 179, line 1-16.

However, there are two distinctive terms in preaching about the Trinity, *genitor* and *Spiritus Dei*. Aside from the use of the Trinitarian formula, when God the Father is mentioned as Father with the Son and Holy Spirit, references to the Father are not so often *pater* (though they are occasionally),<sup>34</sup> but more often *genitor* where the relation of the Father and Son is at issue.<sup>35</sup> By contrast, Augustine uses forms of *pater* far more frequently even in his *Contra Maximum*, his debate with an Arian, than forms of *genitor*. Neither Tertullian, Cyprian or the pseudo-Cyprianic corpus use *genitor* of God. It is used sparingly by Roman poets and philosophers of god(s), e.g. Ovid and Seneca, Silius Italicus in his *Punica* and Apuleius, a North African. Arnobius uses it solely of Roman gods. Only with the advent of Trinitarian controversies of the late 4th and early 5th centuries do Latin Christians use it of God and no single author uses it as assiduously as the Donatist corpus. So Donatist preaching on the Trinity does exhibit a vocabulary distinctive for its time within Christianity. This indicated that while Donatists have some concern with Trinitarian issues, they are probably not in conversation with their Catholic counterparts on the issue.

Interest in Jesus as Son of God and a member of the Trinity is rather muted. His passion, death and resurrection are not major issues for the preacher save as a motivation to grateful obedience.<sup>36</sup> Mention of Jesus figures primarily in the retelling of biblical stories. Escorial Homilies 19-23 are a series of sermons on the preaching of Jesus. Sometimes telling a biblical story is done simply to make sure the audience knows the Scripture and can take it as a moral example. For instance, in Escorial Homily 19, the story of Zaccheus provides a model for behavior of catechumens; they are encouraged to imitate his faith.<sup>37</sup> In Escorial Homily 21 the preacher skillfully weaves together the story of the Good Samaritan and the fall of Adam to depict Christ as the Samaritan, the Church as the inn, the bishop as the innkeeper, and the two *denarii* as the Old and New Testaments.<sup>38</sup> The unique emphasis here is on the health and safety the believer finds in the inn and the danger on the outside. It is appropriate to his

34 E.g. Escorial Homily 22, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 721B.

35 E.g. Escorial Homily 1, *Patrologia Latina* 95, col. 1206D; Escorial Homily 11, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 695D; Escorial Homily 22, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 721C-722AB; and Vienna Sermons 19, line 87; 28, line 57; 29, line 10; 58, line 60, ed. Leroy, pp. 181, 190, 192, and 221.

36 E.g. Escorial Homily 23, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 725C.

37 Escorial Homily 19, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 710D, 711C, especially 712C: fac quod Zaccheus fecit, ut merearis quod meruit.

38 Escorial Homily 21, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 718C, 719B.



audience, addressed in the singular as *o Christiane conuertor*, who is turning to the true Christian Church, not the Church of the *traditores*.<sup>39</sup>

However, at other times the preacher must explore difficult passages in the gospel. One example is Escorial Homily 20 on Matth. 21:18-22 where the preacher must make sense of Jesus cursing a fig tree. He admits that, yes, it was not time for figs and, yes, the tree had no free will of its own to produce figs. However, he uses the story to segue into a consideration of human beings who do indeed have a will of their own. They should avoid being cursed by the Lord for being without fruit. Instead, they need to be obedient: "You are not a tree planted by God if you do not produce good fruit.... You are not planted near a water course if you do not produce fruit in your season" (cf. Ps. 1:3).<sup>40</sup>

As the terms for God the Father show some distinctiveness, so too does the language about the Holy Spirit. Sometimes the Spirit is named as *Spiritus sanctus* and at other times as *Spiritus Dei*.<sup>41</sup> This latter usage is similar to but more frequent than earlier other African authors and much more frequent than contemporary Catholics.<sup>42</sup> In African authors in the Vandal period the term *Spiritus Dei* loses ground. This seems to be due to the focus of writing on the Father and Son and the absence of controversies surrounding the action of the Spirit which had been a focus in the earlier Catholic-Donatist controversies. Distinctive Donatist references to the Holy Spirit, under whatever nomenclature, whether *Spiritus Sanctus* or *Spiritus Dei*, are generally in the context of references to martyrdom or spiritual battle. These latter themes will be treated below.

#### 4.1.2 Free Will and Grace

Much more numerous references to general Christian doctrine are to the relationship of free will and grace. This should be no surprise as the sermons were composed in the period when the Pelagian controversy was at its height. In fact, Pelagius was in North Africa by 410. There is no evidence that Donatist and Pelagian leaders ever met. One should not assume that Donatists

39 Escorial Homily 21, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 718D-719A, 720A.

40 Escorial Homily 20, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 714C: *Non es arbor a deo plantata, si bonos fructos non exhibes.... Non es plantatus iuxta tractatus aquarum, si fructum tempore suo non reddis.*

41 For the use of *Spiritus sanctus*, see e.g. Vienna Sermons 28, line 95; 51, line 29 and 55, line 69, ed. Leroy, pp. 191, 210, and 216 and Escorial homily 16, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 706D; For *Spiritus Dei*, see e. g. Vienna Sermons 20, line 1; 28, line 1 and 57, ed. Leroy, pp. 182, 188, and 190.

42 In the pre-Donatist period the proportion of *Spiritus Dei* to *Spiritus Sanctus* is usually 1:8 to 1:10. In Optatus and Augustine it is approximately 1:6.



supported Pelagians simply because Donatists opposed Augustine. Both Donatists and Pelagians had their own construal of the balance between free will and grace and thus shared the appeal to similar Scriptures.<sup>43</sup>

The Escorial homilies are full of references to free will. God gave humanity free will, allowing human beings to choose between obedience to or contempt of God.<sup>44</sup> Free will was given as a test, whether humans would serve God or the devil.<sup>45</sup> If they did not pass such a test, they would have only terrestrial happiness; if they underwent and passed the test, they would have a heavenly reign. Only when humanity failed the test did it become subject to death.<sup>46</sup> In the catechetical use of such a teaching, the moral is clear: the catechumens have free choice of the will. They can do what they should do, i.e., become Donatists.

Escorial Homily 15 defines the relationship between liberty and law. True liberty is obedience to the law of God.<sup>47</sup> Those who love the Father obey him quite naturally with love as opposed to those who fear him as a judge. This loving obedience should not be difficult because the law of God is congruent with the nature of what God has created.<sup>48</sup> Escorial Homily 19 tops this off with encouragement for the catechumen to be a true son of Abraham by choosing to do the will of God the Father as Zaccheus did.<sup>49</sup>

For all this emphasis on the will, there is no sense in which the will is independent of the grace of God. Donatist preachers are captive to the theology of the Pelagians which had not yet arrived in North Africa but, just as in the early writings of Augustine, it may be a backlash against Manichaean fatalism. While Vienna Homily 48, 2 condemns Pelagians by name,<sup>50</sup> this probably does not indicate that some Donatists were concerned about hearers going too far in their espousal of free will. It is more likely this was a later copyist's interpolation.<sup>51</sup>

43 For a discussion of the similarities but no firm conclusion of direct connections, see Bass, "An Example of Pelagian Exegesis in the Donatist Vienna Homilies (Ö.N.B. LAT. 4147)".

44 Escorial Homily 4, *Patrologiae Latinae* 95, col. 1205D-1206A.

45 Escorial Homily 2, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 669C-D.

46 Escorial Homily 2 *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 670 A and C. In this context the Adam/Christ parallel is noted and, surprisingly, there is an extended treatment of an Eve/Mary parallel, something not usually found in North Africa until the 5th century. See Tilley, "Mary in Roman Africa".

47 Escorial Homily 15, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 703D.

48 Escorial Homily 15, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 704A, C-D.

49 Escorial Homily 19, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 711B-713A.

50 Vienna Sermon 48, ed. Leroy, p. 202, line 19: *Caue pelagianum errorem!*

51 Schindler, "Du nouveau sur les donatistes au temps de saint Augustin?", p. 152.

All of this emphasis on choice as a God-given capacity of the Christian catechumen makes good sense in the context of Donatist catechesis of converts from Catholic congregations. In these sermons the preacher urges them to take the final step and be baptized in the Donatist community. Yet the preacher does not allow the catechumens to wallow in their own merit. When he preaches on Ioh. 15:15: "You are my friends if you do what I have commanded you ... you are not a servant but a friend," he reminds his audience that although God's friendship with human beings seems to correlate with keeping Jesus's commandments, it is not something that can be merited for there is no merit save what Christ confers on a person.<sup>52</sup>

Given the pre-baptismal catechetical setting, the Donatist sermons including the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* emphasize the choice converts were making to join the Donatist Church with the ability God had given them to choose well.

#### 4.1.3 Scripture

Like collections of catechetical sermons elsewhere, Donatist sermons address a range of issues, most often beginning from biblical texts. Some sermons are merely a recapitulation of the biblical story. The preacher simply recounts the story, perhaps one just read in a liturgy but more likely one not read but told, perhaps as a part of a catechetical instruction outside of a liturgical context. This is common among the sermons of the Escorial collection and found occasionally in the Vienna sermons 13-14. Escorial Homilies 1 through 25 begin with the creation story in Genesis and proceed in canonical order through Genesis, Exodus, the books of Kings, selections from the prophets, the Gospels and stories of Paul. In the other Vienna sermons the narration of biblical stories in order is less pronounced. They are more oriented to moral issues. This may be an indication of distinct phases in the catechumenate or simply the arrangement of the sermons in the original collection.

#### 4.1.4 Range of Biblical Texts

Frequently used biblical texts in the Donatist sermons range from Genesis to the book of Revelation but the predominance of citations and allusions are to the Old Testament, especially from the Pentateuch. This should be no surprise

<sup>52</sup> Escorial Homily 22, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 721A-B and 722C: *Vnde tibi munus tantum uenit: ut ad Christi amicitias posses accedere, ut ad familiaritatem posses domini peruenire? Si ex merito: nullum in nobis meritum, nisi quod contulit Christus.* See also Escorial Homily 23, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 723-26 for a parallel teaching.

because the Donatists configured their self-identity as Israel. Whatever happened to Israel happened to them; just as there was a split in the Kingdom of Israel, so there was a schism in the Christian Church.<sup>53</sup> This lively appropriation was not a variety of supercessionism plain and simple. There is no sense in which the Church succeeded Israel; Donatists were not the new Israel. For the Donatists the world of the Pentateuch was like a pattern which was laid over their own world. It was a seamless conjunction. They *were* Israel, but they were not primarily Israel of the Exodus as they had once been in the early 4th century when they were originally persecuted. Rather by the early 5th century Donatists no longer portrayed themselves as facing the oppression of a Pharaoh-like government but they had configured themselves as Israel in the books of Judges and the prophets. There a true and holy remnant was tempted to assimilate to the culture in which it found itself. As Israel was tempted to fall into the polytheism of their Canaanite and Amorite neighbors, Donatists were tempted to succumb to imperial pressure and join the Catholics.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4.1.5 Uses of Biblical Texts

Scripture can be used by homilists in various ways. Donatists used them in two ways. The first is to set up a world, to liken the present situation to some past scenario from the Bible. This allows the auditors to insert themselves into the biblical narrative and play particular roles. The second depends on the first. Once there is a world and a cast of characters, one can find a script for them. Thus preachers use the words of the Bible to issue positive and negative commands.<sup>55</sup>

How do Donatist preachers shape the world of the catechumens? As one might expect of preachers in antiquity, Donatist preachers are no strangers to figurative language, techniques later differentiated as allegory and typology.<sup>56</sup> Several examples come from the Escorial homilies. In Escorial Homily 20, the

53 See also the Donatist *Liber genealogicus* 546, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi*, vol. 9: *Chronica Minora Saec. IV. v. VI. VII.*, ed. T. Mommsen, Berlin 1892, p. 192: *et facit schisma inter Robeam filium Salomonis et Hieroboam filium Nebath: et proelium erat inter eos omnibus diebus uite [sic] eorum sic uti et nunc inter ueros Christianos et falsos catholicos.*

54 Tilley, "Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity".

55 For examples from African Christianity, see Tilley, "Scripture as an Element of Social Control".

56 Augustine's interpretation in *Quaestiones Euangeliorum* 2, 19, is similar only in equating the inn with the Church. For the contemporary debate on whether allegory and typology were differentiated in antiquity, see Martens, "Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction".

fig tree which Jesus cursed serves to introduce an allegory for the soul barren of good works,<sup>57</sup> and in Escorial Homily 21 the story of the Good Samaritan in the Gospel of Luke provides an extended allegory combining references to the Fall of Adam in Genesis and to the soul in need of salvation. The Serpent of Genesis is the devil. The robbers of the parable are apostate angels and the Samaritan is Christ. The inn and the innkeeper are the Church and its bishop while the two *denarii* paid for the care of the victim are the Old and New Testaments.<sup>58</sup>

The extended use of figural interpretation – whether called allegory or not – is relatively infrequent in Donatist sermons. More often the preachers attempted to accomplish their goals with what later scholars call typology. Typology functions to set up the world and provide a place in which the auditors can position themselves. It is often a place of cosmic battle. Preachers recount the good and the sinful deeds recorded in Scripture to challenge the auditors.<sup>59</sup> And what are those deeds? They are largely ones of conflict, ones whose heroes might provide a model for the conduct of the catechumens. The examples are Joseph, Moses, David, the Maccabee brothers, and above all, Abraham.

Escorial Homily 7 focuses on the story of the patriarch Joseph. First the preacher recounts the story of the ambush of Joseph by his brothers in Genesis 37 as a warning to be wary of evil persons in one's own times, persons who like the brothers of Joseph and Cain who committed fratricide did not suffer the holy and innocent to live, perhaps an allusion to those who opposed the conversion of the Donatist catechumens. The preacher also tells the story of the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife in Genesis 39. The same devil armed both the brothers and Egyptian woman.<sup>60</sup> The Donatist preaches to his flock to encourage its members to preserve their chastity – as Joseph did. The preacher drives home his points by taking on the voices of the treacherous brothers and the lusting Egyptian woman and by addressing the chaste Joseph.<sup>61</sup>

Escorial Homily 8 finds Moses as a model for the catechumens to be constant in prayer. As long as Moses held up his arms in prayer, the Israelites were

57 Escorial Homily 20, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 713C-D: *Post, cur eam arborem maledixit: qua non sua uoluntate sed temporis necessitate fructum non habuit. Nisi enim arborem figuratam in homine acceperis: rationem istam inuenire non poteris.*

58 Escorial Homily 21, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 717-19.

59 Escorial Homily 11, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 694A: *Cum gesta peccata recensemus, et uirtutes domini auida cupiditate tractamus: et officiorum studiis accendimur, et in obsequia debita excitamur. Neque enim alia de causa ista conscripta sunt nobis, quam ut prouocemur, dum legimus: dum loquimur, excitemur.*

60 Escorial Homily 20, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 713 and 714C; cf. Vienna Sermon 8 for similar content and rhetoric.

61 Escorial Homily 7, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 680D-684A.

victorious in battle: when he did not hold up his arms, i.e., when he did not pray, the battle went against them (Ex. 17:11-12). Moses battled not with military weapons but with prayer.<sup>62</sup> Such a model would have been particularly appropriate for Donatist catechumens. Not only should they pray but they should also be engaged in spiritual battle against Catholics, contemporary analogues of Amalek, for Scripture prophesied the eternal battle between God and Amalek.<sup>63</sup>

The Donatist preacher did not confine himself to the usual models of prayer but included Judith, Esther, Cornelius, and Peter, Abraham and Elijah, Joshua and Elisha.<sup>64</sup> Vienna Sermon 60 is entirely devoted to prayer and includes not just the well-known tax collector of Jesus's parable (Luc. 18:9-14), but more obscure figures like Anna, the mother of Samuel; and King Hezekiah.<sup>65</sup>

Besides these models of prayer, Donatist preaching added other examples of faith. Prominent among these were Abraham whose faith was to be imitated,<sup>66</sup> Zaccheus, his true son,<sup>67</sup> and the centurion whose slave Jesus healed.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4.1.6 Repentance

As one might expect in a series of catechetical homilies, the sermons of the Donatist collection featured appeals for repentance. The preacher did not directly mention that his catechumens should repent for adherence to the Catholics or for worshiping the gods of the Roman pantheon. For them coming to Baptism meant repentance and forgiveness of sins like theft, murder, adultery, abortion and infanticide.<sup>69</sup> Among the other sins were those involving false speech.<sup>70</sup>

62 Escorial Homily 8, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 684C: *Stabat Moyses in monte non armis, sed precibus pugnaturus*.

63 Ex. 17:15-16: *aedificauitque Moses altare et uocauit nomen eius Dominus exultatio mea dicens quia manus solii Domini et bellum Dei erit contra Amalech a generatione in generationem*. Cf. Vienna Sermon 36, 54-56, ed. Étaix, "Textes inédits tirés des homiliaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent", p. 345.

64 Vienna Sermon 36, 57-63, ed. Étaix, "Textes inédits tirés des homiliaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent", p. 345.

65 Vienna Sermon 60, ed. Leroy, pp. 222-25. Donatists tend to use women as models much more than their contemporaries.

66 Vienna Sermon 48, ed. Leroy, pp. 220-21, line 33 and line 65-89.

67 Escorial Homily 19, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 711-12 and Vienna Sermon 48, line 33, and Vienna Sermon 49, ed. Leroy, p. 220 and pp. 204-06.

68 Vienna Sermon 25, ed. Leroy, p. 192, line 25-29.

69 Escorial Homily 17, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2242D.

70 Escorial Homily 25, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 734A.

Repentance was to be prompt,<sup>71</sup> now that they had been signed with Christ, i.e., begun the initiation process.<sup>72</sup> This promptness was a theme many preachers in antiquity mentioned in terms of not putting off the sacrament of Baptism.<sup>73</sup> But repentance was not a one-time act of the will. If catechumens wished to be healed of their sins, repentance had to be part of a process that extended through the catechumenate. In all the actions of their lives, like eating, drinking and getting dressed, they needed to weep and mourn their sins.<sup>74</sup> So for many if not most catechumens, becoming a Christian in the Donatist Church meant turning their backs on their former way of life in one way or another.

Like other preachers, Donatists differentiated between what later theologians came to call mortal and venial sins, but given the circumstances of their preaching, they did not relativize particular sins.<sup>75</sup>

To hasten repentance the preacher used his own words but relied heavily on direct commands from the words of Scripture. Often he relied on the prophets,<sup>76</sup> and at times he reinforced the prophetic testimony or brought his sermons to their conclusion using words of Jesus.<sup>77</sup> He offered a gentle invitation with the repeated exclamation, "O the venerable goodness of God!"<sup>78</sup>

On this positive note, baptismal repentance, the preacher said, should not be confused with what happened in civil law courts. There would be no hiding of evidence or misdeeds, even secret ones. All was clear to the healing hand of

71 Vienna Sermons 17, line 4; 29, line 84-88; 31, line 25-26, ed. Leroy, p. 175, pp. 193-94 and p. 195.

72 On the signing and giving of salt as a liminal ritual, see Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt*, p. 154. See also Vienna Sermon 49, ed. Leroy, p. 204, line 2.

73 Augustine devotes nearly all of Letter 3\* to the reasons why people put off baptism. For a full discussion including other authors, see Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, pp. 59-61.

74 Escorial Homily 8, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 686A-687A.

75 Escorial Homily 26, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 733 and Vienna Sermon 50, ed. Leroy, p. 209, line 70-82.

76 E.g. Is. 43:25 in Vienna Sermon 31, ed. Leroy, p. 194, line 1-2; Jer. 3:12 in Escorial Homily 14, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 702A; Ez. 18:32 and Mal. 3:7 in Escorial Homily 14, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 702C.

77 E.g. Luc. 15:7 in Escorial Homily 8, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 686C and Matth. 10:26 in Vienna Sermon 31, ed. Leroy, p. 195, line 39.

78 Vienna Sermon 19, ed. Leroy, p. 180, line 68: *O uenerabilis bonitas dei*; line 72: *O, inquam, uenerabilis bonitas dei*.

the Good Shepard.<sup>79</sup> Penance, in the words of the preacher, was the gate of salvation, the repair of one's life, hope for pardon, the door to kindness, the restoration of hope and the obliteration of sin.<sup>80</sup> The catechumens needed to turn their backs on evil and do good deeds, imitating the examples of Noah, Abraham, and the Ninevites who repented at the preaching of Jonah.<sup>81</sup> If this were not sufficient, he added a more somber note by contrasting Adam who repented with Cain who did not, who denied his sin and was punished,<sup>82</sup> and then used the contrast between the Ninevites who repented and the Sodomites who did not in order to motivate his congregation.<sup>83</sup>

In general, repentance was sorrow for not following the Law, i.e., the Scriptures, which evoked and shaped the identity of the catechumens with the Donatist Church which saw itself in the pattern of Israel among the nations.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4.1.7 Separation

The theme of sin as contamination was a strong one in Donatist texts, one found rarely among Catholics.<sup>85</sup> The preacher established a world and populated it with true and false worshipers and called on his congregation in the words of Paul not to mix with unbelievers, with those who only pretend to be Christian, those outside the true Church.<sup>86</sup>

The catechumens needed to listen to the prophets, but not all prophets and prophecies came from God. Escorial Homily 18, the most vehement anti-Catholic sermon in the collection, provided commands to the newly converted:

79 Vienna Sermon 19, ed. Leroy, pp. 179-80, line 31-44 and Escorial Homily 21, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 720.

80 Vienna Sermon 19, ed. Leroy, p. 180, line 60-63: *Etenim paenitentia salutis portus, reparatio uitae, spes ueniae, indulgentiae ianua, reformatio spei, abolitio peccati est.*

81 Vienna Sermon 17, ed. Leroy, pp. 176-78, line 42-43 and 45-76.

82 Vienna Sermon 17, ed. Leroy, p. 181, line 94-96.

83 Vienna Sermon 31, ed. Leroy, pp. 196-97, line 71-83; cf. Vienna Sermon 29, ed. Leroy, p. 193, line 44-49, line 74-80.

84 Escorial Homily 14, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 701. On adherence to the Law, see Vienna Sermon 19, ed. Leroy, pp. 179-80, line 31-44.

85 See, for example, Sirach (Eccli.) 34:30 and Matth. 8:21-22 in the Donatist bishop Petilian's *Epistula ad presbyteros et diaconos* 4 and 5, reconstructed in Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Volume 5: *Saint Optat et les premiers écrivains donatistes*, pp. 311-12; and Petilian's speech at the Conference of Carthage using Sirach (Eccli.) 34:30 in *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, I, 55, ed. Lancel, p. 666, line 328.

86 Escorial Homily 16, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 706-07, using II Cor. 6:14 and 16, verses found in many places in Donatist literature. See also Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", pp. 261-62.



“Beware of pseudo-prophets” (Matth. 7:15). “Leave, go out from their midst” (1 Cor. 3:16). They were agents of “the devil who would pollute what Christ has sanctified, the enemy who would contaminate what God has cleansed.” He contrasted his own innocent congregation with guilty Catholic opponents and likened them to sheep in wolves’ clothing. The contrasts continued: the congregation was like good fruit, the opponents like bad; the faithful were like the innocent Lot and the opponents like the guilty inhabitants of Sodom (Gen. 19).<sup>87</sup>

#### 4.1.8 The Spiritual Life

If the catechumens repented, separated from the Catholics, joined the Donatists, and were baptized, what sort of spiritual life awaited them? Their relationship with the merciful God of their repentance was most often characterized as obedience to the Law, doing what Jesus commanded, whether in the Old or New Testament, a seamless code of Law.<sup>88</sup> The only difference between the two testaments was that the patriarchs of the Old Testament *heard* the words of God and the Christians of the new dispensation *read* the words, but for both God’s word was characterized as law.<sup>89</sup> If this were not clear enough he added: “O Lord Christ, depicted both new in the old examples and old in new.”<sup>90</sup> For this present obedience, an exercise of human liberty, a future blessedness was promised.<sup>91</sup> The preacher said: “Do what is ordered if you want to receive what is promised.”<sup>92</sup>

But even after catechumens entered into the life of obedience, their trials were not over. Temptation and perhaps even persecution might await them. This was nothing new for the Christian because the battle between good and evil had been waged from the beginning when God promised enmity between the woman and the serpent (Gen. 3:15).<sup>93</sup> The enmity continued in Abel and

87 Escorial Homily 18:25-39, 50-54, 63-64, 74-76 in Vienna Sermon 18 in Leroy, “L’homélie donatiste”, pp. 259-61.

88 E.g. Matth. 19:17, Rom. 2:13, and Ioh. 15:14 in Vienna Sermon 53, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2244C-D; and Escorial Homily 15, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 703B.

89 Vienna Sermon 49, ed. Leroy, p. 205, line 43-46.

90 Escorial Homily 12, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 699C: *O dominum Christum, et in ueteribus nouum, et in nouis exemplis ueterum figuratum.*

91 Is. 1:19-20 in Escorial Homily 15, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 703B.

92 Vienna Sermon 29, ed. Leroy, p. 193, line 71-73: *fac quod iubetur si uis accipere quod promittitur.*

93 Escorial Homily 3, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 671D-673D; cf. Vienna Sermon 17, ed. Leroy, p. 176, line 25-37.



Cain.<sup>94</sup> The preacher pointed out Rebecca's twins fighting in her womb and later in life (Gen. 25 and 27) as prefiguring his own time when Catholics and Donatists battled over the heritage of Christianity.<sup>95</sup> Even the enmity between Saul and David (I Reg. 13:14) was brought into play on this theme<sup>96</sup> as well as that of Elijah and the prophets of Ba'al (III Reg. 18). The preacher explicitly stated that "War is waged on the children of Israel by the Syrians and future battles are most urgently warned of ... and the people of God might not be defeated so much by war as by deceitful ambush."<sup>97</sup>

While some temptations may have been dramatized, all situations where temptation might arise required arms, spiritual arms, as well as vigilance, because evil was contagious.<sup>98</sup> Yet most temptations were of a mundane sort. As the preacher applied his teachings to the daily life of his catechumens, he highlighted concerns common to all Christians but the way in which he presented them was consonant with what we have seen thus far, reliance on Scripture as Law. Prayer, fasting and almsgiving were featured with appropriate citations from the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>99</sup> More often however, motivation focused on scriptural models of Christian duty. For prayer, he spoke of Tobias, Elijah, and Cornelius.<sup>100</sup> Alms were not just to relieve the poverty of others but to heal the soul of the giver who had sinned. For the Christian duty of giving alms the model was not the generosity of an ordinary human but that of God the Father.<sup>101</sup> Coordinate with the motivation of positive command to give alms was the negative prohibition of usury. If God had given so much, how could his faithful children take exorbitant interest?<sup>102</sup> Other daily sins included hatred of neighbors, lying, and perjury.<sup>103</sup>

94 Vienna Sermon 17, ed. Leroy, pp. 176-77, line 42-56.

95 Escorial Homily 6, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 674-76 and Escorial Homily 7, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 768-79.

96 Escorial Homily 9, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 687D.

97 Escorial Homily 12, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 696C-D: *filiis Israel a Syriis bellum indicitur, et futura pugna instantissime nunciatur ... et populus dei non tam bello quam insidiarum fallacia deuincatur.*

98 Vienna Sermon 50, ed. Leroy, pp. 207-08, line 11-37; Escorial Homily 16, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 707D.

99 Especially Vienna Sermons 20 and 20B, ed. Leroy, pp. 182-85.

100 E.g. Vienna Sermon 20B, ed. Leroy, pp. 183-85.

101 Vienna Sermon 53, ed. Leroy, pp. 213-14, line 26-35 and 46-61; see also *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2343-44.

102 Escorial Homily 1, *Patrologia Latina* 95, col. 1206D-1208A.

103 Vienna Sermon 55, ed. Leroy, pp. 215-17 and Escorial Homily 17, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2243.

The second issue, that of persecution, was a real one. Indeed if most, if not all, of the Escorial homilies and the Vienna sermons were preached in the first quarter of the 5th century, they come from a time when Catholics had convinced imperial authorities to prosecute Donatists as heretics. In addition Catholic preachers were pressuring dissidents to join their congregations. One sees this reflected in the preaching where pseudo-prophets try to deceive the innocent and wolves in sheep's clothing attack them.<sup>104</sup> This situation required Donatists to separate themselves from their evil opponents, a theme that echoed in other Donatist literature.<sup>105</sup> It was reinforced with the consoling words of Christ himself: "Blessed are you when they persecute you" (Matth. 5:11) and the biblical paraphrase from Cyprian, "'Leave,' he says, 'leave, and go out from the midst of them, you who carry the vessels of the Lord.'"<sup>106</sup>

When martyrdom was mentioned, it is to support those who might feel persecuted. Sermons contrasted the innocent with their persecutors: Abel and Cain, Joseph and his brothers, David and Saul. The preacher even helps his auditors identify with Jesus himself: "If they persecuted me, they will persecute you" (Ioh. 15:20).<sup>107</sup> The preacher concluded one of the sermons by directly addressing the listeners individually, "What will you do?" asking each one of them to choose between the Lord and his enemies.<sup>108</sup>

Martyrdom was indeed a theme in the Vienna collection. However, compared to the early sermons, the *Sermo de natali sanctorum innocentium* and the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati*, the theme was muted because the point of the sermons was catechetical, bringing the catechumens to the baptismal font, not stirring them up to take a step beyond the font. There is a sense in which the Donatist desire for a bloody martyrdom had already been sublimated into a holy way of life that did not end in gory government-sponsored executions and a Catholic-abetted death. Both in the early *Sermo de natali*

104 Escorial Homily 18, ed. Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", pp. 259-60, line 18-39.

105 Escorial Homily 18, ed. Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", p. 260, line 40-53; *Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs* 19, *Patrologia Latina* 8, col. 701D and Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, p. 47; and the Donatist bishop Habetdeum at the Conference of Carthage in *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, III, 258, ed. Lancel, pp. 1200-02, line 87-91.

106 Escorial Homily 18, ed. Leroy, "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial", pp. 261-62, line 86-87: *Discedite, inquit, discedite inde et exite de medio eorum, qui dominum uasa portatis*. This echoes Is. 52:11 and 11 Cor. 6:17, but it reproduces words from Cyprian, *De lapsis* 10, 10: *Discedite, discedite, exite inde, et immundum nolite tangere. Exite de medio eius, separamini, qui fertis uasa Domini*.

107 Escorial Homily 24, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 727C-728C.

108 Escorial Homily 14, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 728D-729A.

*sanctorum innocentium* and in the later Escorial Homilies, one can see a spiritualization of martyrdom, a transformation into daily asceticism, either for its own sake or as a preparatory regimen to strengthen potential martyrs.<sup>109</sup> In addition, the preacher made a move parallel to that of Augustine, that not all who were persecuted were martyrs: some suffered penalties for their good deeds and others for evil.<sup>110</sup>

#### 4.1.9 Eschatology

In addition to the expected themes of separation and persecution, hallmarks of Donatist theology, at least as it has been preserved, these sermons present an interest in time, past, present, and future.<sup>111</sup> This should be no surprise. If the present was an uncomfortable period due to religio-political marginalization, if not pressure to join a Catholic congregation, the Donatist catechumens could find some solace in reflecting on other times. The past was of some value because it presented a model for weathering persecution, one that cast the catechumens as the righteous of times past, of the Old Testament. In fact, Augustine said that Donatists collapsed past and present into a single age, a fact witnessed in the Donatist *Liber genealogicus* which affirmed that nothing new happened since the beginning of evil in the world.<sup>112</sup> However, quite often the preacher directed the gaze of his audience to the future. Then the tables would be turned, a frequent Donatist and generally African trope from Tertullian on, and Donatists would be the eternal people of God.<sup>113</sup> Then they would receive faith's reward, a reward far greater than any merit of theirs.<sup>114</sup> It would be just as Jesus had promised when he said: "Come, blessed of my Father ... receive the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning" (Matth. 25:34),<sup>115</sup> and where Paul had foreseen: "Eye has not seen nor ear heard

109 Sermo §10, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 1, col. 292-93; Scorza Barcellona, "L'interpretazione dei magi nel sermone natalizio di [Pseudo] Ottato di Milevi", pp. 131-32; Escorial Homily 24, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 726C-D.

110 Escorial Homily 24, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 726D-727A; cf. Augustine, *Letter* 185, 8-9.

111 E.g. Vienna Sermon 58, ed. Leroy, p. 219, line 5.

112 Augustine, *Breviculus conlationis cum Donatistis* 3, 10, 20, ed. Lancel, pp. 285-87; *Liber genealogicus* 626. On Donatists and time, See Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, pp. 142-45.

113 Vienna Sermon 49, ed. Leroy, p. 206, line 70-84.

114 Vienna Sermon 58, ed. Leroy, p. 219, line 5 and Vienna Sermon 48, ed. Leroy, p. 219, line 16; cf. Vienna Sermon 18, ed. Leroy, p. 202, line 40.

115 Vienna Sermon 56, ed. Leroy, p. 218, line 39.

nor has it entered into the human heart what God has prepared for those who love him" (1 Cor. 2:9).<sup>116</sup>

#### 4.1.10 Homiletic Techniques

Beyond the subjects covered in Donatist preaching, some attention needs to be paid to homiletic techniques. While we have a limited range of preachers, perhaps as few as three or four, we can gauge what might have been a general style from the examples in the sermons that have survived.

#### 4.1.11 Use of Narrative

Many of the Escorial Homilies and some of the Vienna sermons open with a narrative. From the retelling of a scriptural story, the preacher proceeded to examine specific elements in the narrative, usually the actions and even mental states of the characters, rather than specific words or place names. From the narrative elements the preacher sometimes directly addressed a particular character in the story (though there is rarely simulated dialogue).

To drive home his message the preacher created a world of stark contrasts, some of which are listed above. This is to be expected. He was preaching in a world of religious sects with porous boundaries. In the late 4th and early 5th centuries, although there was enmity between Catholics and Donatists, and Donatist congregations were outlawed, there were many examples of boundary crossings.<sup>117</sup> Catholics sometimes joined Donatist congregations and vice versa. Donatists as an outlawed sect needed to make the boundary between them and the Catholics seem as impermeable as possible to prevent the legal pressures for conversion to the Catholics from decimating their ranks. Stark contrasts served that purpose. Either one was a follower of Christ or an imitator of the devil, a sheep or a goat; one stood on the right or the left; one chose life or death, light or darkness, day or night.<sup>118</sup> Separation might have been painful, even splitting families, but the Bible provided support in these cases. The *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* tells the wavering candidates: "And one's foes,' the Bible says, 'will be members of one's own household'" (Matth. 10:36).<sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Vienna Sermon 47, ed. Leroy, p. 201, line 1-2.

<sup>117</sup> On the correlation between porous boundaries, boundary crossing and doctrinal rigidity in North Africa, see Burns, *Cyprian the Bishop*. On boundary crossing in the Donatist era, see Tilley, "Theologies of Penance in the Catholic-Donatist Controversy".

<sup>118</sup> Escorial Homily 1, *Patrologia Latina* 95, col. 1206C; Escorial Homily 2, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 670D; and Escorial Homily 17, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 2243.

<sup>119</sup> *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* 1, ed. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories*, p. 52.

#### 4.1.12 Anaphora

Beyond contrast, perhaps the most frequent rhetorical device found in Donatist sermons was anaphora. Nearly every sermon in the Escorial and Vienna collections included triads of repetition, usually verbs or conjunctions at the beginnings of sentences. These repetitions drove home the point the preacher was making by piling up examples or ways of thinking.<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.1.13 Direct Address

Quite often the preacher used the technique of direct address. He did so in two ways. The first was by addressing characters in the narration of biblical stories. Once he had set the scene and explored the action of the pericope, he spoke to the characters, praising them, shaming them or exploring their mental states as a way to provide his audience with examples of what they ought to think or do. Finally he addressed his audience, but always in the vocative singular. He challenged each of them as individuals to take up the examples he provides.<sup>121</sup>

All of the Donatist sermons as catechetical sermons used a broad array of biblical materials and rhetorical strategies to induce the audience to join and stay faithful to the Donatist Church.

### 5 Conclusion

The Donatist sermons examined in this chapter may not be characteristic of all Donatist sermons from all preachers on all occasions. After all they were, with a few exceptions, nearly all catechetical sermons, those preached to a particular audience of persons about to be baptized. Since nearly all were preached during Lent, they tell us nothing about the cycle of saints' days or the liturgical year, except perhaps for the *Sermo in natali sanctorum innocentium* which may indicate an annual commemoration of the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem and the *Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* which commemorates the day of the death of a martyr. They are similar to other collections of

<sup>120</sup> Vienna Sermon 3, *Patrologia Latina* 39, col. 1836B-C, Escorial Homily 7, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 680C, Escorial Homily 9, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 688C-D and 689C, Escorial Homily 10, *Patrologia Latina* 56, col. 1151D, col. 1153C and col. 1154A, Escorial Homily 12, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 698B-C, 699B, Escorial Homily 14, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4, col. 701A-B; and Vienna Sermon 11, ed. Leroy, p. 167, line 45-46, Vienna Sermon 14, ed. Leroy, p. 172 and p. 174, line 26-29 and line 112.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. Vienna Sermon 20B, ed. Leroy, pp. 184-85, line 59-68, and Vienna Sermon 28, ed. Leroy, p. 191, line 95-108.

catechetical sermons in antiquity with their emphasis on Scripture and the Christian way of life.

What these sermons do provide is the opportunity for further study. Once scholars have completed a full analysis of the sermons reliably identified as Donatist, one of the next tasks will be to reconsider the comments on Donatist sermons made by contemporaries such as Optatus, Augustine and Possidius. This will allow scholars to expand their knowledge of Donatist preaching. With a solid background in what is reliably Donatist from the Donatist sermons, scholars may apply a literary sieve to what the opponents of Donatists said about their preaching. From more to less reliable the criteria for inclusion are the following:<sup>122</sup>

1. Multiple attestation: does the material in Optatus, Augustine or Possidius reproduce what is known verbatim or in a paraphrase from Donatist texts?
2. Congruency: if the material found in anti-Donatist authors is not identical to or a paraphrase of what can be found in Donatist sermons, is it at least congruent in handling of themes or biblical texts in texts reliably attributed to Donatists?
3. Extrapolation: do the comments of anti-Donatist writers seem to be an extrapolation from what the authors know directly? One needs to differentiate “They say” from “They would say.” Is what they extrapolate congruent with what is known from Donatist sources?
4. Dissimilarity: is a comment in the writings of an anti-Donatist writer made *obiter dicta* to their own disadvantage in an argument yet supportive of what is known from Donatist sources?

Given this sort of hermeneutical sieve scholars should be able to enlarge reliably our knowledge of Donatist sermons by extracting from anti-Donatist writings more instances of Donatist interpretive and rhetorical strategies as well as Donatist theology.

The next step would be to compare and contrast Donatist sermons with Jewish, Latin and Greek biblical commentaries to see Donatists as a part – and not an entirely marginal part – of the world of Late Antiquity.

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122 Adapted from Tilley, *The Bible in Christian North Africa*, pp. 4-5.

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# Appendix

This list represents the Donatist sermons on which this chapter comments.

Abbreviations:

- PL(s)* = *Patrologia Latina (Supplementum)*
- Escorial = A collection of sermons published in *PLS* 4, col. 669-740
- Vienna = F.J. Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne. Une édition provisoire", *Recherches Augustiniennes* 31 (1999), 149-234

Sermons attributed to the 4th century:

- Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* (*PL* 8, col. 752-58)
- Sermo de natali sanctorum innocentium* (*Revue des sciences religieuses* 2/3 (1922), 271-302)<sup>123</sup>

Sermons attributed to the 5th century:<sup>124</sup>

Escorial	Vienna	Published elsewhere	Attribution or title PsA = Pseudo-Augustine
1	1	<i>PL</i> 95, col. 1205-08	Once attributed to Paul the Deacon (see G. Morin, "Les sources non-identifiées de l'homélaire de Paul Diacre", <i>Revue Bénédictine</i> 15 (1898), 400-03)
2	3		
3	5		
4	2	<i>PL</i> 95, col. 1208	Once attributed to Paul the Deacon
5	4	<i>PL</i> 95, col. 1210-13	Once attributed to Paul the Deacon
6	6		
7	7		
8	12		
9	21		
10	22		
11	23		
12	24		
13	25	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1830-32	Once attributed to Augustine
14	32		

<sup>123</sup> The original editor, A. Wilmart, attributed it to Optatus of Milevis in "Un Sermon de saint Optat pour la fête de Noël" in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 2 (1922), 271-302. The current attribution by A. Pincherle in "Un sermone donatista attribuito a s. Ottato di Milevi", *Bilychnis* 22 (1923), 134-48, is undisputed.

<sup>124</sup> This collation is based on Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne", pp. 150-51.

(cont.)

Escorial	Vienna	Published elsewhere	Attribution or title PsA = Pseudo-Augustine
15	30		
16	37		
17	38	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 2244-45	Appended sermon 268
18	39		
19	40		
20	41		
21	42		
22	43		
23	44		
24	46		
25	52		
26	57		
27	15		
28	47		
	9	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1789-91	Appended sermon 23 Ps-A
	16	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1851-53	Appended sermon 56
	18A/B	<i>PLS</i> 2, col. 1199-201	Mai 90 §§1 and 2-4 Ps-A
	26	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1836-37	Appended sermon 46 Ps-A
	29	<i>PL</i> 64, col. 947-49	Ps-Fulgentius s. 76 = Leroy 29
	33	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1855-56	Appended sermon 59 Ps-A
	36		R. Étaix, "Textes inédits tirés des homiliaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent", <i>Revue Bénédictine</i> 92 (1982), 343-45.
	45	<i>PLS</i> 2, col. 1003-05	s. Caillau II, app. 79 Ps-A
	53	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 2243-44	Appended sermon 312
	54	<i>PLS</i> 4, col. 840-43	attributed to Paul the Deacon II, 91
	59	<i>PL</i> 39, col. 1931-32	Appended sermon 97

Vienna sermons: 22 sermons from Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4147 not otherwise published. These are printed in F.J. Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne: Une édition provisoire", *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), 123-47, and numbered according to the ÖNB manuscript as: VIII, X, XI, XIII, XIV, XVI, XIX, XX, XXB, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXV, XLVIII, XLIX, L, LI, LIII, LV, LVIII. This chart is based on Leroy, pp. 150-51.

# Peter Chrysologus

Andrea Bizzozero

## 1 Peter Chrysologus' Sermons

The collected writings of Peter Chrysologus (hereafter P.C.) include 179 sermons and a letter to Eutyches<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript tradition of the sermons consists of two main collections: the *Collectio Prefelicianiana*, also referred to as the *Collectio Severiana*, and the *Collectio Felicianiana*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Collectio Prefelicianiana* is preserved in the *codex Ambrosianus* C. 77. sup., which dates to the second half of the 6th century, and in the *codex Vaticanus Latinus* 3836 and *codex Vaticanus Latinus* 5758, both from the 6th-7th century. Though it does not contain all of P.C.'s sermons, this collection is very important because of the quality and reliability of the texts it includes.<sup>3</sup> The *codex Ambrosianus* C. 77 sup., fol. 157<sup>r</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>, contains an important testimony which indicates that 88 of P.C.'s sermons were attributed to Severian of Gabala. There is no agreement among scholars as to the foundation for this attribution.<sup>4</sup>

The second collection, the *Collectio Felicianiana*, was named after bishop Felix of Ravenna, who died in 724. Felix, P.C.'s successor, collected, indexed and published P.C.'s sermons.<sup>5</sup> This collection is preserved in a large number of manuscripts, none of which can be dated prior to the 11th century. Of particular importance is the *codex Vaticanus Latinus* 4952 from the 11th century and the *codex Romanus Vallicellianus* B. 20. In this tradition we can distinguish two classes, one named *franca*, from the 13th century, and another named *franca deriuata*, from the 14th century.

The critical edition of the sermons was furnished by Dom Alejandro Olivar and published in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 24, 24A, 24B.<sup>6</sup> This

1 Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 71; *Patrologia Latina* 54, col. 739; *Patrologia Latina* 84, col. 701; *Patrologia Latina* 106, col. 564. Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 90-91.

2 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 11-14; Olivar, "Einleitung", in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 24, pp. IX-XLVIII; Olivar, "Die Textüberlieferung der Predigten", pp. 469-87.

3 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 9-43; Olivar, "Einleitung", pp. IX-XVII.

4 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 9-11. 100-22.

5 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 45-100. 135-225; Olivar, "Einleitung", pp. XVII-XLVI.

6 Olivar, "Clavis Petri Chrysologi", pp. 327-42.

edition contains Felix’s prologues<sup>7</sup> and an index (*capitula*), followed by the 179 sermons. The majority of the 179 sermons are transmitted in the *Collectio Felicianiana*, while other authentic sermons which were not included in the *Collectio Felicianiana*, are called *extrauagantes*.

The authenticity of the sermons transmitted in the *Collectio Felicianiana* is established through the presence of the orator’s characteristic personal style and by the reliability of the manuscript tradition.<sup>8</sup> In his critical edition, however, Olivar recognizes that there are some sermons in the collection that were probably not written by P.C. According to the most recent studies, the following sermons are considered spurious<sup>9</sup>:

<i>Collectio Felicianiana</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	Title and incipit	<i>CCSL</i>	Reference	<i>CPPM</i>
s. 53	52, 347-48	<b>De pace.</b> <i>Beati pacifici, ait euangelista, carissimi, quia ipsi.</i>	24, 293-96	Böhmer, <i>Petrus Chrysologus</i> , p. 21. Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 169-70.	I, 6337.
s. 107	52, 497	<b>De natali s. Petri apostoli.</b> <i>Licet fandi sterilitas silentium michi.</i>	24A, 665-66	Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 97-100, 185.	I, 6338.
s. 119	52, 524-26	<b>De apostolo tertius decimus.</b> <i>Christus apostolos sal esse hodie patefecit dicendo.</i>	9A, 129-31	Olivar, “Clavis Petri”, p. 328. Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 186-87.	I, 6339.
s. 129	52, 555-56	<b>De natale sancti Cypriani.</b> <i>Quoniam hodie deo natale sancti Cypriani martyris conuenimus.</i>	24B, 793-95	Olivar, “Clavis Petri”, p. 328.	I, 6340.
s. 135	52, 565-67	<b>De natale sancti Laurentii.</b> <i>Hodiernus dies beatissimi martyris Laurentii corona.</i>	24B, 821-23	Böhmer, <i>Petrus Chrysologus</i> , p. 36; Olivar, “Clavis Petri”, p. 328.	I, 6341.

7 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 47-51.  
8 There are no reasons to doubt it. See Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 137-225.  
9 *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (CPL), n. 227-28, pp. 87-91; *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* (CPPM), n. 6212-347, pp. 912-17.

<i>Collectio Feliciana</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	Title and incipit	<i>CCSL</i>	Reference	<i>CPPM</i>
s. 138	52, 572	<b>De euangelio ubi dicit: Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur.</b> <i>Melius quidem fuerat, fratres carissimi, si pater ac magister.</i>	24B, 835-36	Böhmer, <i>Petrus Chrysologus</i> , p. 27.	I, 6342.
s. 149	52, 598-99; PG 52, 425	<b>De natiuitate Christi.</b> <i>In aduentu domini et saluatoris nostri atque in praesentia.</i>	24B, 927-30	Siegmund, <i>Die Überlieferung</i> , p. 130; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 119-22.	<i>CPG</i> , 4214; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 6343.
s. 159	52, 619-20	<b>De Epiphania.</b> <i>Ante hos dies, id est, die octauo kalendarum huius.</i>	24B, 986-88	Olivar, "Sobre un sermón", pp. 129-35; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 216-22.	I, 6344.

In his 1750 edition of P.C.'s sermons, Sebastianus Pauli adds an appendix with seven sermons. The first five were evidently authored by P.C., while the sixth and the seventh probably were not.<sup>10</sup>

<i>Appendix - Sebastianus Pauli</i>	<i>CCSL</i>	<i>CPPM</i>
s. 1, pp. 249-50.	s. 67, 24B, 402-05	I, 6345.
s. 2, pp. 250-51.	s. 68, 24B, 406-11	I, 6345.
s. 3, pp. 251-52.	s. 70, 24B, 420-23	I, 6345.
s. 4, pp. 252-53.	s. 71, 24B, 424-28	I, 6345.
s. 5, p. 254.	s. 72, 24B, 429-33	I, 6345.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Chrysologus, *Sermons*, ed. Pauli. Sebastianus collects P.C.'s sermons from previous editions and adds an appendix with seven other sermons. Before the sermons there is a good presentation/introduction about P.C.'s preaching, P.C.'s life by Agnello and some notes by Benedetto Bacchini; there is also a foreword by Domenico Mita. The same list of sermons can also be found in Migne, 52, col. 665-80.

<i>Appendix - Sebastianus Pauli</i>	<i>Title and incipit</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	<i>CPPM</i>	<i>Attributed</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	<i>CPPM</i>
s. 6, p. 255.	<b>De uerbis euangelii Matth.:</b> Hoc genus in nullo elicitur nisi oratione et ieiunio. <i>Aduersus daemonum nequitiam.</i>	52, 678-79	I, 6346	PS-AU s. 73	39, 1886-87	I, 858*
s. 7, p. 256.	<b>De uerbis Euangelii Ioannis XIV:</b> Pacem meam do uobis, pacem meam relinquo uobis. <i>Domini uox est, fratres charissimi.</i>	52, 679-80	I, 6347	PS-AM s. 171* PS-AU s. 97	39, 1931	I, 882 versio 2

We have to assume that Felix did not collect every single one of P.C.’s sermons. Olivar referred in his edition to 15 sermons from a source other than the *Collectio Felicianiana* as *extrauagantes*. The *codex Vaticanus* 5758 contains 18 sermons of which only some correspond to the *Collectio Felicianiana*.<sup>11</sup> Of the 18 sermons contained in the *codex Vaticanus* 5758, only nine are unanimously considered authentic.

<i>cod. Vaticanus 5758</i>	<i>s. collect. Felicianiana</i>	<i>s. extrau.</i>	<i>in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>	<i>Attributed</i>	<i>Reference</i>
s. 1				PS-AU, s. Mai <sup>a</sup> 1	Morin, in <i>Misc. Agost.</i> , I, p. 729; Olivar, “Clavis Petri”, p. 331; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1606.
s. 2	s. 143		s. 143, 24B, 870-78	//	

11 De Bruyne, “Nouveaux sermons de saint Pierre Chrysologue”, pp. 362-68.

cod. Vaticanus 5758	s. collect. <i>Feliciana</i>	s. extrau.	in <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>	Attributed	Reference
s. 3		s. 6	s. 140ter, 24B, 854-57	PS-AU, s. 124	De Bruyne, "Nouveaux sermons de saint Pierre", p. 364; Olivar, "Sobre un sermón", pp. 135-37; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 338-40; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 909; 6302.
s. 4	s. 151		s. 151, 24B, 941-46		
s. 5	s. 152		s. 152, 24B, 949-55	PS-AU, s. Mai 109	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1716.
s. 6				PS-AM, s. 147; PS-AU, s. 135, 1-4	In: <i>PL</i> 34, col. 2011-13. Morin, in <i>Misc. Agost.</i> , I, p. 747; Olivar, "Deux sermons restitués", p. 115; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 147; 920; 1561.
s. 7	s. 91		s. 91, 24A, 561-68	PS-AU, s. 199	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 984.
s. 8		s. 7	s. 99bis, 24A, 613-16	PS-AU, s. Mai 2	Böhmer, p. 16; Olivar, "Deux sermons restitués", p. 115; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 340- 44; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 6352; 1607.
s. 9	s. 106		s. 106, 24A, 657-63		
s. 10	s. 12		s. 12, 24, 76-81		
s. 11				PS-AU, s. Mai 3	Olivar, "Clavis Petri", p. 331; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1608.
s. 12				PS-AU, s. Mai 4	Olivar, "Clavis Petri", p. 331; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1609.
s. 13		s. 8	s. 177, 24B, 1074-78	PS-AU, s. Mai 5	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1610.
s. 14		s. 9	s. 178, 24B, 1080-83	PS-AU, s. Mai 6	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1611.

(cont.)

cod. Vaticanus 5758	s. collect. <i>Feliciana</i>	s. extrau.	in <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>	Attributed	Reference
s. 15 s. 16	s. 95		s. 95, 24A, 585-91	PS-AU, s. Mai 8	Olivar, "Clavis Petri", p. 331; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1613.
s. 17 s. 18	s. 75 s. 141		s. 75, 24A, 458-63 s. 141, 24B, 858-61		

a *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae*, t. 1, pp. 1-4.

There are still other sermons that do not appear in the *Collectio Feliciana* which, according to Olivar, are authentic.<sup>12</sup>

<i>CPL</i>	Title and incipit	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	<i>Extraua- gantes</i>	<i>CCSL</i>	Reference
230	In natali Domini, <i>PLS</i> 3, col. 160 I, <i>Cum uirgineus partus et nascentis.</i>	s. 4		s. 140bis, 24B, 851-52	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1242; 6365; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 323-24.327-34.
231	In natali Domini, <i>PLS</i> 3, col. 159 II, [ <i>Fratres carissimi</i> ] <i>quantum magnitudo.</i>	s. 3		s. 148bis, 24B, 854-57	Olivar, "Deux sermons restitués", pp. 114-36; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 323-27; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1238; 6364.
231 <sup>o</sup>	De kalendis Ianuariis, <i>Euangelica modo claudenda nobis est tuba.</i>	<i>PG</i> 65, col. 27	s. 5	s. 155bis, 24B, 967-69	Olivar, "Clavis Petri", p. 329; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 334-38; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1604. 1964; 6352.

12 Olivar, *Los sermones*, pp. 300-13.



<i>CPL</i>	Title and incipit	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>	<i>Extrauagantes</i>	<i>CCSL</i>	Reference
232	De Epiphania, <i>Celebrauimus ante hos dies.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 3, col. 177			Olivar, "Sobre un sermón", p. 134.
233	De Pentecoste, <i>Festiuitas praesens, fratres dilectissimi, nomen ex numero sumpsit.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 5, col. 397	s. 11	s. 85ter, 24A, 528-29	Olivar, in <i>Coll. Fragm.</i> , pp. 113-23; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 6363.
233a	De passione Domini, I, <i>Postea quam uirginei partus.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 4, col. 659	s. 12	s. 72bis, 24A, 435-39	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1635. 6360.
233b	De passione Domini, II, <i>Proxime cum dominicae passionis.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 4, col. 662	s. 13	s. 72ter, 24A, 440-44	<i>CPPM</i> , I, 1636. 6361.
233c	Homilia in Matt. XI, <i>Ioannes audiens in uinculis.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 4, col. 844	s. 14	s. 179, 24B, 1085-88	Olivar, "Clavis Petri", p. 330; pp. 335-39.
234	De mediopentecoste, <i>Merito uiam fecimus.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 4, col. 398	s. 10	s. 85bis, 24A, 527	Olivar, "San Pedro Crisólogo y la solemnidad", pp. 392-99; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 1707; 6362.
235	De ieiunio quinquagesimae, <i>Suscepturi sancti quinquagesimae de more ieiunium.</i>	<i>PLS</i> 3, col. 157	s. 1	s. 7bis, 24, 56-57	Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 320-21; <i>CPPM</i> , I, 6348.

(cont.)

CPL	Title and incipit	Patrologia Latina	Extrauagantes	CCSL	Reference
236	De laude episcopi, <i>Grata uobis et uotiuua sollemnitas.</i>	PLS 3, col. 177	s. 7		Spurious: Olivar, “Clavis Petri”, p. 330; CPPM, I, 6349.
237	De ordinatione episcopi, <i>Nemo miretur si sancta Ecclesia, si uirgo materque.</i>	PLS 3, col. 158	s. 2	s. 13obis, 24B, 801-02	Olivar, “Deux sermons restitués”, pp. 114. 125; Olivar, <i>Los sermones</i> , pp. 321-23; CPPM, I, 6350.

All the sermons found in the *Collectio Felicianae*, including the spurious sermons are collected in Olivar’s critical edition, along with the *extrauagantes*. There are other works attributed to P.C., such as the *Rotulus Rauennae* and part of *Benedictio fontis*,<sup>13</sup> but there is a consensus among critics to not recognize these as P.C.’s work.<sup>14</sup>

2 Preaching Style

P.C.’s preaching was informed by his role as shepherd of his flock. He saw it as his duty to teach, to illuminate, to correct and to support his congregation’s faith. The text of Luc. 12:41-46 gave him the opportunity to point out a bishop’s duties towards the faithful and, at the same time, to stress the gravity of the preaching ministry.<sup>15</sup> It was in the same text that P.C. described what he wanted to accomplish pedagogically through his preaching. Regarding the *doctoris officium*, P.C. said that the objective of his preaching was to examine and explain the biblical text in order to help his followers grasp its mystical meaning.<sup>16</sup> P.C. was aware that expounding the biblical text was a privilege and for

13 Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 74, col. 1055.  
14 Olivar, “Abermals der Rotulus von Ravenna”, pp. 40-58; Id., “San Pedro Crisólogo autor del texto”, pp. 280-92.  
15 *Sermo* 26, 43-50.  
16 *Sermo* 52, 3-6, ed. Olivar, CCSL 24, p. 288: *doctoris officium est lecta disserere, et mysticis*

this reason he considered himself in debt to his followers.<sup>17</sup> The preacher has authority from God<sup>18</sup> in order to preach<sup>19</sup> for the benefit of the people.<sup>20</sup> P.C. trusted in God's aid and considered this knowledge to be sufficient to examine and explain Scripture.<sup>21</sup>

In his sermons, P.C. did not intend to offer a comprehensive or exhaustive explanation of every aspect of Christian doctrine. He aimed at something else, namely, that "the sermon generates listening, listening gives birth to faith, faith gives birth to the wish to believe the confession of faith which brings eternal salvation."<sup>22</sup> The preacher's aim, as articulated by P.C., was to prepare the listeners' consciences for an active acceptance of the faith. P.C. used a musical analogy to express this idea when he wrote, "... we have soothed your minds and your heart by playing upon the Davidic harp with a plectrum of spiritual understanding and an accompaniment of rhythmical chant, and ... we have expounded awesome principles of the resounding Gospel to quicken your powers of perception."<sup>23</sup> He was aware of the fact that he could not explain every part of the mystery of faith, but he insisted on preaching to arouse praise and contemplation.<sup>24</sup>

In light of this, it is relevant to take note of the style of P.C.'s preaching. The doctrinal content is presented in a concise and assertive way but without a formal theological argument. Above all, the aim of P.C.'s preaching was to affirm catholic doctrine against possible errors, rather than to develop an offi-

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*obscurata sensibus lucido adstruere et demonstrare sermone, ne minor intelligentia inde perniciem generet auditori, unde scientiam conferre debuit et potuit salutarem.*

17 *Sermo* 88, 3-10, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 541: *semper debere anxium est, fratres .... Sed me, quem uobis mea saepe facit promissio debitorem, satis sibi de talis debiti natura et obligatione blanditur, quia dat, non accipit, qui promittit. Et qui dando debet, sibi magis ipsum facit obnoxium creditorem; atque ubi qui credidit debet, et qui debet credidit, ibi necessitudinis, non necessitatis probatur esse contractus, et in tali fenore animae non oneris, sed honoris praedulcis currit usura.* See also *sermones* 5, 3; 36, 3; 77, 18; 89, 106-08; 122, 12; 123, 3; 126, 3-4, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 36; 206; 469; 552-53; 732; 738; 773.

18 *Sermones* 70, 10-11; 107, 1-2, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 420; 665.

19 *Sermones* 2, 104; 67, 10; 101, 64-65, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 25; 402; 623.

20 *Sermo* 43, 3-7, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 242.

21 *Sermones* 4, 92; 5, 7-9; 39, 119-21; 51, 87-90; 79, 84-85; 86, 17-30; 94, 104-05; 96, 94-95; 97, 5; 98, 91-92; 109, 3-5; 125, 114-15; 156, 120-21, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 35; 36; 225; 287; 488; 531-32; 584; 596; 597; 606; 672; 772; 975.

22 *Sermo* 60, 27-29, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 336: *sermo creat auditum, auditus parturit fidem, credulitatem parturit fides, confessionem credulitas nutrit, confessio perpetuam dat salutem.*

23 *Sermo* 115, 3-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 699: *postea quam Dauiticam citharam spiritalis intelligentiae plectro et modulatione tangentes, animos uestros et corda permulsimus, intonantis quoque euangelii ad suscitandos sensus uestros principia metuenda praeuimus.*

24 *Sermo* 140ter, 7-9, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 854.

cial theological discourse. The employment of argumentation in his sermons was sacrificed in favor of an ample rhetorical elegance. His homilies were rich with rhymes, assonance, antithesis, repetition, figurative senses, illustrations taken from ordinary life, descriptions, anaphora, and paronomasia.<sup>25</sup> The language of P.C.'s sermons is that of a well-educated person, demonstrating his cultural background and his knowledge of Latin classical authors.<sup>26</sup> While P.C. used terminology typical of late-antique Latin, he also used colloquial words.<sup>27</sup>

P.C. gave attention to his manner of delivering sermons. He preferred a metrical-accentual rhythm.<sup>28</sup> The elegance of this delivery features two distinct advantages: rhetorical redundancy and stylistic refinement. P.C.'s excellent rhetorical training, used in the service of mystical inspiration, became an instrument to touch believers' hearts by convincing them of the truth of his assertions. Theological arguments might have deepened the sermon's content, but P.C.'s style involved and convinced the listener, moving the listener toward consequential choices and actions.

P.C. acknowledged the limitations of his preaching. He commented on the inadequacy of the sermon as a medium for communicating deep theological content, writing that "our sermon, adapted to the present occasion and the need for haste, is insufficient for those who wish to fathom the secrets of theological knowledge."<sup>29</sup>

P.C.'s supposition was that similarly to the human struggle to understand the complexity of creation, there exists an even greater difficulty in the human attempt to fathom the depth of God's mystery. Consequently, the preacher must be aware of the fact that he cannot clarify every obscure matter, dissolve every doubt, answer every profound question, or perfectly articulate the mystery of faith.<sup>30</sup> However, the reality of this human limitation does not silence the preacher, as P.C. pointed out, "the incapacity to speak would silence me, but the vehemence and holiness of those commands impose on me to speak...."<sup>31</sup> The forcefulness of the preacher's speech was derived from faith in

25 Truzzi, "Le opere di Pietro Crisologo", pp. 24-27.

26 Olivar, "Index auctorum", pp. 1157-70; Scimè, "Indice degli autori antichi", pp. 376-78.

27 Baxter, "The Homilies of St. Peter Chrysologus", pp. 257-58.

28 Januel, *Commentationes philologicae*; Del Ton, "De Sancti Petri Chrysologi eloquentia", pp. 177-89; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 299-304.

29 *Sermo* 112, 6-7, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 685: *ita et magnum diuinae scientiae desiderantibus nosse secretum noster sermo non sufficit, qui ad praesens festinationi deseruit et tempori.*

30 *Sermo* 112, 11-13, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 685.

31 *Sermo* 107, 3-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 665: *licet fandi sterilitas silentium michi indicare uideatur, loqui tamen uehementia cogit et sanctitas imperantis.*

Scripture and not from eloquence, thus P.C. asserted that “today, however, the whole passage of the apostle pours itself with clear light into the minds of the hearers. It leaves nothing ambiguous to catholic minds.”<sup>32</sup> P.C.’s belief that oratory skills were not a necessary precondition for the reception of Scripture can be construed from this quote. In this sense, the efficacy of preaching was measured differently from that of other discourses, because preaching did not depend entirely on the preacher’s eloquence: “A worldly sermon ... serves and satisfies human tastes; on the contrary, a divine sermon is in the power from the one who gives it [God] and not from the speaker.”<sup>33</sup> The content of Scripture was difficult and the preacher’s and listeners’ limitations were evident to P.C. For this reason, the preacher should prepare his own speech carefully<sup>34</sup> and put his confidence in the Holy Spirit’s revelation<sup>35</sup> rather than in himself.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, the listeners should invoke God’s assistance for themselves and for the preacher.<sup>37</sup> Believers should participate in the preaching through prayer, by asking God to give the preacher the faculty needed to explain the Holy Scriptures.<sup>38</sup> P.C. believed that God established an important connection between the preacher and the listener: “may our God deign to give me the grace of speaking and you the desire of hearing.”<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, he believed that one who seeks for the meaning of Scripture is like the Magi who sought Jesus.<sup>40</sup>

P.C. often emphasized the importance of the teaching position adopted by the preacher. He knew that there were barriers to understanding the Gospel message and he knew that there were cultural differences among the members of his congregation. His sermons revealed two types of differences in his audience. On the one hand, his congregation included catechumens, neophytes,

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32 *Sermo* 112, 15-17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 685; *uerum quia hodie apostolicus sermo claro se lumine sensibus audientium totus infudit, nec quidquam catholicis mentibus reliquit ambiguum.*

33 *Sermo* 86, 4-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 532; *mundanus sermo ... humanis seruit et obsecundat ingeniis; diuinus uero sermo in potestate dantis est, non dicentis.*

34 *Sermo* 64, 3-5, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 379.

35 *Sermo* 95, 5-8, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 585.

36 *Sermo* 5, 8-9, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 36.

37 *Sermo* 64, 8-10, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 379.

38 *Sermones* 5, 8-10; 39, 104-21; 51, 89-90; 79, 84-85; 86, 29-31; 94, 104-05; 96, 96-97; 98, 91-92; 109, 3-5; 125, 112-15; 140ter, 3-7; 156, 119-21, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 36; 224; 287; 488; 532; 584; 596; 606; 672; 772; 854; 975.

39 *Sermo* 96, 96-97, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 596; *Deus autem noster et mihi dicendi gratiam et uobis audiendi desiderium donare dignetur.*

40 *Sermo* 64, 11-14, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 379.

and Christians without strong faith, so the group included a broad spectrum of spiritual maturity. On the other hand, the sermons also suggest cultural disparities among the listeners. From these two kinds of differences follows the necessity to modulate his sermon language, as he pointed out when saying: “we should speak to the people in popular fashion, the community ought to be addressed by ordinary speech. Matters necessary to all men should be spoken about as men in general speak. Natural language is dear to simple souls and sweet to the learned. A teacher should speak words which will profit all.”<sup>41</sup> P.C. was convinced that the shepherd’s task was to educate his people and he was not worried about sacrificing the esteem of those who admired his eloquence in order to speak plainly and teach with clarity. For this reason, he used suitable pedagogical devices while preaching, declaring, “If the pious educator does not adapt himself to a child, he cannot help him to become a real man.”<sup>42</sup> However, in spite of his declaration against being an erudite speaker,<sup>43</sup> or his pronouncements about the risks of eloquence,<sup>44</sup> or his stated goal of avoiding rhetorical declamations,<sup>45</sup> P.C.’s language remained very refined with close attention to rhetorical form.<sup>46</sup>

### 3 Content, Aim and Target of the Sermons

P.C.’s sermons were essentially biblical commentaries similar to the *explanatio-enarratio* principle applied to classic texts by a *grammaticus*. A *grammaticus* provided explanation and commentary on poems, in much the same way that P.C. explained and commented on biblical texts. The method required a detailed explanation of the text and comments to provide a deeper understanding of the narration. P.C. was not an exegete in the traditional sense,

41 *Sermo* 43, 3-5, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 242: *populis populariter est loquendum; communio compellanda est sermone communi; omnibus necessaria dicenda sunt more omnium. Naturalis lingua cara simplicibus, doctis dulcis; docens loquatur omnibus profutura.*

42 *Sermo* 62, 1-11, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 343: *nutritor pius, nisi totus fuerit redactus in paruulum, numquam paruulum perducit in uirum.*

43 *Sermones* 5, 142-47; 112, 18-20, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 42; 685.

44 *Sermo* 18, 50-57, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 108.

45 *Sermo* 127, 10, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 782.

46 *Sermones* 36, 3-8; 59, 116-19; 89, 85-95; 118, 3-9; 122, 3-14; 132, 70-81, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 206; 334; 551-52; 714; 772; 812-13.

because his task was not to propose a systematic theology of the Holy Bible, but instead to provide resources to his congregation.<sup>47</sup>

P.C. claimed that the starting point of homiletics must be the Holy Scripture proclaimed in the liturgy. From this starting point, he recognized three additional vital constituents of the sermon:

We have believed to return to apostolic teaching so that the threefold division of sermons can retain and impart its salutary instruction about the Christian doctrine. For the chant relaxes your minds from constant effort, and the authority of the Gospel refreshes them again and stirs them up to labor, and the apostle's vigor does not permit our minds to wander off without destination.<sup>48</sup>

The most frequent scriptural texts used in P.C.'s sermons come from the New Testament. Typically, he used Old Testament references to expound the New Testament. In this way, P.C. demonstrated his conviction regarding the unity of the Testaments and, at the same time, the unity of salvation history. His particular attention to the entirety of the Holy Scripture is in accordance with previous and contemporary Patristic traditions. To express the centrality of Scripture, P.C. used effective similes. For example, he compared the study of Scripture to digging for gold, and explained that when a person digging for gold discovered a rich gold vein, they used all of their abilities and skills to obtain it.<sup>49</sup> P.C. recognized the authority and truthfulness of the Gospel<sup>50</sup> and illustrated this by teaching that the Gospel is like Elijah's celestial chariot (*ista euangeliorum quadriga*), leading humanity to heaven.<sup>51</sup> In another simile, P.C. compared God's words to an army drawn up in defense of the disciples, facing the menacing attacks of the enemy.<sup>52</sup> Gospel readings were useful, P.C. wrote, for one's present and future life: every Gospel reading gives us a great advan-

47 See Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 505, 575-76; Olivar, "Els principis exegetics", pp. 413-18; Truzzi, "Le opere di Pietro Crisologo", p. 25.

48 *Sermo* 115, 7-12, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 699: *ad apostolicum magisterium mox credidimus esse remeandum, ut tripertitus ordo sermonis ecclesiasticae doctrinae salutiferam teneat et praebeat disciplinam. Nam et cantilena a continuo labore relaxat animos, et euangelica auctoritas mentes reparat et exsuscitat ad laborem, et apostolicus uigor tramite recto remoueri et nostros non sinit sensus euagari*. See *Sermo* 116, 3-9, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 704.

49 *Sermo* 91, 3-8, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 562.

50 *Sermones* 82, 20-23; 112, 21-23, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 506; 685-86.

51 *Sermo* 92, 4-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 569.

52 *Sermo* 27, 5-27, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 154-55.

tage both for present and future life.”<sup>53</sup> Because the Gospels helped believers remain in true faith, P.C. argued that it was better for believers to refer to the complete texts rather than to the abridged versions.<sup>54</sup> P.C. affirmed that Holy Scripture is a gift from God, useful both to experts to acquire more correct knowledge, and to simpler people so that they can arrive at salutary knowledge: “the passages read in the service of the Church are arranged in such a wise order, that they may bring deeper penetration to the learned, and impart the grace of wholesome understanding to simple folk.”<sup>55</sup>

The sermons that P.C. expressly dedicated to the Old Testament include many commentaries on Psalms.<sup>56</sup> In his sermons on the New Testament,<sup>57</sup> P.C. gave particular attention to parables demonstrating God’s mercy, including the lost sheep in Luc. 15:1-7,<sup>58</sup> the lost drachma in Luc. 15:8-10,<sup>59</sup> the father and his two sons in Luc. 15:11-32,<sup>60</sup> and Jesus’ meeting with sinners.<sup>61</sup> P.C. also preached notable sermons on Jesus’ temptations in the desert<sup>62</sup> and the disciples’ mission.<sup>63</sup> Some of his sermons were dedicated to Jesus’ public ministry, such as Jesus’ ministry to the Gerasene,<sup>64</sup> Jesus sleeping on a boat,<sup>65</sup> the liberation of a man possessed by a deaf and dumb spirit in Marc. 9:16-18,<sup>66</sup> Jesus’ dinner with a Pharisee in Luc. 7:36-38,<sup>67</sup> Jesus healing a sick man at a Pharisee’s house,<sup>68</sup>

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53 *Sermo* 34, 3-4, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 193; *omnes euangelicae lectiones magna nobis et praesentis et futurae uitae commoda largiuntur.*

54 *Sermo* 92, 11-12, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 569, where P.C. alluded to collections of biblical quotations.

55 *Sermo* 20, 4-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 116; *ecclesiasticae lectiones sic diuino dispensantur archano, ut et peritis scientiam conferant altiore, et simplicibus salutaris intelligentiae gratiam largiantur.*

56 *Sermones* 6 (Ps 99); 10 (Ps 28); 14 (Ps 40); 44 (Ps 1); 45 (Ps 6). 46 (Ps 94), ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 43-47; 68-71; 88-92; 246-50; 251-54; 255-59.

57 See Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, pp. 1261-71.

58 *Sermo* 168, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1031-34.

59 *Sermo* 169, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1035-38.

60 *Sermones* 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 15-47.

61 *Sermo* 168, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1031-34.

62 *Sermones* 11; 12; 13, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 72-87.

63 *Sermo* 170, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1040-45.

64 *Sermones* 16; 17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 98-105.

65 *Sermo* 21, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 122-27.

66 *Sermones* 51 and 52, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 284-91.

67 *Sermones* 93; 94; 95, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 573-91.

68 *Sermo* 99bis, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 613-16.



the resurrection of the widow's son,<sup>69</sup> and the fig tree without fruits.<sup>70</sup> Another series of P.C.'s sermons is dedicated to Jesus' discourse, often comprised of parables.<sup>71</sup> The series includes the parable of weeds among the wheat,<sup>72</sup> the parable of the mustard seed,<sup>73</sup> the parable of the yeast,<sup>74</sup> the parable of a dishonest administrator,<sup>75</sup> and Jesus' discussion with the Pharisees in Marc. 7:2-15.<sup>76</sup> P.C. also preached sermons concerning New Testament figures whose lives served as models for believers, including sermons regarding the Centurion,<sup>77</sup> Peter's mother-in-law,<sup>78</sup> Matthew the tax collector,<sup>79</sup> Jairus' daughter,<sup>80</sup> the woman suffering from a hemorrhage,<sup>81</sup> the paralytic,<sup>82</sup> Zacchaeus,<sup>83</sup> Zechariah,<sup>84</sup> the Syrian-Phoenician woman,<sup>85</sup> the ill woman,<sup>86</sup> the rich man and poor Lazarus,<sup>87</sup> the one born blind,<sup>88</sup> and Lazarus's resurrection.<sup>89</sup> Another interesting series

69 *Sermo* 103, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 639-45.

70 *Sermo* 106, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 657-63.

71 Luc. 11:5-8, *sermo* 39, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 220-25; Luc. 11:29-30, *sermo* 37, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 211-15; Luc. 12:4-5, *sermo* 101, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 620-26; Luc. 12:16-20, *sermo* 104, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 646-49; Luc. 12:22-23, *sermo* 163, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1005-09; Luc. 12:31-36, *sermones* 22; 23; 24; 25, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 733-72; Luc. 12:49, *sermo* 164, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1001-04; Luc. 17:3-4, *sermo* 139, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 838-43; Luc. 17:7-10, *sermo* 161, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 994-99. To Matth. 5:9, *sermo* 138, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 835-36; Matth. 5:21-22, *sermo* 177, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1074-78; Matth. 5:38-39, *sermo* 38, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 216-19; Matth. 5:44, *sermo* 178, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1081-83; Matth. 18:19, *sermo* 132, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 810-14. To Ioh. 8:51-53, *sermo* 131, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 803-09; Ioh. 10, *sermo* 40, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 226-29.

72 *Sermones* 96; 97; 98, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 592-606.

73 Januel, *Commentationes philologicae*; Del Ton, "De Sancti Petri Chrysologi eloquentia", pp. 177-89; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 299-304.

74 *Sermo* 99, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 607-11.

75 *Sermones* 125; 126, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 765-79.

76 *Sermones* 171, 172, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1046-53.

77 Matth. 8:5-13, *sermones* 15; 102, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 94-101, 630-37.

78 Matth. 8:14-15; Marc. 5:18, *sermones* 16; 17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 98-105.

79 Matth. 9:9-13, *sermones* 28; 29; 30, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 162-77.

80 Matth. 4:10, *sermo* 33, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 186-90.

81 Matth. 9:20, *sermones* 34; 35; 36, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 194-210.

82 *Sermo* 50, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 276-82.

83 *Sermo* 54, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 298-306.

84 *Sermones* 86; 87; 88; 89; 90; 91; 92, ed. Olivar, pp. 531-72.

85 *Sermo* 100, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 617-19.

86 *Sermo* 105, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 651-55.

87 *Sermones* 121; 122; 123; 124, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 726-51.

88 *Sermo* 176, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1068-72.

89 *Sermones* 63; 64; 65; 66, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 373-99.

of sermons is dedicated to a commentary of Rom. 5-8, and I Cor., with references to other Pauline texts.<sup>90</sup>

P.C. also liked to teach the theological meaning of different liturgical celebrations and the practice of spiritual disciplines intended to help his congregation live more fully. Among these sermons there is the *de ieiunio quinquagesimae* series<sup>91</sup> and the *de quadragesima* series.<sup>92</sup> There are also sermons about the importance of fasting,<sup>93</sup> two sermons about Jesus' passion,<sup>94</sup> several about Easter and Jesus' resurrection<sup>95</sup> and Pentecost.<sup>96</sup> There is a series of sermons about the mystery of the Incarnation and the Annunciation,<sup>97</sup> the Incarnation and nativity,<sup>98</sup> and Jesus' genealogy.<sup>99</sup> For Epiphany,<sup>100</sup> P.C. makes reference to the Magi's adoration and to Jesus' baptism and to the wedding of Cana.<sup>101</sup> There are sermons about the flight into Egypt<sup>102</sup> and sermons about the slaughter of innocents.<sup>103</sup> Also noteworthy are sermons about St. Joseph.<sup>104</sup> Sermons 85 and 86 were preached for *medio pentecoste*, the feast celebrated during Eastertide. P.C. could be the first to observe this celebration, though the feast was possibly observed first in the Milan Church or in some parts of the Near Eastern Tradition.<sup>105</sup> In P.C.'s homiletic repertoire there are sermons preached on the occasions of the feasts of John the Baptist,<sup>106</sup> Peter,<sup>107</sup> Andrew,<sup>108</sup>

90 *Sermones* 110-19, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 676-719.

91 *Sermones* 7; 7bis; 8; 9, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 51-67.

92 *Sermones* 11; 12; 13; 14, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 72-92.

93 *Sermones* 31; 41; 42; 43; 166; 167, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 178-81; 232-45; 1019-29.

94 *Sermones* 72bis; 72ter, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 435-44.

95 *Sermones* 73; 74; 75; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 447-525.

96 *Sermo* 85ter, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 528-29.

97 *Sermones* 140; 142; 143; 144, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 846-49; 863-85.

98 *Sermones* 140bis; 140ter; 141; 147; 148; 148bis; 149, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 851-61; 909-30.

99 *Sermones* 145; 146, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 889-908.

100 *Sermones* 156; 157; 158; 159; 160, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 976-93.

101 See *sermo* 157, 3-17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 976. See Sottocornola, *L'anno liturgico*, pp. 243-50; Mariani Puerari, "Introduzione", pp. 59-60; Mariani Puerari, "La fisionomia delle feste", pp. 383-85.

102 *Sermones* 150; 151, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 932-46.

103 *Sermones* 152; 153, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 950-57.

104 *Sermones* 140; 145; 146; 175, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 846-49; 890-908; 1065-67.

105 See Olivar, "San Pedro Crisólogo y la solemnidad in medio Pentecostes", pp. 389-99; Drobner, "Die Festpredigten der Mesopentecoste", pp. 137-70.

106 *Sermones* 127; 137; 173; 174; 179, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 782-88; 828-33; 1054-64; 1085-88.

107 *Sermo* 107, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 665-66.

108 *Sermones* 122, 4-8; 133, ed. Olivar, pp. 732-37.

Apollinaris,<sup>109</sup> Cyprian,<sup>110</sup> Felicity,<sup>111</sup> Lawrence,<sup>112</sup> Adelphius,<sup>113</sup> the Innocents,<sup>114</sup> and Stephen.<sup>115</sup> Another important series collects sermons preached in the context of catechumen training. P.C. maintained that preparation for baptism required considerable effort.<sup>116</sup> It was in the context of catechumen training that P.C.'s sermons about the Lord's prayer<sup>117</sup> and the *symbolum*<sup>118</sup> were preached. In addition to other sermons about various topics, it is essential to highlight those preached on three occasions of episcopal ordination: of a bishop,<sup>119</sup> of Projectus, bishop of Imola,<sup>120</sup> and of the bishop of Voghenza.<sup>121</sup>

It is clear that P.C. devoted more than one sermon to some topics. There are at least four reasons for this. First, in some cases, the sermons were preached on the occasion of annual feasts and he prepared a new sermon annually on the same topic. Second, in cases such as Easter, P.C. wrote several sermons to provide different Gospel accounts of the same events.<sup>122</sup> Third, P.C. wrote different sermons about the same subject because he did not want his sermons to be too long. P.C. frequently spoke about the duration of his sermons.<sup>123</sup> The justifications for shortening his sermons included his desire not to tire his listeners,<sup>124</sup> to avoid dealing with important questions in a hasty way,<sup>125</sup> and to prevent his own fatigue.<sup>126</sup> Finally, P.C.'s exegesis led him to preach multiple

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109 *Sermo* 128, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 789-91.

110 *Sermo* 129 spurious, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 793-95.

111 *Sermo* 134, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 818-19.

112 *Sermo* 135 spurious, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 821-23.

113 *Sermo* 136, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 825-27.

114 *Sermones* 152; 153, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 950-57.

115 *Sermo* 154, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 958-60.

116 See *sermo* 40, 9-13, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 226-29.

117 *Sermones* 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 402-33.

118 *Sermones* 56; 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 62bis, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 315-55.

119 *Sermones* 130; 130bis; 131, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 797-809.

120 *Sermo* 165, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1017-18.

121 *Sermo* 175, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 1065-67.

122 *Sermones* 74; 75; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 451-63.

123 *Sermones* 36, 6-7; 96, 94; 97, 3-4; 101, 64-65; 112, 9-13; 123, 136-38, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 206; 596; 597; 623; 685; 744; see also Olivar, "La duración de la predicación antigua", pp. 143-84; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 686-88, 692.

124 *Sermones* 33, 13-16; 74, 89-90; 96, 94-97; 97, 3-5; 120, 110-15; 122, 8-12, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 186; 456; 596; 597; 725; 732.

125 *Sermones* 1-6; 7-9; 11-13; 16-17; 18-20; 22-27; 28-31; 34-36; 41-43; 48-49; 51-52; 55-62; 63-65; 67-72; 72ter, 117-19; 74-84; 86-92; 87, 89-91; 93-95; 96, 94-97; 108-18; 117, 83; 121, 136-38; 121-24; 125-26; 140; 142-44; 145-46; 150-51; 152-53; 156-60; 166-67, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 15-47; 49-67; 72-87; 98-120; 129-81; 193-210; 231-45; 254-73; 284-91; 307-52; 374-92; 402-44; 709-18.

126 *Sermones* 75, 89-91; 86, 94-95, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 463; 535.

sermons on the same text. Influenced by an allegorical exegetical method from the Alexandrian tradition, P.C. preached first on the literal meaning of the text, and then on the spiritual meaning, and then finally on the moral application.<sup>127</sup> He carefully distinguished levels of analyzing the texts, resulting in many sermons on the same passage corresponding to different levels of analysis. It was necessary to first explain the literal meaning of a passage. However, the same passage had a deeper meaning according to P.C., a mystery to investigate after the first literal reading, hence “we are speaking about history and yet our thoughts turn to discover the arcane mystery.”<sup>128</sup> After the literal exposition, the mystical and deeper meanings contained in the passage were investigated. “But let us now conclude our narrative sermon, that afterwards, through the revelation of Christ, we may unfold the matters that are symbolic and profound.”<sup>129</sup> In sermon 63, 6-7, P.C. compared the Holy Scriptures to a wide sea: before entering the water, one contemplates the surface.<sup>130</sup> Similarly, he considered there to be two levels of scriptural reading, the *historia veritas* level and the *sacramenta caelestia* level.<sup>131</sup> The narration was also understood to be

127 *Sermones* 3, 98-102; 4, 90-92; 5, 3-9; 20, 4-6; 34; 35; 36; 93, 98-100; 94, 103-05; 95, 3-8; 96, 3-6; 97, 3-5; 123; 156, 120-21; 169, 3-5; 176, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 30; 35; 36; 116; 193-210; 579; 584; 585; 592; 597; 738-45; 975; 1035; 1068-72.

128 *Sermo* 3, 98-99, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 30: *historiam loquimur adhuc, et iam cogitamus arcanum nudare mysterium*. *Sermones* 2, 80; 3, 98-99; 4, 90-92; 33, 13; 44, 17-24; 46, 45-51; 126, 21-35; 132, 21-24, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 24; 30; 35; 186; 246; 257; 773-74; 810-11.

129 *Sermo* 4, 90, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 35: *sed iam sermonem historicum concludamus, ut futuro uerbo quae sunt mystica, quae profunda, Christo reuelante pandamus*; *sermones* 36, 3; 37, 4-7; 93, 98-100; 94, 3-7; 94, 103-05; 95, 3-8, where P.C. says that the Gospels report Jesus' actions as historical truth, but in which there is always a divine mystery to know (ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 206; 211; 579; 580; 584; 585).

130 *Sermones* 99, 89-100; 120, 7-10; 123, 157-64, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 611; 720; 745.

131 *Sermones* 99, 89-100; 120, 3-10; 139, 4-8; 169, 17-31, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 611; 720; 838; 1035-56. See Olivar, “Els principis exegetics”, pp. 421-22: “Per a expressar el sentite espiritual de les Escriptures i el que hi és relatiu, té sant Pere Crisòleg una rica terminologia: *allegoricus sermo* (*sermo* 36, 75), *allegoricus sensus* (*sermo* 99, 89), *altior intelligentia* (*sermo* 36, 71-72), *celestis intelligentia* (*sermones* 168, 9; 169, 4), *spiritualis intelligentia* (*sermones* 18, 50; 35, 66; 50, 32; 105, 51; 115, 3; 123, 159; 176, 3), *mysterium*, *mystica* (*sermones* 2, 80; 4, 91; 64, 4; 80, 12; 89, 96); *arcanum mysterium* (*sermo* 3, 98-99); *mysterii caelestis obscura* (*sermo* 64, 9); *lectiones euangelicae obscurate mysteriis diuinis* (*sermo* 126, 21-22); *mystica et singularis deitatis intelligentia* (*sermo* 5, 7); *res mysticas* (*sermo* 5, 145); *mystici sensus* (*sermones* 52, 3-4; 169, 3); *sacramentum* (*sermo* 93, 91); *diuinum sacramentum* (*sermo* 46, 47); *sacramenta* (*sermo* 44); *secretum diuini sensus* (*sermo* 168, 5-6); *profunditas, profunda* (*sermones* 4, 91; 173, 97); *diuinae figurae* (*sermo* 146, 11-17); *diuinus sensus* (*sermones* 139, 4; 168, 6)”.

like a great figure of the mystery of redemption.<sup>132</sup> The movement from literal to mystical comprehension was supported by God's grace because it was divine revelation.<sup>133</sup> Both the preacher and the listener were invited to enter into this process of divine revelation.<sup>134</sup> According to P.C., there were two different kinds of intelligence, that of the world and that of faith.<sup>135</sup> There was a method to pass from one level to the other, namely "in the stone the fire is cold, in the iron the fire is hidden, however when iron rubs the stone the fire ignites; in the same way an obscure word will become bright through the comparison of the word with the meaning".<sup>136</sup> The meaning of the Scriptures was not immediately accessible and to understand, the *regula fidei* was necessary.<sup>137</sup> The Scriptures marked a watershed between the believer and unbeliever, between the one who searched for meaning and the one who was satisfied with what he has.<sup>138</sup> In s. 39, 4-23<sup>139</sup> P.C. reminded his listeners that God desires for the listener to understand. For this reason, he concluded, divine teaching is communicated through the aid of images and examples, because human nature is not able to understand divine meaning without aid. The mediation of the narration with simile is necessary to bridge the limitations of human knowledge with the language of faith.<sup>140</sup> P.C. was sensitive to the possibility of knowing divine insights and he understood that this knowledge is possible only as a gift from God.<sup>141</sup> In this way, he also understood the significance of parables as simple narrations which show the mysteries of the Kingdom.<sup>142</sup> According to P.C., understanding parables was not easy, because behind the literal meaning there was a deeper meaning accessed only by faith. In this con-

132 *Sermo* 15, 118-20, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 714-25; *ne ergo leuiter centurionis huius prudentiam transeamus, hodie de ipso dicta sufficiant, quia mysterium permagnum est, quod eius geritur in figuram.*

133 *Sermones* 5, 8-9; 22, 110-15; 95, 6; 120, 114-15; 169, 3-5, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 36; 133; 585; 725; 1031.

134 *Sermones* 74, 6-7; 91, 3-9; 120, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 451; 562; 720-25.

135 *Sermones* 75, 6-7; 106, 4-6; 176, 73-75, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 548, 657; 1071.

136 *Sermo* 96, 6-8, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 592: *in lapide friget ignis, latet ignis in ferro, ipse tamen ignis ferri ac lapidis conlisione flammatur; sic obscurum uerbum uerbi ac sensus conlatione resplendet.*

137 *Sermo* 156, 4-11, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 970.

138 *Sermo* 96, 8-17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 592-94.

139 Ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 167-68.

140 *Sermo* 55, 5-6, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 307.

141 *Sermo* 81, 105-09, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 503: *fratres, ad uirtutes natura nostra est nimis infans, quae nisi per deum creuerit, capere matura non potest, non ualet perfecta sentire. Deus ergo quod per nos possumus, ipse nos capere per se et sentire concedat.*

142 *Sermones* 99 and 106, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 607-11, 657-63.

text, faith was not just a virtue but also a necessary precondition to understand mystery. The gospel narrative did not just inform listeners about past events, but re-enacted the event which takes place in the story, as P.C. recounted in his comments on Matthew's calling. The story of Matthew's calling not only recorded the details of a publican being elevated to the dignity of a disciple, but also extended that grace to every listener.<sup>143</sup> It was P.C.'s conviction that Holy Scripture was so relevant that God directly spoke to the reader every time Scripture was read: "when he says *today*, he calls you, he speaks to you – whoever you are – so that you will not commit a crime, you will not incur the crime of disobedience."<sup>144</sup>

From his sermons, important information can be obtained about the relationship P.C. established with his listeners. People were invited to listen to the shepherd's demanding words,<sup>145</sup> admonished to pay attention, to avoid distractions and superficiality, and to discover the deeper mystery of Scripture.<sup>146</sup> P.C. asked the congregation to pray for him so that he could explain Christian doctrine well.<sup>147</sup> In some situations, P.C. had to rebuke, with sorrow, the catechumens who were anxious to receive baptism but not yet ready to change their lives.<sup>148</sup> His rebukes were also addressed to those members who, even though already baptized, continued their pagan habits, such as habitually attending the theater<sup>149</sup> or practicing occultism.<sup>150</sup>

In the sermons, P.C. disclosed the important theological issues with which he was grappling. In several sermons, he refers to Arianism and his burden to explain the Incarnation and defend the divinity of Jesus Christ according to Nicene tradition.<sup>151</sup> There are some textual references to Jews, indicating that a Jewish community existed in Ravenna. However, not every reference to Jews can be taken literally. The use of the term "Jew" had a archetypal purpose in his

143 *Sermones* 29, 3-5; 30, 4-5, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 167, 173.

144 *Sermo* 46, 96-98: *dicit: hodie, te conuenit, ad te loquitur, quicumque homo auditor, ne audita uoce eius contemptus reatum, contumaciae crimen incurras.*

145 *Sermones* 147, 4-7; 173, 14-23, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 909; 1054-55.

146 *Sermones* 2, 75-78; 101, 60-65, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 24; 623.

147 *Sermones* 5, 8-9; 86, 22-24; 96, 96, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 36; 532; 596.

148 *Sermones* 58, 3-23; 60, 3-20; 61, 12-18, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 325; 335; 341.

149 *Sermones* 155; 155bis, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 961-69.

150 *Sermones* 5, 58-84; 51, 34-54; 71, 52, 63; 156, 62-70; 157, 29-41, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 38-39; 31-36; 426; 972; 977.

151 *Sermones* 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 88; 145, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 318-52; 541-47.

sermons as well, representative of the difficulty humans have in recognizing Jesus' divinity.<sup>152</sup>

P.C.'s sermons offer insight into the liturgical and religious life of the Christian community in Ravenna. There are some interesting descriptions of the daily liturgical schedule, including the observance of prayer in the evening<sup>153</sup> and another prayer in the morning.<sup>154</sup> There are some references to believers celebrating the Eucharist<sup>155</sup> and information about the structure and elements of the celebration itself.<sup>156</sup> Additionally, useful information about the social complexity of life in Ravenna can be gleaned from the sermons. In his sermons, P.C. drew images and references from daily life and various occupations, references which he used to describe important aspects of Christian life in a simple and accessible way. The most frequently recurring images are those referring to military life,<sup>157</sup> navigation,<sup>158</sup> fishing,<sup>159</sup> agriculture, (*agricola*),<sup>160</sup> stewarding (*uilicus*),<sup>161</sup> shepherding,<sup>162</sup> social life (*seruus*;<sup>163</sup> *iudex*;<sup>164</sup> *rector*<sup>165</sup>), and the medical arts.<sup>166</sup> There are many references to the economic condition

152 *Sermones* 4; 5; 48; 76; 102; 106; 109; 131; 150; 169; 172, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 31-42, 264-68; 464-68; 629-37; 657-63; 672-75; 801-09; 932-39; 1035-38; 1050-53.

153 *Sermones* 21, 84-95; 132, 45-47, 53-59, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 126; 811-12.

154 *Sermones* 39, 82-83; 43, 61-64, 73-74, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 223; 244.

155 *Sermones* 5, 117; 33, 108; 34, 44; 67, 51; 68, 84; 71, 77-80; 39, 82-83; 43, 61, 64; 132, 45-47, 53-59, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 41; 190; 195; 404; 409; 427; 223; 244; 812.

156 *Sermones* 44, 17-24; 63, 3; 15, 3-7; 116, 7-9; 120, 110-14; 103, 77-101; 170, 10-11, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 246; 373; 93; 704; 725; 643-45; 1040.

157 *Sermones* 6, 19-20; 10, 8-9; 12, 3-31; 13, 3-37; 14, 3-12; 15, 3-17; 17, 70-74; 24, 12-14; 26, 79; 27, 5-21; 28, 5; 41, 3; 54, 121-22; 71, 112; 109, 3; 137, 10; 158, 4, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 43; 68; 76; 82-83; 88; 93; 104; 139; 151; 154; 161; 231; 304; 428; 672; 828; 980.

158 *Sermones* 8, 4-7; 10, 4-5; 20, 10-11; 24, 15-16; 28, 4; 32, 5; 50, 24; 71, 110; 118, 17, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 59; 68; 116; 139; 161; 182; 277; 428; 714.

159 *Sermones* 15, 95-97; 47, 44-47; 107, 22-24; 175, 61-63, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 92; 261; 666; 1067.

160 *Sermones* 7, 5-6; 71, 11; 106, 19-32; 118, 15-16; 132, 9-10; 164, 27-30, 60-61, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 49; 424; 658; 714; 810; 1011; 1012.

161 *Sermo* 158, 47, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 981.

162 *Sermones* 6, 11-12; 24, 17; 40, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 43; 88; 227-29.

163 *Sermones* 1, 47, 58; 6, 42; 7, 55; 10, 80; 15, 30; 23, 44-93; 24, 26ss.; 26, 101-08; 27, 38; 38, 96; 39, 30; 47, 59; 54, 26-27, 57; 65, 114; 68, 14-15; 70, 7; 72, 33-40; 72ter, 72; 74, 38; 81, 94; 83, 7; 95, 88; 96, 30; 101, 14; 113, 85; 148bis, 24; 158, 34; 177, 39, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 17; 43; 52; 70; 94; 135-37; 139-40; 151-52; 155; 219; 221; 262; 299; 300; 390; 406; 420; 430; 442; 453; 502; 511; 590; 593; 620; 693; 924; 981; 1075.

164 *Sermones* 17, 66; 26, 81; 167, 56-57, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 104; 151; 1027.

165 *Sermo* 26, 79, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, p. 151.

166 *Sermones* 29, 90-104; 30, 59; 33, 72; 35, 30; 36, 66; 38, 61; 41, 13-51; 44, 3; 50, 17, 57; 54, 95; 60, 146; 83, 100; 93, 63-64; 94, 16-22; 99bis, 49-50; 108, 13-14; 112, 78; 113, 24; 131, 84; 156, 3-4; 167, 73;



of Ravenna, including a gap between rich and poor people. P.C. exhorted the rich not to withdraw in avarice and greed for the sake of their wealth, but to open their hearts to the needs of the poor with alms and justice.<sup>167</sup> For P.C., assisting the poor was a Christian obligation. P.C. also spoke about politics<sup>168</sup> and the empress,<sup>169</sup> alluding to the magnificence of imperial palaces<sup>170</sup> and to the decline of the empire.<sup>171</sup>

#### 4 Status quaestionis

Research on P.C. developed mainly in the 20th century, even though in earlier times various editions of P.C.'s sermons were known. Notable among these is the first which appeared in Bologna in 1534, edited by Agapito Vicentino. Many other editions followed, among which may be noted the ones by Domenico Mita (Bologna 1643), Martin of Castillo (Lion 1676), Sebastiano Pauli (Venice 1750), by Migne in *Patrologia Latina* 52, col. 183-666, and the critical edition by Alejandro Olivar in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 24; 24A; 24B.

A significant article was published in 1928,<sup>172</sup> which brought attention to an author who had not until then received much consideration from scholars. Thus, in the 20th century, scholars developed an interest in P.C. from historical,<sup>173</sup> literary,<sup>174</sup> exegetical,<sup>175</sup> and theological<sup>176</sup> points of view. Today, he is studied with interest because of what he contributed to the catechesis,<sup>177</sup> to the discipline of the sacraments,<sup>178</sup> and for information that he gave about particular

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- 177, 11, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 172; 175; 189; 202; 208; 218; 231-33; 246; 277; 279; 303; 340; 516; 576; 580; 615; 668; 688; 690; 808; 970; 1028; 1074.
- 167 *Sermones* 7, 73-104; 14; 22, 33-66; 23; 25; 28; 42; 121; 122; 123; 124; 137, 98-111; 162, 86-94, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 53-54; 89; 134-38; 144-47; 161-65; 236-40; 726-31; 732-37; 738-45; 747-52; 832; 866-67.
- 168 *Sermo* 85ter, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 528-29.
- 169 *Sermo* 130, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 797-99.
- 170 *Sermones* 42; 141, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 236-40; 858-61.
- 171 *Sermo* 130, ed. Olivar, *CCSL* 24, pp. 797-99.
- 172 Schlitz, "Un trésor oublié", pp. 265-76.
- 173 Benelli, "Note sulla vita e l'episcopato", pp. 63-79; Spinelli, "L'eco delle invasioni", pp. 87-93.
- 174 Januel, *Commentationes philologicae*; Del Ton, "De Sancti Petri Chrysologi eloquentia", pp. 177-89; Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 299-304.
- 175 Palardy, "Peter Chrysologus' Interpretation", pp. 129-33.
- 176 Benericetti, *Il Cristo nei Sermoni*; Kochaniewicz, *La Vergine Maria*.
- 177 Trisoglio, "La catechesi nei Padri della Chiesa", pp. 7-24.
- 178 Trisoglio, "Il matrimonio nell'esegesi biblica di san Pietro Crisologo", pp. 531-43; La Rosa, *Il commento al Pater Noster*; Lemarié, "La liturgie de Ravenne", pp. 355-73; Lodi, "La preghiera in S. Pietro Crisologo", pp. 389-417; Sottocornola, *L'anno liturgico*.



aspects of social life in Ravenna.<sup>179</sup> But there is still a need for a complete study of the chronology of his sermons.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Scimè, *Giudei e cristiani nei Sermoni di San Pietro Crisologo*.

<sup>180</sup> Zattoni, "Cronologia crisologiana", pp. 307-18.

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# Christian Preaching in Fourth-Century Spain

*Liuwe H. Westra*

## 1 Introduction

Only three authors can be presented as clear examples of early Christian Spanish, or rather Iberian preachers: Potamius of Lisbon, Pacianus of Barcelona, and Priscillian of Ávila. A possible fourth is Gregory of Elvira (second half of the 4th century), to whom no fewer than 20 *tractatus*, transmitted under the name of Origen, may be ascribed (CPL 546). However, not only is the ascription to Gregory far from certain, the content of the sermons also relies heavily on earlier Christian authors, so that the collection can hardly be said to represent original Spanish preaching.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, no further attention is paid to it in this chapter.

The remaining threesome of Potamius, Pacianus, and Priscillian are also far from free of difficulties. However, the authorship of their works has apparently been confirmed in the 19th and 20th centuries, and all three seem to have left us one or more original sermons. In my opinion, Christian sermons do not differ fundamentally from pagan speeches, and that means that the rules of classical rhetoric should apply to them.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, we shall pay particular

1 See Schulz-Flügel, "Gregor von Elvira", pp. 257-58. Moreover, the *tractatus* as a body seem to derive from a running commentary on Scripture, transmuted into a number of homilies by inserting a short address at the beginning and a doxology at the end of each sermon. A third argument against discussing this collection here, is that it bears signs of being translated from a Greek original: see Bulhart, *Gregorii Illiberritani episcopi quae supersunt*, LI-LIV and Batiffol/Wilmart, *Tractatus Origenis*, XIV-XXIV. All in all, it seems to me that Gregory's *tractatus* have been composed rather as a series of lectures than as sermons in a liturgical context: see for this distinction in the homiletical literature Schaublin, "Zum paganen Umfeld der christlichen Predigt", pp. 25-49, in particular 41-43. Nevertheless, Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 424-28 still treats Gregory as the most important source for our knowledge of early Christian sermons from Spain.

2 Apart from the historical roots of the Christian sermon, albeit not exclusively, in the pagan *diatribe* and the Jewish synagogical sermon, which at least in its Greek form had already been influenced by classical rhetorical theory (see the classical overviews by Capelle/Marrou, "Diatribé", pp. 990-1009 and Sachot, "Homilie", pp. 148-75), this conviction seems inevitable when one realizes that in the Roman Empire, any kind of linguistic and literary instruction was equivalent to some years of intensive rhetorical schooling: see Schaublin, "Zum paganen Umfeld", pp. 28-29 and Gemeinhardt, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane*

attention to their composition and the use of rhetorical devices in order to assess both the quality and purpose of these texts as precisely as possible.

## 2 Potamius of Lisbon and His Sermon *De Lazaro* (CPL 541)

The literary legacy of Potamius of Lisbon is small and consists of two letters, a fragment of another, one sermon, and another fragment. Of his letters, only his *Epistula ad Athanasium* (CPL 542) has been transmitted under Potamius's own name. The other one, his *Epistula de substantia patris et filii et spiritus sancti* (CPL 544), has come down to us under the pseudonym of Jerome. Further, Phoebeadius of Agen has preserved a fragment of a letter by Potamius (CPL 544a). All these letters are directly concerned with the mid-4th-century Arian controversy. The one complete sermon *De Lazaro* has been preserved in two versions, each of which contains considerable passages that are lacking in the other, one under the name of Zeno of Verona, and one under the name of John Chrysostom. Finally, the fragment *De martyrio Esaiae prophetae* (CPL 543) may well stem from a sermon, but may also have been part of some other kind of work. All of Potamius's works are now available in an edition with English translation by Marco Conti in the *Corpus Christianorum* series.<sup>3</sup>

Not much is known of Potamius's life and career, but we meet him as a bishop of Lisbon attending the Council of Sirmium in 357. Here, he seems to have played a prominent part either in issuing or in promoting the Arian formula that was the fruit of this council. However, according to the violently anti-Arian *Libellus precum*, written by the presbyters Faustinus and Marcellinus in 383-84, Potamius's pro-Arian activities were the consequence of a deliberate move on the author's part, and there seems to be no reason to doubt this testimony. However, his *Epistula ad Athanasium* seems not only to represent an anti-Arian position, but also to have been written after the synods of Sirmium

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*Bildung*, pp. 320-49. However, I disagree with Schäublin, who tends to classify the Christian sermon as a special subspecies of the *genus deliberativum* (pp. 29-46), in firmly connecting the Christian sermon to the *genus demonstrativum*. The ritual, metaphysical, communal, and ethical functions of this *genus* have been highlighted by Carter, "The Ritual Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric: The Case of Socrates' Funeral Oration", pp. 209-32.

3 Hillgarth/Conti, *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogaie – Potamii episcopi Olisiponensis opera omnia. De Lazaro* is presented in its various recensions on pages 165-95. An earlier bilingual edition together with a historical study of Potamius and a concise commentary on his works by the same author is Conti, *The Life and Works of Potamius of Lisbon. A Biographical and Literary Study with English Translation and a Complete Commentary on the Extant Works of Potamius*, pp. 142-47.

and Rimini. Thus, Potamius seems to have changed positions twice, although the exact circumstances of these changes remain unclear.<sup>4</sup>

When we turn to the sermon *De Lazaro*, we have to start with the fact that serious study of this piece of early Christian preaching is still in its infancy. The text is far from clear, and its language and style are decidedly difficult. Now, this has been explained in two different ways. Conti, the modern editor, mentions a “strong personal tendency towards hyper-realism and expressionism”, combined with “the drama of a personality under an evident psychological pressure”. Moreover, he states, Potamius had hardly had any literary training as Lisbon was “removed from the influence of the main rhetorical schools”.<sup>5</sup> The latter assertion lacks any substantiation from the sources, and the former is nothing more nor less than a personal guess. In an even more personal way, André Wilmart in his edition of *De Lazaro* condemns the writer because of his “mauvais goût ... obscurité ... une fatuité qui n'ont pas été souvent égalées.”<sup>6</sup>

Where, then, do we stand when trying to assess Potamius of Lisbon as a Christian preacher? First of all, it should be noted that the first critical edition of all his works by Conti is a huge step, since no previous editor collated all the available manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> However, huge as it may be, it remains only a first step towards a reliable basis for further study. Potamius writes in a difficult and tortuous style and in many instances it is far from clear whether the text as we find it in one of the manuscripts can be read in a way that makes grammatical sense or whether it should be emended. Conti's English translation is not always very illuminating either, and sometimes downright wrong (e.g. when he renders *precum pulsus tenuante defectu* as “Jesus was moved by the fainting weakness of their prayers”: *pulsus* should not be interpreted as a participle here, but as a noun, and refers to the sisters' dramatic appeal to Jesus).<sup>8</sup> This also applies to the interpretations in his commentary, including the remark that Potamius reworks the gospel narrative in a sensational sense. In Ioh. 11,

4 See Montes Moreira, *Potamius de Lisbonne et la controverse arienne* and Conti, *Life and Works*, pp. 5-28.

5 Conti, *Life and Works*, p. 41, partly repeated in *CCSL* 69A, p. 127.

6 Wilmart, “Le *De Lazaro* de Potamius”, pp. 289-304; quotation on 289. Similarly, Olivar (*La predicación*, p. 428) dismisses Potamius's sermons as “del retoricismo más ridículo” and accuses the author of “teatralidad” and “taking delight in anatomy”.

7 *CCSL* 69A, pp. 134-35.

8 *CCSL* 69A, pp. 170-71. Conti's decision to publish a commentary before establishing the text can hardly be called a fortunate one either. To make matters worse, there are a number of instances where the critical text differs from Conti's earlier one, but where the translation has not changed, or on the other hand, where the same Latin text is translated differently in the two editions.



31-44 the witnesses of the miracle are the sisters' friends who follow Mary when she leaves the house in order to meet Jesus. In Potamius they are a crowd of extraneous people who gather when they hear the words of Jesus promising the miracle of resurrection.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that Potamius deviates more from the Gospel than he does in reality, and the parallel that he mentions with a similar scene in Apuleius *Metamorphoses* II 27-28 (ibid.) is very superficial, if there is a parallel at all.

Next, Conti's commentary and his study of Potamius's style<sup>10</sup> bear out clearly that Potamius was a writer who must have extensively read both pagan and Christian Latin literature and who freely borrowed from the classical poets, philosophical, technical and popular literature, and Christian predecessors like Tertullian (although his mentioning of "oral tradition of folk-tales"<sup>11</sup> as one of his sources seems to be problematical). He makes use of a very sophisticated vocabulary and his syntax is often quite elaborate. In this sermon, we meet a well-educated preacher who goes out of his way to impress his audience. In my opinion, this implies that psychological explanations of Potamius's predilection for the sensational and the morbid, as presented by Wilmarit and Conti, should be dismissed. Potamius must have been a writer who knew exactly what he was writing, and to what purpose. Nevertheless, his Latin does not always meet classical standards.<sup>12</sup>

This impression is reinforced by Potamius's skilful use of rhetorical techniques. Anaphora and alliteration are quite common. A fine example of the latter is *Terra igitur humore frigore et calore composita corporis fabrica, quae quattuor partes semper sibimet repugnantes corpus criminum in procella subuertunt* (CCSL 69A, p. 169). Moreover, he makes use of sound effects as in the first sentence, where the combination *pronis fluctibus* seems to imitate the sound of the strong waves that the preacher is describing. Also, Potamius consistently uses the classical clausulae. For example, in the sentence quoted above we find

9 Conti, *Life and Works*, p. 66.

10 Conti, *Life and Works*, pp. 58-74 and CCSL 69A, pp. 127-34.

11 CCSL 69A, pp. 131-32. Conti offers as an example the mentioning of senators and judges among the crowd, who were probably not among those present in 1st-century Judaea. However, this is not an instance of "unconcern for reliability which is typical of folk-tales" (p. 132), but due to the (probably unconscious) transposition of the story to a 4th-century Roman sea town, also populated by other groups that cannot have witnessed the miracle in reality: *milites, Iudaei, gentiles, Christiani, proselyti, clarissimi senatores, nobiles iudices, nautae, serui et omnis paene ciuitas ...* (CCSL 69A, p. 171).

12 For example *Nemo ergo mirari debeat* (CCSL 69A, p. 169) for *Nemo ergo mirari debet* and the use of the gerund *cessando* instead of the participle *cessantes* (*Sorores ... fundebant et ... cessando uoces ... expiabant*; CCSL 69A, p. 171).

a dicretic (*corporis fabrica*), a cretic with spondee (*-met repugnantes*), and a cretic with double spondee to crown the period *in procella subuertunt*). Similarly, the first sentence twice offers a dicretic (*-dique miraculo; fluctibus torqueor*).<sup>13</sup>

This raises the question of the context and the purpose of the text. What is the point that Potamius wants to make, and for what kind of audience? To answer this question, it is necessary to determine the rhetorical arrangement of the sermon.<sup>14</sup> Here again, it is clear that Potamius knew and used the classical rules. The *exordium* is constituted by the opening sentence (see above), in which the preacher presents himself as a man who is mentally tossed about by various and threatening troubles.

Then follows a long *narratio*, which describes in gruesome detail the decomposition of Lazarus's body, its physical causes, and the grief of his sisters.<sup>15</sup> This part is the most difficult one in the sermon. Although it is quite clear what the preacher is relating, his choice of words and his syntax make it far from easy to follow him. If the sermon was really delivered in this form, it can hardly have been understood by an ordinary audience. Nevertheless, there are also some indications of actual spoken language, like the emphatic *Nemo ergo mirari debeat* (CCSL 69A, p. 169) and the colloquial parenthesis in *Sed quia istum iuuuenem – Lazarum loquor – dominus in saeculo dilexerat* (CCSL 69A, p. 171).

After this section which is mainly descriptive in character, the preacher starts a number of exclamations and moreover addresses his audience again: *Quantus illic rogo uos populi festinatus. Quae spectantium turba. Qualis....* But he also uses a double apostrophe to address first Christ (*Qualis illic eras Christe Iesu. Quam croceus, quam decorus ...*) and then himself: *Age age Potami, seruius*

13 *Grandi fratres stupore grandique miraculo per ambiguas curas hinc inde in concauo uertigine sinu pronis fluctibus torqueor* (CCSL 69A, p. 167); compare Conti's analysis of this carefully constructed sentence: Conti, *Life and Works*, p. 58. For an overview of clausulae, see Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, pp. 488–505.

14 We shall look for the classical order of *exordium-narratio-propositio-argumentatio-refutatio-peroratio*, which seems to come closest to common practice according to the sources. See for an overview Lausberg, *Handbuch*, pp. 148–49 and Martin, *Antike Rhetorik. Technik und Methode*, pp. 52–166. In the 4th-century handbook by Consultus Fortunatianus *Ars Rhetorica* 11 12, we find only *exordium-narratio-argumentatio-peroratio*, but with a number of additional parts mentioned as a possibility: Calboli Montefusco, *Consulti Fortunatiani Ars Rhetorica*, p. 118.

15 *Lazarus mortuus est ... saluatoris in laudibus expiabant*; CCSL 69A, pp. 167–71.

*dei uiui, si aliquid praeuales, de lacrimis domini uel pauca narrato.*<sup>16</sup> In my opinion, all these rhetorical devices serve to highlight the *propositio*, in which the preacher not only recaptures the attention of his audience, but also presents the question that he wants to answer.

Next, a longer section follows, which should be identified as the *argumentatio*. Here, Potamius not only describes the well-known resuscitation of Lazarus, but in particular underscores the cause that made the miracle possible, namely the divine power and compassion of Jesus Christ. Here, the Latin is much more straightforward than in the other parts of the sermon.<sup>17</sup>

After this, the author once more changes to a higher style for his *peroratio*, in which we find anaphora, homoioteleuton and climax densely packed together: *Quae rogo uos fratres illic uoces. Quae pressura uidentium. Quam curiosa.... Qualis.... Qui fletus, quae gaudia, quale murmur.... Mors uincitur, homo redditur, inferorum catenae franguntur ...* (CCSL 69A, p. 171). All these devices serve to highlight the essence of the miracle: a dead body changing into a living person again.

Conti draws attention to the fact that in quite a number of places, Potamius might well be deliberately using divine epithets for Christ to revindicate his own orthodoxy after his temporary Arian sympathies. Although there seem to be a number of authors who assume that this usage may well have been compatible with an Arian position, Conti chooses to date the sermon to the years of Potamius's renewed orthodoxy. Moreover, Conti offers the suggestion that Potamius may have taken the subject of the resuscitation of Lazarus as a metaphor for the "resurrection of Nicenism in his soul".<sup>18</sup> In my opinion, this may well be correct.<sup>19</sup> In that case, the detailed description of the decay of the body of Lazarus would not be the expression of a morbid mind or a hypertense individuality, it would rather have the function of a kind of public penitence. Similarly, the closing of the sermon, which pictures a dead man's return to life, might be meant as a simile for the return of an erring soul to the

<sup>16</sup> CCSL 69A, pp. 171-73.

<sup>17</sup> *Flebat deus mortalium lacrimis excitatus ... ipse se mortuus et adhuc uinculatus ut Christus iusserat suis manibus resoluebat*; CCSL 69A, pp. 173-75.

<sup>18</sup> Conti, *Life and Works*, pp. 34-35, quotation on 35.

<sup>19</sup> The suggestion seems to be strengthened by the exclamations in the *propositio*: *Qualis illic eras, Christe Iesu. Quam croceus, quam decorus, fonte purior, niue candidior, luna clarior, septies sole candentior. Heu me, quid interrogo quem tunc uidere non merui?* (CCSL 69A, p. 173). Also, the consistent addressing of the audience with the exclusively male *fratres* might provide a clue: is it possible that Potamius is not addressing a mixed audience in church (for which *carissimi*, *caritas uestra* or similar phrases could be used) but rather a gathering of colleagues?

community of the true Church that alone offers eternal life. Here, a double entendre referring to baptism, eucharist, and active participation in the community of the Church might well suggest itself: *Frigida poscitur, non respuitur panis, domus petitur, Christi miracula referuntur. Cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*<sup>20</sup>

### 3 Pacianus of Barcelona and His Sermon *De Baptismo* (CPL 563)

Somewhat more extensive are the surviving works of Pacianus, who was bishop of Barcelona sometime in the second half of the 4th century. He has left us a treatise (just possibly conceived as a sermon) *De paenitentibus* (CPL 562), a sermon *De baptismo*, and three letters, the third of which is an anti-Novatianist treatise (CPL 561). All works are now available in an excellent critical edition by Ángel Anglada Anfruns in the *Corpus Christianorum*-series as well as a bilingual *Sources Chrétiennes*-edition with commentary by Carmelo Granado.<sup>21</sup> Not much is known of Pacianus's career from other sources than his own writings and a number of remarks in Jerome's *De uiris illustribus*. From these, he appears as a formerly married bishop (Jerome seems to have been acquainted with his son Dexter), a man of culture, and an opponent of the Novatianist church (or sect). Nothing is known about his date of birth, and despite a rather sophisticated discussion of the scant sources, it does not seem possible to say anything apart from that he probably died in the penultimate decade of the 4th century or possibly one or two years later. Nothing is known about the date of composition of his works either. These works have earned him some fame as a theologian who developed a consistent doctrine of original sin prior to Augustine, but they owe their survival solely to the 9th-century scholar Florus of

<sup>20</sup> CCSL 69A, p. 175.

<sup>21</sup> Anglada Anfruns, *Paciani Barcinonensis opera quae extant*; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*. Granado seems to have relied heavily on earlier studies by Anglada Anfruns without acknowledging so, whereas the latter claims to be the only one to have consulted the sole extant manuscript of Pacianus's works in person. See Anglada Anfruns, "Comentario sobre la edición reciente de Paciano", pp. 308-99 and more succinctly CCSL 69B, pp. XLIII-XLIV. Anglada's edition contains an apparently complete bibliography. Two earlier editions should be mentioned, namely Peyrot, *Paciani Barcinonensis episcopi opuscula edita et illustrata*, 1969 and Rubio Fernández, *San Paciano. Obras. Edición crítica y traducción*. Peyrot's edition offers a commentary on the text, and Rubio Fernández's a Spanish translation.

Lyons and only became somewhat better-known after the 1538-edition by Tilius.<sup>22</sup>

Although Pacianus's writings have hitherto received scholarly attention from a very limited number of authors only, this seems to be a reliable basis for further study. In principle, both the text and its meaning are clear.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it seems to be certain that Pacianus was a well-read man, and many quotations from both pagan and Christian authors have been identified in his works.<sup>24</sup> Also, Pacianus's use of the classical clausulae has been studied extensively by Anglada Anfruns.<sup>25</sup>

As has been stated above, one certain and one possible sermon by Pacianus of Barcelona survive, namely *De paenitentibus* and *De baptismo*.<sup>26</sup> Most earlier editors hesitate to designate both texts in the same way and there are indeed a number of formal differences between the two.<sup>27</sup> The most natural explanation for this is that in *De baptismo* we have the text of a sermon more or less as it was delivered, whereas *De paenitentibus* originated as a written text. Olivar, however, in his discussion of Pacianus points to a number of features that suggest oral delivery in the case of *De paenitentibus* as well: the address of a public with *dilectissimi* and *fratres* and the use of *sermo* to refer to the text itself. Thus he concludes that both texts were meant for oral delivery, although they may well have previously been composed in written form.<sup>28</sup> Regarding *De paenitentibus*, I disagree with Olivar for two reasons. In the first place, the clear-cut

22 See Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 23-98 and CCL 69B, pp. IX-XXX with literature; for the dates of Pacianus's life, see also Rubio Fernández, *San Paciano*, pp. 14-16.

23 However, Granado's text should always be checked against Anglada Anfruns's. For details, see several contributions in Anglada Anfruns's *Silua studiorum*. A small number of places still present some real difficulties.

24 See Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 49-72 and CCL 69B, pp. XIII-XIV with literature.

25 In CCL 69B, both the exact text and the punctuation of the main manuscript *R* are copied in one of the apparatuses. According to the editor, this punctuation goes back to Pacianus himself and indicates the clauses of the author's prose. The clausulae are indicated in the same apparatus by means of a number of symbols; an explanation of these symbols is somewhat unobtrusively offered in footnote 31 on pp. XIII-IV. See Anglada Anfruns, "La puntuación del ms *Reginensis Lat. 331* en el texto de Paciano de Barcelona", pp. 99-140 and other studies in this collection of papers.

26 CCL 69B, pp. 9-37 and 39-53 (sc 410, pp. 118-47 and 148-65).

27 Thus Peyrot (*Paciani opuscula*) has *Paraenesis siue exhortatorius libellus ad paenitentiam* and *Sermo de baptismo*; Rubio Fernández (*San Paciano Obras*) has *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam* and *De baptismo*; Granado (sc 410) has *Sermo de paenitentibus* and *De baptismo*. Only Anglada Anfruns (CCL 69B) has *De paenitentibus* and *De baptismo*.

28 Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 429-31.

division of the text into four main parts following the introduction,<sup>29</sup> in which these four parts are neatly announced,<sup>30</sup> does not fit the rhetorical scheme for oral speeches. Moreover, the reference to another written (and lost) work, the *Ceruulus* or *Ceruus* (as it is referred to by Jerome and which was probably the 'official' title) at the beginning of the introduction<sup>31</sup> suggests the context of written debate rather than oral discourse.

When one takes the time to read *De baptismo* in its entirety, the conviction that we have here an authentic sermon that was preached by a bishop to his believers only gains ground. Moreover, Pacianus reveals himself as a skilful orator, with a firm grasp of earlier Latin literature and an educated style.<sup>32</sup> This last point has already been noticed by all earlier students, and need not be elaborated on here, although a few examples will be offered below. Also, the theological importance of the sermon, which seems to offer the first coherent theory of original sin, has long been noticed. A rhetorical analysis of this sermon, however, has not yet been made.<sup>33</sup>

In my opinion, then, the *exordium* is constituted by section I 1 and most of I 2.<sup>34</sup> In the opening sentence the subject matter and the occasion of the sermon are announced: *Aperire desidero qualiter in baptismo nascamur et qualiter innouemur*. The first word not only meets the classical requirements for the beginning of a speech,<sup>35</sup> it is programmatic as well because, as will appear below, Pacianus not only explains baptism and the Christian life to a number of baptismal candidates here (*competentes*, see below), but also, as a bishop, opens up the possibility of baptism and a new life afterwards for them. The next part of the *exordium* mainly consists of short phrases in the *stilus humilis*

29 A good overview is offered by Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 29-32.

30 *De paenitentibus* II 3-4: *Sermonum tamen meorum hic ordo seruabitur. Primum ut de modo criminum edisseram.... Tum de his fidelibus dicam qui.... Tertio de his erit sermo.... Postremo illud apertissimum....*; CCSL 69B, p. 12 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 120-22).

31 *De paenitentibus* I 3: *Hoc enim puto proxime Ceruulus ille profecit, ut eo diligentius fieret quo impressius notabatur*; CCSL 69B, p. 10 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 118). Thus, this lost work apparently stimulated a malpractice by drawing attention to it.

32 Nevertheless, his grammar hardly meets classical standards.

33 The summary in Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 32-34 covers the subject matter of the sermon, but does not touch upon the *partes orationis*.

34 *Aperire desidero ... amplius praestitisse*; CCSL 69B, pp. 39-40 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 148).

35 See Lausberg, *Handbuch*, p. 151. There is some debate however about the possibility of one or more missing phrases here: see Anglada Anfruns, CCSL 69B, pp. xxv-xxvi.

that clearly serve as a *captatio benevolentiae*.<sup>36</sup> Then (I 2), Pacianus offers some clues as to the structure of the *narratio*,<sup>37</sup> and he closes with the promise that the *competentes* will reach the conclusion that this sermon will have profited them more than any hitherto.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, the *narratio* begins with the last sentence of I 2: *Accipite ergo dulcissimi homo ante baptismum in qua morte sit positus*.<sup>39</sup> In this portion of the sermon, Pacianus presents a short overview of the entire history of salvation, starting with Adam and moving on to Moses and then to Christ. For each stage of this history, he highlights the power of sin over man. From Adam to Moses, man sinned because he could not know what was sinful and what was not, and after Moses, he knew what was sinful but sinned nevertheless. Thus, because each living person until Christ had sinned, each living person was subject to death. As Christ was the only being who lived as a human but did not sin, he was the first over whom death did not have any authority. In this way Christ saved his human flesh from death, and the Church as his bride shares this flesh with Him, so that everyone who is born from the Church can be said to be born from Christ Himself and thus shares in the salvation of his human flesh. This *narratio* is the longest part of the sermon, running from I 2 until the end of

36 For example: *Atque utinam inculcare possim. Gloriam non requiro.... Vestri tantum me cura sollicitat, et horum maxime competentium....*; CCSL 69B, p. 39 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 149).

37 See Lausberg, *Handbuch*, pp. 163 and 175 for this possibility in the *exordium* in the case of a longer *narratio*.

38 *Quod si ita ut ego sentio uestra corda penetrauerit, iudicabitis fratres nullam uobis adhuc praedicationem amplius praestitisse*; CCSL 69B, pp. 39-40 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 149). Here, the *exordium* almost acquires the nature of an *insinuatō*: see Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 160-61.

39 CCSL 69B, p. 40 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 149). It should be observed, however, that all of the four editions that I have consulted make a break *after* this sentence. Although it is possible to interpret it as the closing part of the *exordium* that makes the transition to the *narratio* (which was stamped *transitus* or some similar term: see Lausberg, *Handbuch*, p. 163), this seems slightly unnatural after the shortly preceding description of the *partes* of the *narratio*. Moreover, the classical rule that the *narratio* should open with the presentation of a decisive fact, not with earlier history (see Lausberg, *Handbuch*, p. 171) fits the sentence starting *Accipite ...* much better (note that the public consists of *homines ante baptismum!*) than the next one, *Scitis certe illud antiquum quod Adam terrenae origini praestitutus sit* (I 3; *ibidem*). Perhaps this is the place to note that, in my opinion, the text is slightly corrupt here. A possible solution is to emend *origini* to *originis* (qualifying genitive with *Adam*) and to interpret *praestitutus* as a less correct variant (or possible a corruption again) for late-antique *praestitus* 'punished' (either used absolutely, or with *illud antiquum* as accusative of interior object).



VI 7. Two points should be highlighted here. In the first place, it may be observed that Pacianus takes care to structure his *narratio* into subdivisions, and these are each marked by a direct address:

*Ab his potestatibus et ab hac morte qualiter liberati simus attendite* (I 4); ... *Quis eum ab interitu potuit liberare? Audite apostolum.... Gratia inquit per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum* (II 4); ... *Sed si solus ille uicit, quid ceteris contulit? Breuiter audite* (V 1).<sup>40</sup>

Next, as with Potamius, the *narratio* is the part of the sermon which seems to have received the most elaborate stylistic attention. In the case of Pacianus, this does not manifest itself in sound effects and the use of spectacular vocabulary, but rather in nicely balanced sentences, learned vocabulary, a vivid and varied style and the occasional use of climax. Good examples are *De baptismo* III 2, where Pacianus depicts the devil's reaction to the incarnation of Christ:

*Continuo ille peccati et inoboedientiae parens qui primos homines aliquando deceperat festinare incepit aestuare trepidare*,<sup>41</sup>

III 4, where the devil after two failed temptations of Christ is designated *elusus coluber*,<sup>42</sup> IV 1 (about the scribes and the Pharisees in the passion of Christ):

*Igitur illi post uarias artes et corda mendacia quibus dominum more serpentis obsequendo decipere cogitarunt, postquam nihil proficiebant*<sup>43</sup>

40 CCSL 69B, pp. 41, 42, 46 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 150, 150-52, 156). The last instance supports my interpretation that in V 1 the last portion of the *narratio* begins: "Listen just a little bit longer".

41 CCSL 69B, p. 43 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 152).

42 CCSL 69B, p. 44 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 154). The whole description of the temptation of Christ in the desert is a particularly fine passage; the last clause is difficult, but I think the text of the main manuscript should be retained: *ut ... inclinaret ad dictam impio dignitatem et sic aliquando peccaret* – the subject of both verbs is Christ, and *inclinaret* should be taken intransitive and connected to *impio* ("that he would bow to the impious one"), thus creating a hyperbaton with subtle alliteration ("in order to achieve the promised dignity"). The rhythm of *dictam impio dignitatem* imitates the movement of a bow turning into a fall, and *inclinaret ... peccaret* constitutes a fine *inclusio*.

43 The clause *postquam nihil proficiebant* is in my opinion a subtle allusion to Matth. 27, 24, where the same is said of Pontius Pilate; a similar case can be seen in II 2: ... *trahebamur ad mortem, mortem scilicet sempiternam* (CCSL 69B; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 150), which I take with Granado as a stylistic echo of the Christological hymn in Phil. 2, 8.



*nouissime eum aperto latrocinio et crudelissimo genere passionis aggressi sunt, ut uel indignitate rerum uel dolore poenarum aliquid iniustum aut faceret aut diceret atque ita perderet hominem quem gerebat...,*<sup>44</sup>

and finally, as an example of Pacianus's more direct style, VI 4 (about the practical possibility of sharing in the life of Christ):

*Credendum est igitur posse nos nasci.... Recipiendus est Christus ut generet.... Haec autem compleri alias nequeunt nisi lauacri et chrismatis et antistitis sacramento. Lauacro enim peccata purgantur. Chrismate sanctus spiritus superfunditur. Vtraque uero ista manu et ore antistitis impe-  
trantur.*<sup>45</sup>

It is not so easy to determine the *propositio*, especially as this portion of a speech need not be highlighted in a formal way and may even be limited to a single clause.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, it seems possible to identify paragraphs VII 1-2 as a *propositio* here. First of all, this passage closes the *narratio* (*Hoc est quod credimus...*), next it poses the problem that man's earthly life is only short (*Vita mundi et pecudibus et feris et alitibus ... aut nobiscum est communis aut longior*), then (VII 2) it mentions eternal life as the proper gift to man (*Est illud homini proprium ... uita perpetua*) and finally introduces the main theme of the exhortation:

*Sed iam non peccemus amplius, quia sicut mors scelere acquiritur, uirtute uitatur, ita uita sceleribus amittitur, uirtute retinetur* (with reference to Rom. 6, 23).<sup>47</sup>

44 CCL 69B, 45 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 154).

45 CCL 69B, 49 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 158-60). The words *ista manu*, referring to the bishop's own hand as administering chrism, are an additional clue that we have a 'live' sermon here rather than a written treatise.

46 See Lausberg, *Handbuch*, pp. 189-90.

47 CCL 69B, pp. 50-51 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 160-62). In the last quotation, all manuscripts and editions read *Sed si iam non peccemus*. In my opinion, *si* should be deleted. *Si* with subjunctive does not accord with Pacianus's normal usage, the combination *sed si* is an awkward one (also to express 'if only'), and most important: Pacianus does not say that eternal life is Christ's gift to man *on the condition that* man sins no more. Rather, eternal life is presented as Christ's gift to man (as described in the *narratio*) and now, in the *argumentatio*, Pacianus will make his point that *therefore*, one should sin no more.

The *argumentatio* and *peroratio* do not pose any real problems. In VII 3 the *argumentatio* starts with another direct address: *Ante omnia uos retinete, paruuli...*,<sup>48</sup> and in the rest of this portion, the bishop exhorts his flock to renounce the devil (VII 4),<sup>49</sup> warns them against the danger of falling back into his slavery (VII 5),<sup>50</sup> and strongly urges them never to sin again (VII 6). Here, the style is emotionally charged, with several instances of repetition and anaphora.<sup>51</sup> After that, a modest *peroratio* in a more formal and elevated style closes the sermon (VII 7):

*Grandia et infinita sunt praemia fidelibus praestituta.... Haec uti accipere possitis iustitiae laboribus et uotis spiritalibus obtinete.*<sup>52</sup>

For what occasion could this sermon have been preached? It has long been noted that Pacianus here addresses a public among which a number of baptismal candidates or *competentes* prepare themselves for the rite of baptism. In particular for them, the bishop explains once more what the importance of baptism is (probably covering ground that has been extensively expounded during earlier catecheses). As a matter of fact, Pacianus says so himself in the *exordium*:

48 CCL 69B, p. 51 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 162). In my opinion, this phrase should be taken reflexively: "Keep yourselves in the clear" – after which *omnes aliquando gentes* should be read as an apposition to *uos*: "yourselves, that were without exception once people...", or alternatively as introducing a construction of accusative with infinitive: "Remember that once you were all people..."; the use of *oblitus sui* in VI 5 (CCL 69B, p. 52; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 162) would support such an interpretation.

49 Here, the bishop identifies himself with his flock: ... *diabolo et omnibus angelis eius renuntiamus ... ne iam illis ulterius seruiamus ...* (CCL 69B, p. 52; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 162).

50 ... *diabolus eum quasi perfugam uictum uehementius illigabit et Christus pro eo iam pati non poterit* (CCL 69B, pp. 52-53; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 162). The reference to Hebr. 6, 6 is generally overlooked.

51 VII 3: *Ille est, ille qui redemit ...* VII 4: *Soluit compeditos et uincula nostra dirupit.... Soluti itaque de uinculis ...* VII 6: *Igitur, dilectissimi, semel abluimur, semel liberamur, semel regnum immortale suscipimus, semel: Felices ...* (CCL 69B, pp. 51-53; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 162-64).

52 CCL 69B, p. 53 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 164).

*Aperire desidero qualiter in baptismo nascamur.... Vestri tantum me cura sollicitat et horum maxime competentium, si quo modo possimus intellegere tantae felicitatis examen. Aperiam igitur....*<sup>53</sup>

For what occasion can this sermon have been preached? Granado states, that it was held during the Easter Vigil, immediately before the moment of baptism itself.<sup>54</sup> However, at the end of the sermon, baptism still seems to be at least a few days away: *Puros uos ex eo et immaculatos in diem domini reseruate*.<sup>55</sup> Whether one translates *ex eo* as “from that day” (with *die* to be understood from the following *in diem domini*) or “from that moment”, in either case some distance to the actual moment of baptism is implied.<sup>56</sup> For that reason, a preparatory rite would be a more likely candidate. Now we hardly have any direct sources for rites of traditions of initiation in early Christian Spain. However, the testimony of Priscillian of Ávila proves that the Apostles’ Creed was at least in use in 4th-century Spain, and this seems to imply the existence of the rites of *traditio* and *redditio symboli* as well.<sup>57</sup> In the first of these, baptizands were solemnly given the text of the Apostles’ Creed or *symbolum*, in the second (a few days or a week later), they had to recite it in their turn, at least in some churches in public.<sup>58</sup> This “handing back the password” was the liturgical seal on their admission to the baptismal fount, and this sermon would fit such an

53 *De baptismo* I 1-2; CCSL 69B, p. 39 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 148). References like *scitis* (I 3), *ut rettuli* (II 1), and *ut diximus* (IV 2) (CCSL 69B, pp. 40, 41, and 45; Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, pp. 148, 150, and 154) might well refer to earlier catecheses rather than passages in the sermon itself.

54 Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 32: “L’homélie ... adressée aux candidats sur le point de recevoir le baptême au cours de la vigile pascale....”

55 *De baptismo* VII 6; CCSL 69B, 53 (Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 164).

56 In Granado, *Pacien de Barcelone. Écrits*, p. 165, the phrase *ex eo* is not translated; Rubio Fernández (*San Paciano. Obras. Edición crítica y traducción*, p. 175) has ‘desde hoy’. But that would require *ex hoc* or *hinc* or another deictic expression pointing to the immediate vicinity.

57 See Westra, *The Apostles’ Creed. Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*, pp. 21-72 and 145-46 and “Cyprian, the Mystery Religions and the Apostles’ Creed – An Unexpected Link”, pp. 115-25.

58 A good description of these rites and a discussion of the relevant sources in the writings of Augustine are offered in Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, pp. 274-86; see also Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, pp. 784-85, Strecker, “Taufrituale im frühen Christentum und in der Alten Kirche”, pp. 1383-440, particularly 1396-99 and 1402-04.

occasion exactly.<sup>59</sup> If this is true, Pacianus of Barcelona's *De baptismo* would preserve for us the only known Spanish *sermo in redditione symboli*.

#### 4 Priscillian of Ávila's homiletic legacy (CPL 785)

Finally, we turn to a number of texts that are connected with the name of Priscillian of Ávila. These are part of a collection that was discovered in the 1880s by Georg Schepss, who was able to identify the first three pieces as apologetic works from the Priscillianist movement.<sup>60</sup> The other pieces in the collection mostly bear a paraenetic character and will therefore be discussed in this chapter. Although there is some ambivalence in later secondary literature about the question of whether all pieces stem from Priscillian himself or not, and whether they represent the work of one or more authors, the provenance of these pieces from the circle of Priscillian is undisputed.<sup>61</sup> For the sake of convenience, we shall just refer to Priscillian of Ávila as their author.

Who was this Priscillian? He seems to have been a man of noble birth, who at a certain moment converted to Christianity and developed such a predilection for a life of asceticism and an intensive study of Scripture, apparently in small groups, that he neglected the ordinary feasts and Sunday morning services in church and considered the authority of his bishop as only relative.<sup>62</sup>

59 Compare also Ferguson, *Baptism*, p. 784, who mentions for Augustine that "On Saturday there was a final catechesis on baptism". That is exactly what we find in Pacianus's sermon as well.

60 In 1885, he discovered the collection in a 5th or 6th-century Würzburg manuscript. He presented his finds in *Priscillian, ein neuaufgefundener lat. Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts...*, Würzburg 1886, and offered an edition of the treatises four years later: *Priscilliani quae supersunt* (CSEL 18).

61 See Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 62-69 for a balanced discussion and earlier literature; similarly Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, pp. 3 and 166-67. The most detailed discussion of the question is offered by Vollmann, "Priscillianus", pp. 485-559, in particular 552-59, who distinguishes at least three authors. His conclusions are adopted by Conti, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 14-16 and 278.

62 See Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 8-110. Chadwick links Priscillian's role in the Church to that of later conventicles or charismatic groups; Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, does not disagree with Chadwick's main conclusions, but sees changing patterns of gender and authority in the early Church as the deeper causes of the Priscillianist controversy. Other interpretations include that of Fontaine, "Priscillian / Priscillianism", pp. 449-54, who explains Priscillian's fate as that of an all too zealous church reformer, and the detailed studies of Vollmann, "Priscillianus", and Goosen, *Achtergronden van Priscillianus' christelijke ascese*, who both see Priscillian as a fervent (perhaps all too fervent) exponent of

This must have been reason for concern at the Council of Saragossa in 380, where these and similar practices were condemned.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, Priscillian appears to have enjoyed a certain status, because almost immediately afterwards, in 381, he was consecrated as the new bishop of Ávila. This was the starting point of a bitter struggle between Priscillian and his main adversary Hydacius of Mérida. Hydacius first had Priscillian deposed by imperial rescript, but Priscillian and his followers obtained a new rescript in the imperial city of Milan which put Priscillian back in his see and made it necessary for Hydacius to answer for his accusations. Now it was Hydacius's turn to flee, and he convened a council in Bordeaux to discuss the situation in the Spanish churches. This council was very much opposed to Priscillian's movement, and therefore Priscillian decided to present his case to an imperial court, this time in the city of Treves. Here, new accusations, including sorcery and Manichaeism, were brought against him, which led to his condemnation and execution in 385 or 386.<sup>64</sup>

The total lack of precedent for such an outcome of an originally purely ecclesiastical conflict in combination with the spectacular find of authentic writings by the condemned party himself has drawn scholarly attention mainly to the formal procedure and the issues at stake. Thus, the first two treatises of the Würzburg collection have been discussed extensively, whereas the paraenetic pieces have received much less study. Priscillian the preacher has hardly been highlighted.<sup>65</sup>

Nevertheless, we seem to have a sound basis for such a study in Schepss's *CSEL*-edition.<sup>66</sup> This text has been re-edited (with a few emendations) in Conti's edition. Conti's English translation, however, is definitely below stan-

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Christian asceticism. More recent literature, in particular by Spanish and Portuguese scholars, does not present any new arguments or points of view.

63 See Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*, pp. 30-42.

64 This is Chadwick's careful reconstruction on the basis of the several, sometimes conflicting sources, which has in broad outline been accepted by all later scholars. See also Vollmann, "Priscillianus", pp. 485-516.

65 The discussion in Olivar, *La predicación*, pp. 431-34 is extremely superficial.

66 Although this edition appears to be a model of scholarly meticulousness, it should be borne in mind that no one seems to have checked the Würzburg manuscript since. Emendations and corrections have been proposed by several scholars (see Vollmann, "Priscillianus", p. 552). Most of these are ignored, however, in Conti's edition, and the same applies to the almost hundred emendations that Schepss himself proposes in his introduction but does not include in his apparatus: see *CSEL* 18, xxv-xxvii. Both Schepss's and others' emendations and conjectures are readily accessible in Hamman's 1960 Migne edition: *Patrologia Latina Suppl.* 2, col. 1413-83.

dard and often obscures rather than clarifies the (admittedly difficult) Latin.<sup>67</sup> His commentary is more valuable, but bears a theological and historical rather than a philological character. Goosen offers a Dutch translation of reasonable quality and also summarizes the subject matter of the several pieces,<sup>68</sup> the main body of his study, however, is concerned with the asceticism of Priscillian and his movement.

In the present chapter, we shall discuss the *tractatus* 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10 in order to assess their rhetorical or homiletical character. These are the five complete pieces that are generally referred to as sermons connected with the liturgical period of Lent.<sup>69</sup> If the authorship can indeed be linked to Priscillian or one of his closest companions, these works may be dated to the years 380-85.<sup>70</sup>

All commentators on Priscillian's work agree that it is not easy reading, and this opinion is confirmed as soon as one starts to study the treatises. As we have only one surviving manuscript, it is impossible to say whether the difficulties are due to the author's tortuous and complex syntax, to the peculiarities of later Latin in which certain grammatical distinctions break down, or to copying errors that occurred in the process of textual tradition.

It will be well to study the fourth treatise, in the manuscript designated *tractatus paschae*, in some more detail.<sup>71</sup> This five-page text consists of only nine periods, which have an average of 92 words each. Multiple embedded subordinate clauses reaching five or six levels deep are no exception.<sup>72</sup> An additional difficulty is the frequent (almost obligatory) use of complex combinations

67 Goosen's and Conti's seem to be the only translations in any modern language of the complete set of treatises: see Conti, *Priscillian*, p. v. By sheer luck, however, I stumbled upon a translation of *tractatus* 4 in Holmes, *The Origin and Development of the Christian Church in Gaul*, pp. 253-57. Although Holmes claims to translate only "portions of the tract" (p. 253), the translation is a complete, albeit not very accurate one. I could not find any reference to this work in the bibliographies of the literature that I used for this chapter.

68 Goosen, *Achtergronden*, pp. 270-355 and VI-VII.

69 See for example Vollmann, "Priscillianus", pp. 553-54 and Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, pp. 64-65. Vollmann in particular sees the treatises 4-10 as a coherent collection. *Tractatus* 8 and 9 lack their end and beginning respectively and are for that reason excluded from our discussion. *Tractatus* 11, which is incomplete as well, is a prayer.

70 This is assumed by most authors. Only Conti (*Priscillian*, p. 17) thinks that the authors could also belong to a wider circle of followers and extends the period of possible origin to 430; similarly already Vollmann, "Priscillianus", pp. 555-56. However, if the collection was meant as an inner-Priscillianist file to keep the conviction alive that the official condemnation was far from justified, a date before 385 remains the most probable option.

71 *CSEL* 18, pp. 57-61 (Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 100-05). For the title, see *CSEL* 18, p. 56.

72 For example: *Considerate enim quid sit pascha domini, dicente apostolo ... ostendens ... in*

of abstract nouns and metaphors to express fairly simple concepts. A good example from the first sentence is the statement ... *mortalium sensus rerum saecularium familiaritate captiui intra humanae imbecillitatis clauduntur errorem* (CSEL 18, p. 57; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 100), which more or less boils down to "love of the world leads to folly": the words *mortalium* and *humanae* do not add anything of substance, *rerum saecularium familiaritate* could be replaced by *saeculi* and so could *intra ... imbecillitatis clauduntur errorem* (with its needlessly difficult hyperbaton) by *errant*.<sup>73</sup> Despite two isolated instances where a public is directly addressed (*Et ideo, dilectissimi in deo ...* and *Propter quod, dilectissimi...*<sup>74</sup>), it is hard to imagine that anyone could have understood what is being said here if the text had been delivered as a sermon, unless it were to a very sophisticated audience. However, it should be noted on the other hand that the author is careful to make the structure of his sentences explicit by means of the classical clausulae, of which he uses the well-known dicretic with spondee (or one of its variations) in about half of the instances. Thus, six of the 11 clauses in the opening sentence that are not part of a biblical quotation are marked with this device.<sup>75</sup>

The occasion for the text is the beginning of the period of Lent (*inchoantibus ... diebus quadragesimarum*: CSEL 18, p. 58; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 100) and its purpose is to exhort all believers to observe their fast in such a way that *others* benefit from it, because the *pascha* of Christ (including his complete earthly life) also led to *our* salvation. This theological point is underscored with three examples: Moses fasted 40 days before receiving the law and passing through the Red Sea, Joshua did the same before he crossed the Jordan with the people

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quo ... non recusans ... dum ... sustinens ... castigat ... transcurrerit ... ut ueniens ... euerteret et ... affigens ... moreretur (CSEL 18, pp. 59-60; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 102).

73 That this difficulty is intended by the author is borne out when one compares these clauses with the passage in Hilary of Poitiers that Priscillian is paraphrasing here: see below.

74 CSEL 18, p. 58; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 100 and 102. The second place (where Conti misprints *dilectissime*) is however embedded in a quotation of Hebr. 3, 1 where the original author also addresses his readers.

75 *Etsi ipsa natura nos docet / inter inexploratas humanae uitae conuersationes / et indignas deo saeculi mensurabiles pugnas / nihil utilius esse homini / quam per omnes dies ea quae saeculi sunt amica respuere / et diuinae institutionis praecepta seruare / dicente apostolo: / omnis amicitia mundi inimica est dei / et iterum profeta dicente: / non tardes conuerti ad dominum / et ne differas de die in diem, / tamen mortalium sensus rerum saecularium familiaritate captiui / intra humanae imbecillitatis clauduntur errorem / et semper diuina miseratio inter tot inconsulta / naufragio uelut fine periclitantibus / statio et optabilis portus occurrit* (CSEL 18, p. 57; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 100).



of Israel, and Jesus fasted 40 days in the desert in order to win in his struggle with the devil.<sup>76</sup> But is it a sermon? In my opinion, a number of observations speak against this. First of all, it is impossible to identify the usual *partes orationis* in this text, which consists, as has already been observed, of nine elaborate periods. Of course, these periods together constitute a certain argumentation. Reading favourably, one could point out an *exordium* in praise of God's mercy in giving the annual period of Lent and Easter to mankind, a *narratio* about the function of that period, and a long *argumentatio* exhorting the audience to the correct way of observing it.<sup>77</sup> Although I am convinced that it is not accidental that the two direct addresses occur precisely at the beginning of a new part, this is too subtle an indication to enable a listener to notice the transitions. The *partes orationis* should be marked by stylistic variation, and that is totally absent from this text.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the *propositio* and the *peroratio* are absent as well, and those two are essential for communicating the purpose and the message of the speech. Therefore, I think that this *tractatus Paschae* can never have been meant for direct oral delivery. Nevertheless, the careful composition, rhetorical formulation, and internal coherence remain. For that reason, I propose that this is a *tractatus* that was written by Priscillian for the benefit of his followers as a model text which they could use to compose a real sermon themselves. This *tractatus* would provide them with a general outline, a number of readymade phrases (intended to choose from, not to copy as a group), and the necessary scriptural quotations.<sup>79</sup>

There is one additional argument for such a hypothesis. It has been observed before, that Priscillian makes use of Hilary of Poitiers's *De trinitate* and that quite a number of Hilarian phrases occur more than once in the Priscillianist

76 The first two examples are not quite accurate according to biblical historical standards: see Conti, *Priscillianus*, pp. 280-81 and in particular Veronese, "Il digiuno di Giosuè: errore di citazione o corruzione priscillianista?", pp. 201-14.

77 *Etsi ipsa natura ... Christus autem dei* (CSEL 18, pp. 57-58; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 100), *Et ideo, dilectissimi in deo ... sperantes in domino* (CSEL 18, p. 58; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 100-02), *Propter quod, dilectissimi ... temptationis utamur* (CSEL 18, pp. 58-61; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 102-04).

78 See for example Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* IV xii-xiii 74-80 (CSEL 80, pp. 137-39).

79 A similar suggestion is also made by Vollmann, "Priscillianus", p. 554: "Predigtvorlage für weniger selbständige Bischöfe". Interestingly, Holmes, *Origin and Development*, p. 258 concludes that Priscillian's treatises cannot be "regarded as definite and carefully planned out addresses on Holy Scriptures". However, he explains this by assuming that they were incompletely written down by a scribe who was unable to follow the bishop's argument.



corpus of texts, in particular in *tractatus* 4, 6, 9, 10, and 11.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the phrase that has been quoted above ... *mortalium sensus rerum saecularium familiaritate captiui intra humanae imbecillitatis clauduntur errorem* ... harks back to Hilary's ... *cum religiosa mens intra imbecillitatis suae concluderetur errorem*...<sup>81</sup> and is found again with some fresh variation in the prayer that closes the Priscillianist collection as ... *quamuis mens nostra inexplicabilis intellegentiae opus moliens intra humanae imbecillitatis claudatur errorem* ... (CSEL 18, p. 104; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 158). Similarly, this Hilarian phrase seems to be combined with another one, namely ... *omnes imperfectae sententiae angustias religiosa discendi expectatione laxandas*,<sup>82</sup> both in *tractatus* 4 (... *ut sensus uestros intra angustias humanae imbecillitatis obsessos tamquam in nouam lucem religiosa docendi exhortatione laxemus* ...) and in *tractatus* 10 (... *ut ... humanae imbecillitatis angustias religiosa discendi expectatione laxemus*...).<sup>83</sup> It does not seem probable that the same orator would have deliberately used such a combination for a live audience twice, in particular if he had already proved himself more than capable of variation in expression. An even stronger argument can be derived from the phrase ... *dum nullus infinitis est finis fixo in lubricis gressu modum non constituimus incertis* ... in *tractatus* 4 (CSEL 18, p. 57; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 100), which occurs in almost identical form in *tractatus* 10: *Denique dum nullus apud nos infinitis finis est et fixo in lubricum gressu modum non constituimus incertis* ... (CSEL 18, pp. 95-96; Conti, *Priscillian*, p. 148). If these clauses do not constitute a quotation from some lost patristic work, the author repeats himself almost literally.<sup>84</sup> In my opinion, this seems to imply again that these *tractatus* are concatenations of pieces of Priscillianist thinking for the

80 See the apparatus in CSEL and now Veronese, "Le citazioni del *De Trinitate* di Ilario nella raccolta attribuita a Priscilliano", pp. 133-57. Veronese discards a number of parallels that are indicated by Schepss but adds a number of new ones too; she facilitates an evaluation of her contribution by means of a concordance on pages 155-57.

81 Hilary of Poitiers, *De trinitate* I 7; CCSL 62, p. 7.

82 Hilary of Poitiers, *De trinitate* I 18; CCSL 62, p. 18.

83 CSEL 18, pp. 58 and 94; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 100 and 146.

84 This coincidence seems to have passed unnoticed by all earlier students of Priscillian's work. In the case of Conti and Goosen, this is borne out by the different translations that they offer of the same phrase in both treatises: see Goosen, *Achtergronden*, pp. 316 and 347 and Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 101 and 149. An exact interpretation of the passage is indeed hard to give. It should be observed, that at least the variation between *in lubricis* and *in lubricum* seems to be due to a scribal error. If that were true, it would be an indication that the author cannot be alone to blame for the difficulties of his text. Veronese reaches a similar conclusion in her "Ancora sulle citazioni del *De Trinitate* di Ilario negli scritti priscillianisti. Note critiche", pp. 313-27.

use of his followers, rather than the creative expression of his thought in the form of a speech for a live audience.

A more cursory reading of the other pieces yields a similar picture: all appear as a coherent but tortuous series of intricately formulated thoughts, lacking however the overall rhetorical structure that would render the several texts into real sermons. Perhaps the best way to designate them is 'condensed sermons'.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, that they reflect liturgical use in some way or another seems to be certain.<sup>86</sup> Although a much more detailed study is necessary to make any firmer statements, in my opinion the whole collection gives the impression of stemming from one author, for which Priscillian himself would then of course be the most likely candidate.

## 5 Conclusion

Thus we have reviewed three examples of 4th-century Christian preaching in Spain. The three authors, Potamius of Lisbon, Pacianus of Barcelona and Priscillian of Ávila, all strike us as having excellent mastery of the rules of classical rhetoric. In the case of Potamius and Priscillian, this is combined with such a difficult style that only listeners with a fair amount of learning could have understood their sermons. Knowledge of the classical *clausulae* would have been indispensable, for example.

In addition, each author has made his own specific contribution to the body of early Christian homiletic literature that is available to us. First of all, Potamius offers us a unique description of the resurrection of Lazarus, which may well hide echoes of pagan literary and philosophical *loci* that have not yet been identified. Moreover, his sermon might just reflect a process of conversion from one brand of Christianity to another. As far as we can see, patristic texts of this kind are very rare, and in that respect Potamius certainly deserves further study. The same applies to Pacianus, who is possibly one of the few authors who provide us with an example of a sermon *in redditione symboli*. Finally, Priscillian's homiletic texts pose lots of questions that have barely been

85 Nevertheless, the later pieces in particular contain some fine passages and *tractatus* 7 comes close to a 'real' sermon. Also from an exegetical point of view there is much of interest to find in the Priscillianist corpus.

86 Apart from their common reference to the period of Lent and the incidental address of an intended audience, this is borne out by the mention of lectures in *tractatus* 5: *Animadvertentes enim sensum lectae lectionis* and *in opus lectae lectionis intrantes* (CSEL 18, pp. 65 and 67; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 110 and 112) and 6: *sicut lectio praesens docet et intellegentes praesentem lectionem* (CSEL 18, pp. 72 and 80; Conti, *Priscillian*, pp. 120 and 128).

investigated thus far, as the precise nature of the reactions against his behaviour and the exact process of his struggle have received much more scholarly attention. But if his sermons really were ‘condensed sermons’ for homiletic use as we surmise, these texts would open up a fresh field of study.

We may conclude, therefore, that the relatively modest amount of 4th-century Spanish sermons might nevertheless be of considerable interest for future investigators of early Christian and late-antique rhetoric.

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## Zeno, Chromatius, and Gaudentius. Italian Preachers Amid Transition

*Robert McEachnie*

### 1 Introduction

The figure of Ambrose has dominated the history of northern Italian Christianity ever since Augustine wrote the *Confessions* in 397. Although Ambrose was an extraordinary figure who changed the role of the bishop in relation to secular power, he is not always the best representative of that specific place and time. Milan and Ambrose were exceptional and by expanding our scope to survey other preachers of the period, a fuller picture of a region in transition emerges. Zeno of Verona, Chromatius of Aquileia, and Gaudentius of Brescia constitute a trio of bishops whose sermons survive to the present in one form or another. Taken together, the sermons provide a glimpse into the weekly performance of Christianity over a period of 40 years. The sermons are not merely written texts, offering details of a developing and increasingly complex theology, but also record the interactions between leader and listeners, reflecting day-to-day concerns of the citizens and the realities of the urban environment they inhabited. By looking at the too often ignored works of these three preachers, a more complete image of the region, beyond the walls of imperial Milan, may come into focus.

The three have been considered together fairly frequently. Although not the most important, the group has the most surviving sermons from prior to 410 in Italy, including the earliest surviving corpus in the works of Zeno. Yet, while several studies have delved into the politics, economics, and religion of the region, the three preachers have been largely used as proof texts, rarely studied in their own right. For example, Peter Brown's opus *Through the Eye of a Needle* mentions Gaudentius only once and Zeno and Chromatius not at all, while containing two chapters each on Ambrose and Paulinus of Nola.<sup>1</sup> The exception is the excellent work of Mark Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, which covers the 4th century in Northern Italy and makes extensive use of

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<sup>1</sup> Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 142.

both the sermons and archeological data from the cities.<sup>2</sup> But even in that work the three preachers are considered more as bishops than as preachers. The sermons, as works of oral performance to guide a newly forming community, are treated as records of society. Perhaps this issue points to a larger problem in the study of sermons: do we read them as other written texts or as unique products designed with ends different from most other documents of the period? One writer who manages to bridge the gap between sermons as written records and as oral performance is Carlo Truzzi in *Zeno, Gaudenzio, Cromazio*, which is the only monograph on the three preachers. He examines each in turn and considers style, theology, and urban situation. Although slightly dated, it remains the standard for the subject of all three in comparison. Rita Lizzi's work is also illuminating, but she deals very little with Zeno, a situation not uncommon in the literature.<sup>3</sup> More recently Claire Sotinel's work, although focusing largely on Chromatius and Aquileia, has challenged some of the notions of how urban Christianization in the region happened.<sup>4</sup> By constructing a better image of the situation these bishops inhabited, we can now approach the sermons on stronger footing.

## 2 Zeno

The first bishop to consider is Zeno of Verona. We know little about him, including the exact dates of his time as bishop, though the general agreement is that he preached through at least eight Easter seasons but had passed by the early 370s.<sup>5</sup> Zeno was possibly of African origin based on the clear influence of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius in his sermons and a sermon on the Mauritanian martyr Arcadius.<sup>6</sup> Verona had a population of perhaps 25,000 and the surrounding region was a rich agricultural area during Zeno's life, but the

2 Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 161-63 and 207-20.

3 Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella età tardoantica*, pp. 97-169; see also Lizzi, "Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy".

4 Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme*, pp. 65-222.

5 Jeanes, *The Day Has Come!*, pp. 8-11. Bigelmair suggested a more rigorous date of exactly 8 December 362-12 April 371 based on the date of his ordination and the number of Easter sermons. Bigelmair, "Einleitung", in *Des Heiligen Bischofs Zeno von Verona Traktate*, p. 26. Löfstedt considered this attempt overly optimistic and unsuccessful, preferring a wider range like Truzzi: Löfstedt, "Einleitung", in Löfstedt (ed.), *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, p. 8.

6 Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio*, pp. 50-51 and pp. 297-98.



church of Zeno was not large or dominant in the city.<sup>7</sup> Unlike the two later bishops, Zeno did not head a church in the center of town which had become the focus of urban life. Yet his works are the oldest surviving sermons in Latin and reflect different concerns from the other two bishops to be addressed in this chapter. His community was still a minority within the city, and the triumph of Christianization was not a foregone conclusion as it might have been for Chromatius or Gaudentius forty years later.<sup>8</sup> He lived in a world where the Arian Auxentius, not Ambrose, was bishop of Milan and “pagan” practices in Verona were still normal.<sup>9</sup> His works allow a unique window into 4th-century Italy north of Rome. The bishop here does not yet appear as a secular power, but as the guide for his community through biblical exposition and Christian ritual.<sup>10</sup>

Ninety-two sermons of Zeno survive, though only roughly thirty are probably complete. They are divided into two unequal books of sixty-two and thirty. The critical edition is B. Löfstedt's 1971 *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* version of the sermons.<sup>11</sup> In 1985, however, F. Dolbeau noted several places where Löfstedt's version veers from the oldest manuscripts, suggesting some alternative readings in several places.<sup>12</sup> There is an older German translation along with a newer Italian translation which are complete and an English translation of selections based around baptism.<sup>13</sup> The authenticity of the sermons was called into question by Löfstedt, who suggested that they should be viewed as edited productions for liturgical usage. The texts do not contain the exact words actually preached by Zeno, though they hold the sentiment and were the product of polishing either rough drafts or the work of stenographers.<sup>14</sup> Other scholars have supported this position, and the works of Zeno are commonly treated as tractates rather than true sermons.<sup>15</sup> Yet a revisionist approach has also emerged which argues that the surviving works are largely the original

7 Mascari, *Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius*, pp. 10-11; Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio*, p. 117.

8 Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, p. 209.

9 Zeno, *Sermon* 1, 34, 2, ed. Löfstedt, p. 87.

10 For Zeno as the primary pre-Ambrosian source on the role of the bishop in the region, see Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 162-63; Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio*, pp. 111-17.

11 Zeno, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, ed. Löfstedt.

12 Dolbeau, “Zenoniana”, pp. 4-14.

13 *Des heiligen Bischofs Zeno von Verona Traktate*, trans. Bigelmair; *I Discorsi*, trans. Banterle; Jeanes, *The Day Has Come!*, pp. 54-99.

14 Löfstedt, “Einleitung”, in Löfstedt (ed.), *Zeno Veronensis Tractatus*, pp. 9-11.

15 Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio*, p. 54.



texts of Zeno, carefully written and reflecting an approach which would have seen him memorize and deliver them *verbatim* like other ancient speakers.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, the revisionist approach seems too perfect and more than likely the preserved texts include changes made for liturgical usage throughout the centuries, but this does not diminish the utility of the works for historical purposes, properly qualified.

While Zeno's sermons cover a multiplicity of topics, including eight Lenten sermons, three sermons related to Christmas, one on the dedication of a new church, and one on the martyr Arcadius. The sermons are inordinately weighted to the Paschal season.<sup>17</sup> Of the Ninety-two tractates, sixty-two relate to the Easter cycle.<sup>18</sup> This number includes a remarkable group of seven sermons which seem to be from a single Easter Vigil which reveal the liturgy of the night. The group progressed from a call to join together in the "great day" through Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah, Daniel, and ended in a call to baptism.<sup>19</sup> This progression has been used to reconstruct the approach of mid-4th-century Christians to the celebration of Easter.<sup>20</sup> Zeno did not dwell on doctrinal issues, preferring to address issues of Christian morality and identity. His relationship to the listeners was seemingly positive and even warm as he called the Christian community *aetheriae gentes* ("heavenly people").<sup>21</sup> He showed familiarity with the occupations of the city and its region with a beautiful description of the seasons as announcing the arrival of Easter. "When the sadness of winter has passed by and the new Favonian wind caresses them, sweet spring meadows everywhere bloom with flowers that are diverse in type, color, and odor."<sup>22</sup> Likewise, he expressed his familiarity with seemingly "pagan" symbols in another sermon by recasting the Zodiac as symbols for Christ, the devil, Jews,

16 Jeanes, *The Day Has Come!*, pp. 31-49.

17 On Lent: Zeno, *Sermon* I, 13; I, 15; I, 34; I, 37; I, 40; I, 43; I, 59; and I, 62; ed. Löfstedt, pp. 52, 60, 86, 101, 111, 114, 134, and 141. On Christmas: *Sermon* I, 54; II, 8; and II, 12; ed. Löfstedt, pp. 128, 176, and 185. On the dedication: *Sermon* II, 6; ed. Löfstedt, p. 168. On Arcadius: *Sermon* I, 39, ed. Löfstedt, p. 107.

18 Mascari, *Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius*, p. 111.

19 Zeno, *Sermon* I, 26-32, ed. Löfstedt, pp. 77-83.

20 Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, pp. 648-51.

21 Zeno, *Sermon* I, 38, ed. Löfstedt, p. 105.

22 Zeno, *Sermon* I, 33, 1, ed. Löfstedt, p. 84: *quo discussa conuolutae hiemis tristitudine, nouo uento Fauonio blandiente, diuersis floribus genere colore pariter et odore una natiuitate diffusis germinantia undique dulce prata respirant*. All translations of Zeno are my own.

Gentiles, virtues, and other items.<sup>23</sup> Zeno's style might be termed flowery, but it was clearly an attempt to connect with his listeners.

As most of his sermons centered around the Paschal season, it is unsurprising that the issue of baptism is present at length in Zeno's sermons. While no systematic presentation of the theology or rite is present, numerous thoughts and descriptions surrounding the act emerge. The descriptive language centers on new birth and a new identity.<sup>24</sup> Zeno described the church as a mother and the newly baptized as infants who were "babes at the breast together."<sup>25</sup> Likewise, "Now our mother adopts you so that she might give birth to you."<sup>26</sup> Baptism was clearly the definitive rite for the congregation as it created the community and associated them together towards a common moral life. "The old home remains, but there is a new inhabitant with a new mode of life who shows unbelievers his new birth by virtues of every kind."<sup>27</sup> On the subject of what these virtues look like in practice, Zeno was pessimistic though, particularly on women's issues: "Truly, this is the only thing in which we prevail, namely that for all their holiness Christian women marry more."<sup>28</sup> He chides women for the number of their marriages and for being overly concerned with appearance. He said with humor: "Because of the stiffness of your splendid clothes you do not kneel in prayer, you do not stretch your hands, you refuse to prostrate your breast puffed up with necklaces. You bow your neck, to be sure, not out of reverence, but because of the weight."<sup>29</sup> Virginity and the control over women's bodies is clear, but the resistance of the community is also clear as Zeno admitted what must have been a common view: "There is no doubt that whoever advises against marriage is judged a public enemy or certainly

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23 Zeno, *Sermon* 1, 38, ed. Löfstedt, pp. 105-06. On this sermon, see Hübner, "Das Horoskop der Christen", pp. 120-37.

24 Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, p. 650. Jeanes disagrees and believes that the view of Zeno focuses on regeneration as the dominant theme: Jeanes, *The Day Has Come!*, p. 251.

25 Zeno, *Sermon* 11, 28, ed. Löfstedt, p. 202: *Omnes ... futuri lactantes*.

26 Zeno, *Sermon* 1, 32, ed. Löfstedt, p. 83: *iam mater nostra adoptat ut pariat*.

27 Zeno, *Sermon* 11, 24, 3, ed. Löfstedt, p. 198: *Vetus quidem uidetur domicilium, sed nouus est inquilinus mutatione morum natiuitatis suae nobilitatem incredulis uariis uirtutibus monstrans*.

28 Zeno, *Sermon* 11, 7, 11, ed. Löfstedt, p. 174: *Verum hoc est solum, nos in quo uincimus, quia pro sua sanctitate Christianae plus nubunt*.

29 Zeno, *Sermon* 1, 14, 6, ed. Löfstedt, p. 58: *Denique ipso cultus rigore in oratione non flecteris, non manus tendis, tumidum monilibus pectus prosternere dedignaris. Sane ceruicem curuas non religione, sed pondere*.

insane”.<sup>30</sup> The sermons present the difficult reality of creating a definition for the proper *uita Christiana*. Though some emphasize Zeno’s *paideia*, the messiness of teaching appears in Zeno’s words.<sup>31</sup> The issue of wealth, and not just in women’s attire, appears at several points in the sermons. Zeno scolded the rich when, in his view, they hoard their wealth: “The barns of the few are full of grain, but the belly of the many is empty”.<sup>32</sup> And lest there be any confusion he finished in the same sermon: “It is as if he who does not help, when he is able to do so from his riches, kills the one in need”.<sup>33</sup> Zeno insisted that the proper life of a Christian had to be made manifest to outsiders.

Aside from baptism, one of the most prominent themes in the sermons is the Jewish people. Although it is unclear if there was a synagogue in Verona during his tenure, Zeno addressed Judaism repeatedly during his sermons as rejected and carnal.<sup>34</sup> There is no sentiment of later anti-Semitism here, but a continued explanation of the belief that the Jews based their salvation on the slaughtering of animals and were willfully ignorant. “But it shows your [*Jewish*] gluttony that you kill so many animals at random; your futility, that you kill them in different places; your wretchedness, that you eat them with bitterness”.<sup>35</sup> The mocking had a vicious tone to it in all of Zeno’s sermons as well, suggesting actual competition between the two religious groups.<sup>36</sup> Zeno admitted that pagan festivals took place on the same day as Christian ones and expressed dismay over the fact that pagan temples were more beautiful than the Church.<sup>37</sup> But the mocking of Jews was more pointed. “If you wish to imitate your ancestors, set off into the desert”.<sup>38</sup> Zeno seems to be wooing pagans and even the occasional heretic (he does not address Arianism directly in the sermons,

30 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 7, 1, ed. Löfstedt, p. 171: [*D*]ubium non est, quia aut hostis publicus aut certe iudicatur insanus, quisquis nuptias dissuaserit.

31 Rousseau, “Homily and Ascetism in the North Italian Episcopate”, pp. 158-60.

32 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 1, 16, ed. Löfstedt, p. 148: Adeo inde est, quod frumento paucorum horrea plena sunt, inanis plurimorum uenter.

33 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 1, 19, ed. Löfstedt, p. 149: [*Q*]uia homini inopia morienti tantis opibus qui cum possit subuenire non subuenit, ipse eum uidetur occidere.

34 Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio*, p. 165.

35 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 20, 2, ed. Löfstedt, p. 194: Sane quod passim multos occidis, edacitatis est tuae, quod diuersis in locis, uanitatis, quod cum amaritudine comedis, infelicitatis.

36 Kampling, “Die Darstellung der Juden und des Judentums in den Predigten des Zeno von Verona”, pp. 18-24.

37 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 6, 1, ed. Löfstedt, p. 168.

38 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 20, ed. Löfstedt, p. 194: In eremum proficiscere, si tuos uis imitari maiores. For other sermons (though not exhaustive) where Zeno deals with Judaism as a topic see I, 8; I, 9; I, 18; I, 25; I, 28; I, 30; I, 46B; I, 51; I, 52; II, 16; II, 17; II, 20; II, 25; and II, 28.

though he derides those who speculate on theology idly),<sup>39</sup> but there is no attempt to convert Jews to his position.

### 3 Gaudentius

Gaudentius of Brescia was an unusual character. He was a monk who moved from Italy to the East, travelling through Cappadocia and to Caesarea before being recalled by Ambrose of Milan to act as bishop in what may have been his hometown.<sup>40</sup> He seems to have been well-connected to the growing group of would-be ascetics which gathered in Palestine during the late 4th century as evidenced by his relationship with Rufinus of Aquileia.<sup>41</sup> Dates are uncertain here, but it seems that Gaudentius was consecrated between 388 and 396, with preference for a later date.<sup>42</sup> Once returned he was consecrated by Ambrose and served for several years in the relatively small town of Brescia. Despite the small town status and the dominating position of Milan in the region, he emerged as a major player in the early 5th century politics of the region. He was chosen as an emissary to the East in the Chrysostom controversy of 404 due to his knowledge of Greek, though the mission ended in failure and a brief imprisonment.<sup>43</sup> As for the end of his term, the last date affixed to Gaudentius is the dedication by Rufinus of his translation of the *Clementine Recognitions*. As a preacher, his works survive thanks to the patronage of an official of Milan, Benivulus. So while his works are edited, they preserve the small town character that marked Brescia. Unlike Verona or Aquileia, Brescia was a provincial town. A city of roughly 9000, Brescia was a city on the way somewhere, not a destination unto itself. Nonetheless, Gaudentius' words reflect the self-important, yet agricultural, character of the city.<sup>44</sup> The sermons of Gaudentius were delivered in the primary church of the city, constructed in the heart of the city

39 Zeno, *Sermon* II, 9, 1-2, ed. Löfstedt, p. 179.

40 Gaudentius, *Tractate* 16, 2, trans. Boehrer, p. 185.

41 Gaudentius was apparently one of the primary readers who encouraged Rufinus to return to the books of Origen for translation, and is mentioned with gratitude in the preface to the translation of *Commentary on Romans*. Keech, *Gaudentius of Brescia on Baptism and the Eucharist*, p. 15.

42 Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella età tardoantica*, pp. 97-98.

43 Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 4, 1, ed. Meyer, p. 29. For a summary of the controversy see Boehrer, "Introduction", in *Gaudentius of Brescia. Sermons and Letters*, pp. 20-25.

44 Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella età tardoantica*, pp. 109-24.

which archeological excavations have successfully uncovered.<sup>45</sup> It also seems that demographically, Christians constituted the majority of the population, a major shift from the period of Zeno only thirty years earlier.

The literature surrounding Gaudentius is surprisingly thin. Aside from the works mentioned earlier which cover the region and the three preachers together, there is very little on Gaudentius alone. A single short monograph from 1960 covers the basics of the preacher, though really just recounts the sermons.<sup>46</sup> Other research has considered Gaudentius' relationship to Leo's tome and his sources.<sup>47</sup> More recent articles have attempted to explore certain aspects of Gaudentius' doctrine including pneumatology and sacramental theory.<sup>48</sup> Yet his works as a whole deserve more study not just on the theology, but particularly on the subjects of relationship between the bishop, his listeners, and the city.

21 sermons of Gaudentius survive. The first fifteen were part of a sort of edited collection that Gaudentius sent to the imperial delegate Benivolus. They are composed of the entire collection of sermons from a single Easter week, four on the gospels and one on the Maccabean martyrs. As Gaudentius admitted in the prologue to editing the works for Benivolus, it is common to refer to the texts as tractates rather than sermons. Gaudentius claimed that he edited only sermons 11-15; sermons 1-10 were the product of notaries.<sup>49</sup> Of the other six sermons which survive, it seems that they might more closely reflect the original spoken words of Gaudentius. The six are occasional sermons, one (16) from Gaudentius' consecration, one (17) dedicating a basilica, two more (18-19) on the gospels, one (20) on the feast of Peter and Paul, and a final sermon (21) on the anniversary of the death of his predecessor, Philastrius. The critical edition of the works is A. Glück's 1936 *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* edition with all 21 tractates in the original Latin. There is a translation into Italian and an unpublished dissertation containing a translation in English.<sup>50</sup>

45 Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 82 and 146.

46 Trisoglio, *San Gaudenzio da Brescia scrittore*.

47 Norcock, "St Gaudentius of Brescia and the Tome of St. Leo"; Duval, "Saint Léon le Grand et saint Gaudence de Brescia".

48 Degórski, "L'interpretazione pneumatologica"; Keech, *Gaudentius of Brescia on Baptism and the Eucharist*, pp. 33-51.

49 Gaudentius, *Preface* 10-11, trans. Boehrer, p. 38.

50 Gaudentius, *I sermoni*, ed. Truzzi. The English translation is in Boehrer, *Gaudentius of Brescia*, pp. 36-239. It is very valuable and a good translation of the work and all translations herein are taken from it.

Gaudentius' words betray an attempt to act as arbiter of the Bible and Christian doctrine for his people. Mascari described him as a "Grammarian" due to his tendency to speak didactically and to approach the biblical text with great freedom.<sup>51</sup> This does not mean that Gaudentius' theology wanders, just that he does not tend towards any particular method of interpretation. As bishop he acted as guardian of the text, interpreting it to support his views and guide his listeners to the proper life. He also seems aloof at points from his listeners. Unlike Zeno and Chromatius (or Augustine or Chrysostom for that matter), Gaudentius does not attempt to connect his points to daily life or draw examples from common things. He acts not as an aristocrat above common life, but an older teacher who stubbornly refuses to diminish his point by making comparisons.

The sermons, although focused on the catechesis associated with Easter week, cover a range of themes. Most obvious is the explanation of sacramental issues. Although little direct description of the rituals is present in the surviving texts, Gaudentius spent many words on the meanings of the sacraments. He connected both baptism and the Eucharistic meal with the Passover account on numerous occasions. "A perfect and blessed exodus is completed in us, when the true Moses, our Lord Jesus, God by nature and not by appointment ... leads us by the rod of his cross from the captivity of Pharaoh through the water of baptism".<sup>52</sup> In many cases he followed the tradition of Origen in his interpretation, allegorizing the water and lamb as well as yeast, the desert, the golden calf, wine jars at Cana, and numerous other items in his preaching.<sup>53</sup> Gaudentius used this approach to instruct his young congregation on the proper life.

Of course, the common model for such an ideal life was the saints. Gaudentius devoted numerous sermons to martyrs and saints, more than either of the other preachers in this chapter. Notably he dedicated a basilica in Brescia to the forty martyrs of Cappadocia. He ended the sermon by invoking the physical presence of the martyrs in the basilica. He urged his listeners: "Let us run as petitioners to their relics with a total faith and whole desire so that we may

51 Mascari, *Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius*, p. 183.

52 Gaudentius, *Tractate* 1, 13, ed. Glück, p. 21: *Exodus ergo beata atque perfecta consummatur in nobis, quando uerus Moyses ... natura, non positione deus, dominus noster Iesus, uirga crucis suae per aquam nos baptismi de captiuitate Faraonis educit*. Other points at which he connects the two are *Tractates* II, 6-25; III, 10-21; V, 1-5; and VI, 14-16.

53 On Origen's influence, see Boehrer, *Gaudentius of Brescia*, pp. 270-72. The issue of sources for these preachers needs more research. For an example of this type of work, see Williams, "Chromatius and Jerome on Matthew".

merit to obtain, by their intercessions, everything we pray for".<sup>54</sup> Gaudentius summed up the developing late-antique approach to saints in the sermon, specifically outlining the value of relics for the devoted Christian. He discusses other martyrs as models elsewhere, but the specific value of relics is unique to this sermon.<sup>55</sup> The discussion of martyrs and the specific choice of the forty from Cappadocia betray one of Gaudentius' major themes: ascetic development. Gaudentius passed time in Cappadocia while a monk and it has been suggested that he desired to import that approach to life back to Brescia.<sup>56</sup> He declares the inherent value of ascetic practices such as virginity, almsgiving, fasting, and chastity.<sup>57</sup> Yet in each case, he compares the ideal practice to those who he holds as the antithesis of the Christians: Jews.

One final theme that Gaudentius returned to again and again was the Jewish people. While he mentioned pagans rarely and heretics only occasionally, references to Jews appear in much larger numbers.<sup>58</sup> Although the size of the group cannot be known, it has been confirmed that there was a synagogue in Brescia, and they loom large in the sermons of Gaudentius.<sup>59</sup> He was unsurprisingly unkind, associating Jews with everything lower and base. "They wash unclean bodies, and having washed they immediately defile them. They are always washing, they are always unclean".<sup>60</sup> Gaudentius often spoke harshly about his Jewish rivals, but in one passage he asserted that "the Jews themselves will return, but at a later time, that is, at the evening of the world".<sup>61</sup> The references to Jews are concentrated in the sermons delivered during Easter week (as in Chromatius' sermons as well). They appear in only two of the eleven occasional sermons, but in seven of the ten Easter week sermons.

54 Gaudentius, *Tractate XVII*, 38, ed. Glück, pp. 150-51: *Tot igitur iustorum patrocínio adiuuandi tota fide omnique desiderio supplices ad eorum uestigia concurramus, ut ipsi intercedentibus uniuersa, quae poscimus.*

55 Other tractates on martyrs are XIV and XX.

56 Rousseau, "Homily and Asceticism in the North Italian Episcopate", pp. 147-56.

57 Gaudentius, *Tractates VII*, 22-23; VIII, 12; IX, 5-12; XIII, 31; XVII, 15-16; and XVIII, 12-14.

58 Pagans: Gaudentius, *Tractate IV*, 13. Heretics: *Tractates VII*, 3; XI, 24; XIV, 16; and XXI, 6.

59 Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, p. 213.

60 Gaudentius, *Tractate IX*, 26, ed. Glück, p. 82: *Lauant polluta corpora, abluta statim pollutunt; semper lauant, semper impuri sunt.* Other instances of rebellious Jews: *Tractates I*, 25; II, 17; III, 10; IV, 9; VIII, 40; X, 23; XI, 11; and XV, 6.

61 Gaudentius, *Tractate IX*, 18, ed. Glück, p. 80: *Conuertentur quippe et ipsi Iudaei sero tandem, ad uesperum scilicet mundi.*



#### 4 Chromatius

The final preacher to be considered for this chapter is Chromatius of Aquileia. Chromatius was bishop from 388 to 407. He had been a priest in the city since at least 369 and led a group of would-be ascetics from that time till at least 372 (though some may have stayed on after the more famous members left).<sup>62</sup> He participated in the council of Aquileia in 381 and was consecrated by Ambrose in 388.<sup>63</sup> As bishop, Chromatius continued to patronize Jerome's and Rufinus' translations and mediated their dispute in 401.<sup>64</sup> He was part of the council of Rome in 404 which ultimately failed in its attempt to restore John Chrysostom to his seat in Constantinople (and sent Gaudentius to do it).<sup>65</sup> His important role in the leadership of northern Italy after the death of Ambrose reflects the size and influence of the city he led. Aquileia had a population between fifty and a hundred thousand and was the primary point of trade between the Danube and the Mediterranean as well as an entry point to northern Italy from the East.<sup>66</sup> The city was as cosmopolitan as can be imagined in the ancient world after Rome and Constantinople with its basis on trade and commerce. Chromatius noted wryly: "Where earthly advantage is not neglected, one must strive even more after a heavenly profit".<sup>67</sup> In Aquileia, Chromatius led a well-established church. The mosaic floor of the basilica is well-preserved and was originally built between 311 and 319.<sup>68</sup> It was enlarged twice during the 4th century and provides modern scholars a unique look at the space which ancient preachers inhabited since many of the original mosaics survive.

The historiography surrounding Chromatius is larger than either of the two other bishops in this chapter. The excitement surrounding the archeological excavations of Aquileia and the discovery of his sermons between 1950 and 1982 stimulated a large corpus of scholarship on him and the city, though largely in Italian. There are many good articles in the *Antichità Altoadriatiche*

62 Corsato, "Cromazio ed Eliodoro tra Girolamo e Rufino", pp. 280-81.

63 Truzzi, "L'ordinazione episcopale di Cromazio di Aquileia"; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 298-99.

64 On the controversy, see Jerome, *Contra Rufinum* III, 2, ed. Hritz, pp. 164-65. On the ongoing relationship, see Corsato, "Cromazio ed Eliodoro", pp. 282-83.

65 Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 4, 1, ed. Meyer, p. 29. John Chrysostom, *Letter* 155, *Patrologia Graeca* 52, col. 703.

66 Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme*, pp. 10-11.

67 Chromatius, *Sermon* XLI, 1, ed. Lemarié, p. 175: *Magis autem necesse est lucrum caeleste captari, ubi terrestre commodum non negligitur*. All translations of Chromatius are my own.

68 Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme*, pp. 42-43.



series starting in 1972, particularly those by Giuseppe Cuscito, Yves-Marie Duval, Françoise Thélamon, and Lellia Cracco Ruggini. Many of the earlier scholars tended to present Chromatius as a disciple of Ambrose due to his consecration (just like Gaudentius in Brescia). Yet more recent scholarship, beginning with Rita Lizzi's work, suggests that due to the distance between the two cities and the focus of Aquileia on the East (evidenced by Chromatius' links with Jerome and Rufinus) Chromatius and Ambrose were out of each other's orbits and probably acted more as equals.<sup>69</sup> Claire Sotinel's monograph is the most thorough study of Aquileia, covering the period from the construction of the Theodorian basilica through the three chapters schism in the 6th century. She charts how the basilica, built at the beginning of the 4th century with its opulent displays of wealth, contrasted with the nascent minority status of its congregation.<sup>70</sup> The church was wealthy but lacking in numbers. In contrast, by the end of the century, Aquileian Christianity was basking in the Theodosian conquest. Yet the celebratory language masked the diversity which still existed in the city. Though Chromatius' sermons suggest a city on the verge of total unification, Sotinel argues that they are reactions to great religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps most interestingly, Sotinel suggests a new framework for the sermons of Chromatius. It has been generally assumed that his sermons were delivered in the "normal" way – that is in church to a general audience. Sotinel suggests that a few of the sermons and the entirety of the tractates on Matthew may have been designed for a more specialized audience, one composed of devotees of asceticism or even other clerics.<sup>72</sup> She draws this conclusion from her analysis of the community at Aquileia which gathered around Chromatius and at one time counted Jerome, Rufinus, and numerous future bishops among its members. The nature of this community has been widely debated with interpretations ranging from proto-monastic community to an *ad hoc* gathering of friends.<sup>73</sup> Sotinel views the community as something akin to a modern day seminary, where persons could gather for

69 Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella età tardoantica*, pp. 139-70.

70 Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme*, pp. 89-99 and 176-80.

71 Sotinel, "L'Évêque chrétien devant la diversité religieuse de la cité", pp. 175-76.

72 Sotinel, "L'Évêque chrétien devant la diversité religieuse de la cité", pp. 225-27.

73 Spinelli, "Ascetismo, monachesimo e cenobitismo ad Aquileia nel secolo IV", p. 300. Much older scholarship fell into the trap of using medieval terms to explore antique practices. For example, the highly creative and forward thinking work of A. Scholz is marred by her forced attempts to fit the community into a later paradigm. Scholz, *Il "Seminarium Aquileiense"*, pp. 5-106. C. Pietri rightly identified the elite nature of the Aquileian community and its heritage of euergetism, but is caught up in monastic labels. Pietri, "Une aristocratie provinciale et la mission Chrétienne", p. 129. Other, more recent, studies

informal devotion and training in spiritual practices. If not all, then some of the sermons of Chromatius, as leader of this group since at least 370, may well be addressed to these privileged few.<sup>74</sup>

Three other recent works stand out for their contribution to studies of Chromatius. Two are collected volumes of papers given in 2008 for the 1600th anniversary of Chromatius' passing. *Cromazio di Aquileia. Al crocevia di genti e religioni* was the product of a museum exhibition and conference. These articles, almost all in Italian, offer little new research but superbly summarize the state of the field. The work covers the history of Aquileia, the archeological zone in the city, and its relations with trade and barbarians. Cuscito offers the best summary of the Christianization narrative in Aquileia.<sup>75</sup> The real strength of the volume lies in its usage of archeology and material culture. Again Cuscito summarizes the constructions in the city.<sup>76</sup> Sandra Piussi adds numerous examples of Aquileian material culture and the famous mosaics in the Theodorian basilica.<sup>77</sup> The other collected volume, *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age*, comprises twenty-two scholarly essays on Chromatius, yet the majority are concerned either with liturgical or theological issues. The reading of Jonah, the presence of the Bible, the cult of the saints, and the Apocalypse of John all merit their own articles.<sup>78</sup> This volume has done much to advance understanding of Chromatius' sources of biblical interpretation, displaying his reliance on Origen among others.<sup>79</sup> Finally, a recent monograph, *Chromatius of Aquileia and the Making of a Christian City* by the author of this chapter, examines how the bishop engaged in a struggle to control the religious environment of the city. The work examines both the sermons and the archaeological evidence of Aquileia in tandem. In particular it focuses on language about Jews and the inscriptions which record financial gifts to the synagogue and churches in the city.<sup>80</sup>

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include: Dissaderi, "Sul monachesimo 'prebenedettino' aquileiese (IV-VII secolo)"; Thélamon, "Modèles de monachisme oriental selon Rufin d'Aquilée", p. 325.

74 Sotinel suggests that certainly *Sermon XLI* on the beatitudes and the tractates on Matthew, which have a higher, more classical style, were designed for this special group. Beyond these ones, however, it would be difficult if not impossible to determine which sermons were for the ascetic community. Sotinel, *Identité civique et Christianisme*, p. 223.

75 Cuscito, "La società cristiana aquileiese".

76 Cuscito, "Il gruppo episcopale di Aquileia".

77 Piussi, "Catalogo", in Piussi (ed.), *Cromazio di Aquileia*, pp. 485-87.

78 Beatrice, "The Sign of Jonah"; Thélamon, "Reliques et mérites des saints"; Pieri, "Chromatius and the Apocalypse of John"; Auwers, "Chromace d'Aquilée et le texte biblique".

79 Williams, "Chromatius and Jerome on Matthew".

80 McEachnie, *Chromatius of Aquileia and the Making of a Christian City*, pp. 105-48.

The sermons that are now believed to be products of Chromatius were only associated with him in the middle of the 20th century. Two French scholars noted the similarities between the anonymous sermons and the tractates of Chromatius on Matthew and through diligent research ultimately identified 43 sermons, 31 complete. Though some doubts about their authenticity remain, it seems that the vast majority can be correctly attributed to the bishop of Aquileia. The critical edition is the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* version of 1974 with a supplement from 1977 with an additional late discovered sermon. The edition also contains the tractates on Matthew. A new version of two sermons was published in 1985 in the *Revue Bénédictine*.<sup>81</sup> There is a *Sources Chrétiennes* translation of the sermons in two volumes from 1969 and 1971 respectively with a long and useful introduction in volume one.<sup>82</sup> The style of Chromatius is simple and never abstract. The Latin betrays his training, but he never rises to classical heights in the sermons (the commentary on Matthew is different in this respect). The sermons maintain a more literal style, grounded in analogies drawn from daily life in what seems an attempt to connect with the listeners.<sup>83</sup> Examples drawn from commercial life in Aquileia abound. His sermons generally follow a standard path of literal explanation of the text, allegorical interpretation, and a moral application. Lemarié emphasized Chromatius' consistent focus on relevance to everyday spiritual life in his sermons.<sup>84</sup> Even in the analysis of Chromatius' doctrinal stances, Lemarié noted that issues of ecclesiology trumped Christology, and Christian life featured more prominently than the sacraments.<sup>85</sup> Chromatius, although sometimes held up as a model of Nicene orthodoxy, seems largely unconcerned with direct Arian and Trinitarian issues, though they do appear in his sermons from time to time.<sup>86</sup> Rather, his energies were focused on the shaping of a Christian identity for his listeners. Ecclesiology is prominent in the sermons and shaped much of Chromatius' approach to life in the city. Heretics were invoked as warning for those who might depart from the body, but specific doctrines were rarely discussed. Jews were often mentioned as the antithesis of the ecclesial body though pagans appear little. Chromatius offered role models in his sermons in the form of Susanna and the apostles, always ending his sermons with

81 Étaix, "Nouvelle édition des sermons XXI-XXII de saint Chromace d'Aquilée".

82 Lemarié, "Introduction", in Lemarié/Tardif (eds.), *Sermons*, pp. 9-120.

83 Lemarié, "Introduction", in Lemarié/Tardif (eds.), *Sermons*, pp. 57-59.

84 Lemarié, "Introduction", in Lemarié/Tardif (eds.), *Sermons*, pp. 60-61.

85 Lemarié, "Introduction", in Lemarié/Tardif (eds.), *Sermons*, pp. 62-81.

86 McEachnie, "A History of Heresy Past", pp. 283-86.

practical application for his listeners. He was a spiritual director of sorts, possibly as a result of his earlier role as leader of the proto-ascetic community.

In his longest and most famous sermon, "On the Eight Beatitudes", Chromatius expanded on all eight admonitions and how they were interrelated. It was in this sermon that he developed an analogy about the eight "blessed are ..." statements which corresponded to the steps on a ladder reaching up to heaven. The analogy shows up in another sermon, and the general motif of climbing to heaven can also be found throughout his homiletic corpus.<sup>87</sup> No systematic approach to the steps emerges in the sermons, however, as Chromatius used the motif in a much more *ad hoc* manner throughout his works. Generally Chromatius focused his words about virtues and vices on three issues drawn directly from Roman society: wealth, luxury, and ambition. The conquest of these three vices would result in the ascent of a Christian. As in the sermons of the other two preachers, greed seems to be a common failing of the audience. "The charity among the faithful which existed in the time of the apostles may be our condemnation since we preserve neither agreement nor peace nor charity because of our zeal for greed. They used to view property as common; we want to make the things of others our own".<sup>88</sup> Chromatius returned again and again to the issue of greed as it relates to ownership in his sermons.<sup>89</sup> His words reflect the tension between prosperity which came from the commercial side of the city and the resulting inequality between those who had great wealth and those who barely survived. But the commercial nature seems to have won out, as Chromatius said of himself: "I also set out the merchandise that the Lord has committed to me, the preaching that is assuredly from heaven, since indeed he has chosen me ... to conduct business and make a profit".<sup>90</sup> The attempt to promote a community which balanced its aristocratic position with Christian demands led to condemnations not of wealth directly, but of luxury and greed. Conspicuous non-consumption, in the form

87 For the ladder: Chromatius, *Sermon* I, 5-6, ed. Lemarié, pp. 4-5. For the motif of steps to heaven, see *Sermons* I, 4; XV, 5; XXIX, 3; and XLII, ed. Lemarié, pp. 4, 69, 134, and 182.

88 Chromatius, *Sermon* XXXI, 4, ed. Lemarié, pp. 141-42: [*Sed uereor ne unanimitas illa et caritas credentium quae sub apostolis fuit, damnatio nostra sit, qui contemplatione auaritiae non unanimitatem, non pacem, non caritatem, seruamus. Illi propria communia computabant, nos aliena <nostra> facere uolumus.*]

89 Chromatius, *Sermons* I, 7; IV, 2; V, 5; XII, 7; XV, 1; XXVI, 4; XXXI, 4; and XLI, 2; ed. Lemarié, pp. 5, 19, 25, 56, 66, 115, 141, and 176.

90 Chromatius, *Sermon* XLI, 1, ed. Lemarié, p. 175: [*E]go proponam mercedem, quam mihi commisit Dominus, praedicationem utique caelestem, siquidem me [minimum quoque ... quibus Dominus talenta distribuit] ad negotiandum lucrumque faciendum, elegit.*]

of fasting and chastity, were twin pillars in overcoming the wealth surrounding the church.

Yet, the church at Aquileia seems not to have taken well to the practice of fasting. Chromatius noted: "Fasting has been prescribed recently, but few have fasted. People proceed to church and attend to idle talk or earthly business rather than to prayers".<sup>91</sup> Apparently, a set fast had been established, but it had failed to take hold with the majority of the church. In another sermon, Chromatius felt the need to rebuke those who did fast. "Truly, to abstain only from food, is not fasting. For this reason, when we fast, we ought to abstain by all means from vices".<sup>92</sup> Apparently the irony of practicing other vices while fasting was lost on some in the church at Aquileia. He also scolded women specifically for their luxury in the form of jewelry and makeup: "Hence, those elegant women who think that they are beautiful only if they put on ornaments of this kind, despite the teaching of the apostle, are wrong ... Why do you desire to adorn yourself with rings or beautiful clothes when you ought to be adorned with faith and holy morals?"<sup>93</sup> Chromatius did not place the emphasis on virginity that Ambrose or Zeno did, but instead spoke to older, already married women.<sup>94</sup> This might reflect the demographics of his listeners or just personal preference.

The final issue to consider is the presence of non-Christians in the sermons. Chromatius made little mention of pagans, suggesting that the older traditions were of little issue to him in modern Aquileia. They appear in only six sermons, but five of those times, Jews were mentioned in the same paragraph.<sup>95</sup> The world that the sermons portray was one in which Christianity faced Jews and heretics as threats, not pagans. It was a world of religious competition. Heretics make appearances at various moments, but in a manner that suggests they

91 Chromatius, *Sermon* III, 1, ed. Lemarié, p. 13: *Indictum est legitimum ieiunium nuper, pauci ieiunauerunt. Proceditur ad ecclesiam et fabulis potius uel terrenis negotiis quam orationibus uacatur.*

92 Chromatius, *Sermon* XXXV, 4, ed. Lemarié, p. 160: *[Q]uia ad hoc ieiunamus, non ut tantum a cibo abstineamus, sed ut ab omnibus carnis uitiiis separemur.*

93 Chromatius, *Sermon* XXXV, 2, ed. Lemarié, p. 159: *Vnde multum errant delicatae mulieres quae non putant esse se speciosas, nisi si se contra sententiam apostoli, huiusmodi induerint ornamentis .... Quid te ornare desideras auro, uel uestibus pretiosis, quae ornatam esse debes fide et moribus sanctis?*

94 Other instances "where Chromatius discusses women and gender occur: *Sermons* III, 5; X, 2; XXIV, 2; XXIX, 3; and XXXVIII, 1; ed. Lemarié, pp. 15, 44, 108, 134, and 167.

95 Pagans appear alone in *Sermon* II, 5, ed. Lemarié, p. 10. They are alongside Jews in *Sermons* III, 1; XIV, 1; XVI, 3; XVII, 3; and XXVIII, 1, ed. Lemarié, pp. 13, 62, 74, 77, and 129.

were an abstract threat and not present in the city during his tenure.<sup>96</sup> Chromatius devoted much time in his sermons to the Jewish people. There was a synagogue in Aquileia and his words reflect that there was probably a functioning community, though its size is lost to us.<sup>97</sup> Aside from the common patristic tropes that all members of the synagogue were damned and that the Jews were a people obsessed with laws and rites, Chromatius did two unique things. First, he never attacked the Jews for licentiousness or immorality and was even occasionally friendly towards Jews, an anomaly in late-antique inter-religious relations. In a sermon from the spring of 402 after Alaric had laid siege to the city and was still in Northern Italy, Chromatius suggested that Jews benefited from the grace of the Church, though the mention is vague about what that grace meant.<sup>98</sup> Second, Chromatius made more than one mention that suggested Jews were not eligible for redemption, a notion that was decidedly more medieval than ancient. Speaking of the refusal to accept Jesus in the 1st century, he said, "The Jews there did not want to come; thus they remain in perpetual disease".<sup>99</sup> The perpetual comment suggests a fixed nature, perhaps implying a category for Jews closer to modern conceptions of race. Aside from this point, Chromatius mentioned Jews numerous other times, almost always warning his listeners to avoid doing business or eating with them.<sup>100</sup> Again, Chromatius placed an emphasis on the formation of Christian identity, as seen above in fasting, by conspicuous non-consumption or non-participation which made an example of the Christian or, as in this case, the outsider.

96 McEachnie, "History of Heresy Past", pp. 289-94. For an alternative approach on the issue which holds that the mentions of Jews were code for attacks on heretics, see Duval, "Les Relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle", pp. 188-92; Thélamon, "Les vaines illusions des juifs incrédules selon Chromace et Rufin d'Aquilée", p. 111. Even the former pope commented on Chromatius' interactions with supposed Arians in a sermon: Benedict XVI, *The Fathers of the Church. From Clement of Rome to Augustine of Hippo*, p. 126.

97 Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, pp. XIII-XIV and 11-13; Lizzi, *Vescovi e strutture ecclesiastiche nella età tardoantica*, pp. 164-65; Cracco Ruggini, "Cromazio di fronte a pagani ed ebrei", pp. 184-85.

98 Chromatius, *Sermon* XVI, 4.

99 Chromatius, *Sermon* XIV, 1, ed. Lemarié, p. 62: *Iudaei uenire noluerunt et idcirco in infirmitate perpetua remanserunt*.

100 Chromatius, *Sermons* III, 4; IV, 1-2; IX, 1-4; X, 4; XIV, 1; XVI, 3; XVII, 1-2; XIX, 4; XXI, 3; XXIV, 3-5; XXV, 3-4; XXVII, 1-2; XXVIII, 1-2; XXX, 1; XXXII, 3-4; and XXXIII, 3-4, ed. Lemarié, pp. 14, 19, 39-41, 45, 62, 74, 76, 91, 98, 109-11, 114-15, 124-25, 129, 136, 145-46, and 152-53.

## 5 Conclusion

Chromatius, Gaudentius and Zeno represent some of the earliest collections of Latin preaching which survive. Taken together, their works convey the massive societal change which occurred from 360 to 410. Each preacher reflects the culture he inhabited, but also the changes he attempted to hoist on that community. Community formation was a central feature of the sermons. Each in his own way attempted to help the nascent churches develop a stronger sense of communal identity. Sometimes this was positive by building around the shared ritual experience of baptism and sometimes negative by identifying the other in the form of the Jews. Often it combined the two in forming a new Christian identity that churchgoers could share in. The process which the bishops supported needs to be explored more fully. Their role in transforming the role of the bishop from ecclesial leader to urban leader also deserves further study. While much ink has been spilled on the theology of the three, their biblical interpretation warrants new approaches which might consider the sources used. So while recent scholarship has done an excellent job of contextualizing the three, the sermons are ripe for further study in their own right and not as works made by supposed “disciples” of Ambrose. Such study could illuminate the period and region in a way that manifests the incredible variety that was present throughout northern Italy at the end of the 4th century.

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## *Conclusion*





# Attending to the Word: A Concluding Look at Latin Patristic Preaching and a Vision for the Way Forward

*Adam Ployd*

## 1 Introduction

A word is a slippery thing – especially when it comes to early Christian preaching. The word “sermon” itself comes from the Latin *sermo* meaning “language,” “discourse”, or even simply “word”. A sermon, then, is a discourse of words spoken by a preacher to his audience. Yet this is not how we encounter the words of a patristic sermon. The spoken word, its ephemeral existence hanging but a moment in the reverberating air, comes to us in the form of text, the written word that preserves and symbolizes the inaccessible speech of a past event. Yet both the spoken word and the written word are themselves clumsy, material representations of the internal word of thought. The preacher conceives this word within his mind before proclaiming it to the people, one of whom may scratch it into more permanent material. But a sermon is composed not just of the preacher’s own words but, usually, of a catena of words from scripture, interpreted, arranged, and re-presented by the preacher to those who lacked direct access to the sacred words themselves. And behind it all, for many early Christians, stood Christ the Word made flesh whose act of divine condescension gave meaning to the theological task of preaching. For the preachers, for their audiences (ideally), for those who preserved their sermons, and for the 21st-century scholar – early Christian preaching requires attending to the word, in all its manifold meanings.

If this volume has demonstrated anything, it is that there is much to which we need to attend, some in new ways, some for the first time. Early Latin preaching is vast: spanning at least three hundred years; arising from the inter-related but distinct contexts of the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, Gaul, and North Africa;<sup>1</sup> and manifesting a variety of formats with varying foci. Promoting awareness of and providing an entrée into this wide world of historical homiletics, the essays in this volume allow us to see beyond the more obvious and over-used representatives of Latin preaching in order to place them within

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1 For the role that different social and geographical contexts played in shaping early Latin preaching, see Bailey’s chapter on 5th-century Gaul and Westra’s on 4th-century Spain.

a larger cultural context. In short, the sermons of Augustine of Hippo should no longer define our perspective on patristic preaching in the West. Nevertheless, it is to Augustine that I return in this concluding chapter as a representative example of the themes that bind this volume together and of the diversity to be found in the study of early Latin sermons.

I come to exploit Augustine, not to praise him. In the first part of this chapter, I take up his *enarratio* on Psalm 120 (LXX) (*en. Ps. 120*) and highlight several important passages. I do this not because this sermon is uniquely beautiful or brilliant. I take up *en. Ps. 120* because it is useful. This single sermon from Augustine provides touchstones for identifying the elements of Latin preaching, homiletics, and the historical study of these sermons that have been lifted up throughout this volume. To put it another way, we are not looking at Augustine here. Rather, we are looking through Augustine, the single tree, in order to espy the forest beyond.

I conclude with some programmatic thoughts on where we go from here. I suggest that in addition to the continued efforts to recover and correctly identify early Latin sermons, scholars from a broad range of disciplines ought to make more constructive use of them. In particular, I hope that we may see the complex phenomenon of patristic preaching as a place where scholars interested in theological questions and those guided by more social-cultural concerns can work together and benefit from each other.

## 2 Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum 120*

In Augustine's *enarratio* on Psalm 120, we find a feast of details and examples that, properly ruminated upon, provide a taste for the larger themes in early Latin preaching and the scholarship on it. In what follows, I do not offer a systematic analysis of the sermon's contents. Instead, I begin by discussing details surrounding the sermon – its title and context – before examining the technique and purpose of the sermon. This will lead us from questions about historiographical methodology to reflections on the roles of language and biblical interpretation in the late-antique preacher's efforts to mold a community of Christians.



## 2.1 Enarratio

Augustine's sermon on Ps. 120 is part of a larger collection, spanning the entire psalter, known as the *enarrationes in Psalmos*.<sup>2</sup> Pausing to consider the significance of this title will lead us into important methodological considerations on the study of early Christian preaching: What counts as a sermon? And in what manner do we actually have historical access to patristic preaching?<sup>3</sup>

The title *enarrationes* sets this collection of sermons apart from Augustine's other collections, the *tractatus* on John and 1 John and the *sermones ad populum*. I need not repeat the importance of these different groups in Augustine; Boodts and Dupont have already done so in their chapter on the Bishop of Hippo. For the purposes of this concluding chapter, however, the significance lies not in the nature of the different groups but in the diversity itself. Early Latin preaching is not monolithic and neither are the types of texts that preserve it. We cannot assume, for instance, that just because a text is labeled as a *sermo* that it actually is one. Nor can we assume that a text labeled as a different genre is not a sermon. Scholars looking to understand Augustine the preacher would lack key information if they included only those texts within the *sermones* grouping.

This awareness of the diversity of early Latin sermons demands a deeper methodological consideration of what actually counts as a sermon. Ignoring for the moment the range of Latin terms used for late-antique preaching,<sup>4</sup> our classification of sermons depends on a host of disputed criteria. Must a sermon be labeled as such? If so, at what point within the manuscript tradition must such labeling occur?<sup>5</sup> Must a sermon have been actually preached? Many of Augustine's *enarrationes* and *tractatus* were never delivered in front of an audience but operate as either model sermons or exegetical notes. Does true preaching require an ecclesial and liturgical context?<sup>6</sup> That is to say, what sepa-

2 For a brief but thorough overview of the *enarrationes*, including the source of their title, the variety of their form, and their chronology, see Fiedrowicz' "General Introduction" to *Expositions of the Psalms*; Müller, "Enarrationes in Psalmos".

3 Such questions are more thoroughly examined in this volume's chapters by Mayer, Dolbeau, and Rebillard.

4 For a classic treatment of this terminology in Augustine, see Mohrmann, "Praedicare-Tractare-Sermo".

5 Dolbeau's chapter is particularly helpful in thinking through the ways in which sermons were preserved and transmitted from Late Antiquity through the middle ages.

6 For the key role of the liturgical calendar and feast days in shaping early Latin preaching, see Judic's chapter on Gregory the Great and Neil's on Leo the Great. For the physical liturgical contexts, see Dresken-Weiland's chapter on art and iconography along with Cain's chapter on

rates preaching from other forms of late-antique public speaking?<sup>7</sup> Must a sermon include some reflection on a scripture text?<sup>8</sup> Or, as the manuscript tradition suggests, were hortatory and catechetical emphases more primary than scriptural exposition?<sup>9</sup> These questions could be expanded exponentially, but they all point to the way in which the scholarly classification of early Latin sermons must deal with the fact that our reading of these texts is often guided as much by our assumptions about what a sermon is as by the categories that early Christians deployed. Therefore, we must always be open to (and honest about) the ways we enter into constructive conversation with the past even as we try to reconstruct it.

Attending to the semantic range of patristic preaching terminology helps with these methodological issues, but even this approach can turn us away from the “original” context of the sermon and toward its medieval and modern after-lives. For instance, one might suggest that we need to investigate what Augustine meant by *enarratio* to understand why he did not call these texts *sermones*. Unfortunately, such an endeavor would end quickly, because it was Erasmus, not Augustine, who first named these texts *enarrationes in Psalmos*. Thus, in seeking the significance of *enarratio* we would learn more about renaissance humanism than about late-antique preaching.

Although the circumstances are rarely so elegant as the Erasmus example, all patristic sermons come to us in similar ways, through manuscript traditions that mediate the past to us. Like a Kantian *noumenon*, we have no direct access to patristic preaching. One traditional (and still much needed) way to address this problem is to collate and critically edit the manuscript evidence in order to establish a reliable version of the text. While scholars of Augustine, like myself, can rely on centuries of such work performed by our predecessors – from Amerbach in the 15th century to Erasmus and Vlimmerius in the 16th and the Maurists in the seventeenth – many of the less popular patristic authors and corpuses discussed in this volume still require dedicated scholars to sift through the evidence, not only to establish the text, but often to establish

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Jerome, which highlights the exegete's relationship to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and its adjacent monastic community.

- 7 In his chapter on 4th-century Spain, Westra begins from the premise that there is little to no formal distinction between Christian preaching and “pagan” speeches, hence the fruitfulness of the rhetorical analysis he deploys.
- 8 Although our evidence for Ambrose's preaching is quite limited, as Gerzaguét discusses in her chapter, he does seem to have considered scriptural explication as central to good preaching.
- 9 See Allen's discussion of Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus, who, she argues, represent more quotidian concerns in their preaching.

possible provenance, date, and authorship.<sup>10</sup> For instance, as the late Maureen Tilley discusses in her chapter on Donatist sermons, the identification, (re)-attribution, and interpretation of recently discovered sermons includes a host of methodological difficulties stemming from the original repression and polemical representation of Donatists by Catholic authors and authorities.<sup>11</sup>

And yet even with a critically established text, our methodological difficulties are not over. These texts rarely give us unrefracted glimpses of the original historical preaching event. We are lucky in some texts to have the preacher's observations on the audience's reaction.<sup>12</sup> But the presence of these gems in some texts reminds us of their absence in most others. Moreover, many sermons have been edited, either by the original author or by a later hand. In fact, Boodts and Dupont note that such editing is one factor that separates Augustine's *enarrationes* from his *sermones*. In short, there is a limit to what we can know about early Latin preaching based on the evidence.<sup>13</sup> We can still know quite a bit, but we must be cautious and explicit with how we use these sermons.

## 2.2 *A Psalm and a Martyr*

Two further preliminary matters deserve our attention before turning to the sermon itself: the topic and the context. A full understanding of this sermon must consider its exegetical focus within the setting of the Catholic-Donatist conflict and the celebration of a martyr's feast.<sup>14</sup> Much like the previous sec-

10 For examples of the difficulties that still plague the editing of sermon collections for some authors, see Gounelle's chapter on "Arian" texts, Weidmann's chapter on the several possible Maximi of Turin, and Bizzozero's numerous charts in his chapter on Chrysologus. Even for the most widely studied figures, such works remain needed. For instance, for meticulous reconsiderations of sermon chronology in Chrysostom and Augustine (respectively), see Mayer, "Les Homélie de Jean Chrysostome"; and Drobner, "The Chronology of St. Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*"; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*; Dupont, "A Status Quaestionis on Recent Debates on the Chronology and the Dating Methodology of Augustine's *Sermones ad Populum*".

11 For further analysis of the Donatist sermons, see Bass, "Fifth-Century Catechesis".

12 This is especially the case in the more improvisational preachers, as discussed by Dolbeau in his chapter on the transmission of these texts.

13 On the different ways in which sermons have been used as evidence – not just for themselves but for larger social, liturgical, or ecclesiastical phenomena – see Rebillard's chapter.

14 Sermons on martyrs' feast days appear in many chapters of this volume, but Dresken-Weiland is particularly helpful for understanding the physical and aesthetic context for such sermons.

tion, this discussion will demonstrate the types of questions raised by these details as well as the limits we encounter in answering them.

The title tells us that this sermon, or *enarratio* as Erasmus would have it, takes Ps. 120 (LXX) as its topic. Depending upon the reader's liturgical tradition, it might appear obvious that a sermon would focus upon a biblical pericope. Yet the idea that a sermon would necessarily take a scripture passage as its topic is not assumed in Late Antiquity. As the essays in this volume have shown, a sermon could focus on moral exhortation or even doctrinal polemics without much recourse to a single guiding scripture text, though they would of course quote or allude to many.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, some sermons can read more like exegetical commentaries than homilies delivered to an actual congregation.<sup>16</sup> In fact, many of Augustine's *enarrationes* were nothing more than commentary, having never been preached. But as this sermon demonstrates, for both Augustine in particular and early Christian preachers in general, exegesis and homiletics were not mutually exclusive options. While this sermon definitely addresses concerns arising from its context, it also proceeds line-by-line – sometimes word-by-word – elucidating the meaning of the text using the best methods of late-antique Biblical interpretation in ways that meet the pastoral needs of the preacher-bishop. The commentary nature of this sermon becomes more pronounced when we observe that Augustine preached on Psalms 119-33 within a five-month span, taking his flock through the Psalms of Ascent as a unit in a particular season of their life together.<sup>17</sup> Yet this commentary on the Psalms of Ascent is intertwined with similar sermons on the first few chapters of the Gospel of John, such that references to a sermon on one book will appear in a sermon on the other. In future sections we will see more specific examples of how exegesis shapes the sermon's content.

As much as this sermon focuses on Psalm 120, Augustine's interpretation and presentation of the text depend just as much upon the preaching context, in this case the celebration of the feast of Saint Crispina, a martyr whose "birthday" (*natalis*) was commemorated on December 5. Other evidence, internal and external, has led researchers to date this sermon even more

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15 See for instance Weidmann's chapter on Maximus of Turin, especially the preacher labeled "Maximus 1", whom Weidmann characterizes as less focused on scripture in his preaching.

16 Gregory the Great has this tendency, and at times a sermon for him seems to mean biblical commentary paired with an audience, as Judic observes in his chapter.

17 The day-to-day interactions between preacher and congregation are less obvious in some sermons than in others. For preachers who display particular attention to the mundane concerns of their audience, see McEachnie's chapter on Zeno, Chromatius, and Gauden-tius.

precisely to 405 or 406, partly due to the presence of anti-Donatist material.<sup>18</sup> Either the modern reader will be blind to these contextual elements, or she will discover them as she reads through the text, or she may receive all the needed information from an introductory note from the editor. Whatever the method, we must remember that our knowledge of the context will always be different from that of the original preacher and audience. Augustine does not begin his sermon by naming Crispina. In fact, he does not even mention her name until the antepenultimate section. Instead, he initially references “the martyrs” as a generic category, telling his audience that “the Song of Ascents is suited for today” because of them.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Augustine does not ever name the Donatists in this sermon. Instead, he simply alludes to their supposed beliefs: “Whoever considers the church to exist only in one part and does not know that it is spread forth throughout the whole world...” (*en. Ps. 120, 12*).<sup>20</sup> This passing allusion reminds us that, although we can and should work diligently to uncover the many contextual layers that formed a sermon’s composition, delivery, and reception, we must also remember that there is an existential connection to that context that we can never fully recover.

Even still, with this sermon we have two easily identifiable and rich contexts to guide our reading. One is a ritual context connected to the cult of the martyrs that is deeply ingrained in early North African Christianity. The other is a schismatic conflict between competing communions involving doctrinal disputes over the nature of the church and the efficacy of the sacraments. A complete analysis of this sermon would have to take into account the ways these two contexts are deeply intertwined with each other, as the two communions compete to lay claim to the legacy of the martyrs. Of course, not all early Latin sermons are the products of such easily identified and analytically fruitful contexts. For some collections, our uncertainty as to their context and authorship makes it difficult to even speculate about such things.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.3 *Rhetoric*

Having identified this range of themes just in the title and context of the sermon, I now turn to the sermon itself. Here we will develop a deeper appreciation

18 Berrouard, “La date des *Tractatus 1-LIV in Iohannis Evangelium* de Saint Augustin”; La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, 46–51.

19 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX, 2*, ed. Gori, p. 58, lines 1–2: *Congruit et hodierno diei psalmus iste CANTICVM GRADVVM*.

20 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX, 12*, ed. Gori, p. 76, lines 18–20: *Quisquis rursus putauerit ecclesiam in una parte esse, et non eam cognouerit diffusam toto orbe terrarum...*

21 Gounelle discusses such difficulties with the “Arian” sermons in his chapter, as does Bailey for the “Eusebius Gallicanus” collection in hers.

for many of these same themes as we analyze the content and style of Augustine's *en. Ps. 120*. The first thing to consider about the sermon's content is the role of rhetoric. In almost every biographical chapter in this volume, we find some comment, however brief, about the rhetorical style and sophistication (or lack thereof) in an author's corpus.<sup>22</sup> Given Augustine's earlier career as a teacher of rhetoric, it will come as no surprise that his rhetorical practices populate every section of this sermon. Analyzing the rhetoric of *en. Ps. 120* will help us see more clearly what Augustine's goal is in this sermon and in his preaching in general.

Although he uses such tropes as apostrophe and etymology, Augustine's most prolific tool in this sermon is the rhetorical question or *interrogatio*.<sup>23</sup> These take several forms, often connected to his exegetical focus. Speaking of Matt. 24:37-39, Augustine asks,

What, then, are we to make of this passage (*Quid ergo*)? Will all those who do these things perish? All those who marry and take wives? All those who plant and those who build? No; but those who presume upon these things, who prefer them to God, who on account of them are prepared to offend God.<sup>24</sup>

This type of *anthypophora* – an *interrogatio* where the speaker immediately answers his own question – allows Augustine to bring the audience into the act of interpretation and convince them of the truth of his interpretation by highlighting the preposterousness of an alternative reading.

Augustine further heightens his rhetorical questions by adding a type of *sermocinatio*,<sup>25</sup> in which he speaks in the persona of the audience. For instance, having quoted 1 Thes. 5:2 and Matt. 24:43, Augustine ascribes anxious uncertainty to his listeners: "Now you are saying, 'Who can know when the hour [of the Lord] will come if it will come like a thief in the night?' You do not know the time at which it will come, so be always vigilant. That way, although you do not know when he is coming, he will find you prepared when he does

22 See, for instance, Cain's discussion of Jerome's surprisingly imperfect Latin and inelegant *clausulae* in his improvisational sermons.

23 See Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, §§ 767-70.

24 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 3, ed. Gori, p. 60, lines 26-29: *Quid ergo? Omnes peribunt qui ista faciunt, qui nubunt, qui uxores ducunt, qui nouellant, qui aedificant? Non, sed qui de his praesumunt, sed qui ista deo praeferunt, sed qui propter haec offendere deum cito parati sunt.*

25 See *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4, 52, 65, trans. Caplan, pp. 394-99.

come.”<sup>26</sup> By placing the interrogation directly into the mouths of his audience, this passage makes explicit what is suggested by Augustine’s many other *interrogationes*. He wants his audience to exegete the text along with him. He wants them to bring these kinds of exegetical questions to their hearing of the text. This does not mean that he believes they are actually doing so. After all, we have evidence that Augustine’s audiences, like many in late-antique churches, may have been a rowdy bunch at times, unwilling to listen and attend to the pearls he was casting.<sup>27</sup>

Augustine’s use of the *interrogatio* defines his homiletic method in this sermon, and like all rhetorical tools its goal is to help persuade the audience. Perhaps the use of rhetorical questions aims at keeping an easily distracted audience attentive and engaged. Surely this is one purpose of such tools, and a necessary one at that. But Augustine chooses his questions carefully, focusing on exegetical issues and ambiguous meanings in the text. His leading questions then are an invitation and illustration of how he wants his audience to think about scripture’s words, not as summarized in three convenient bullet-points, but as spiritual mysteries to explore and investigate alongside a trusted guide.

#### 2.4 *Exegesis*

Augustine’s ubiquitous use of *interrogatio*, therefore, leads us to consider the exegetical character of this sermon. As we have seen, early Latin sermons need not have exegetical foci; yet, even non-exegetically focused sermons deploy scripture citations and interpretations to promote their primary goals. Attending to the role of scripture in *en. Ps. 120* will illustrate the way in which many of the sermon collections discussed in this volume can serve as sources for the study of early Latin exegesis, both its method and its content. In particular, we will find that we cannot easily separate the two topics of rhetoric and exegesis.<sup>28</sup>

Psalms 120 defines this sermon, providing both its themes and its structure. As with his other *enarrationes* and his *tractatus*, Augustine proceeds through the scripture passage line-by-line, resolving any ambiguities and elucidating

26 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX, 2*, ed. Gori, p. 59, lines 8–11: *Dicitis modo: ‘Quis ergo nouit qua hora ueniet, quia hora sicut fur erit?’ Nescis qua hora ueniat? Semper uigila, ut quod nescis quando ueniat, paratum te inueniat, cum uenerit.*

27 E.g. Augustine, s. 359B (Dolbeau 2).

28 This connection between rhetoric and exegesis has been analyzed by several recent works on Augustine. See, e.g., Ployd, “*Non poena sed causa*”; Cameron, *Christ Meets Me Everywhere*; Dodaro, “Literary Decorum in Scriptural Exegesis”.



the figurative meaning of each verse. This approach turns the sermon into a kind of commentary on the text, and indeed scholars have at times approached the *enarrationes* as well as the *tractatus* as primarily sources for Augustine's exegesis of the Psalms and the Johannine literature.<sup>29</sup>

Despite this focus on Ps. 120, as my examples of *interrogatio* suggest, Augustine does not remain fixated on that text in isolation. In fact, there are fewer explicit references to or citations of Ps. 120 in this sermon than there are for other passages from across the biblical canon. This is, of course, not unique within pre-modern exegesis, especially in patristic sources. Both true commentaries and exegetically focused sermons of the period interweave Old and New Testament texts into a spiritual blanket that most modern scholars would find uncomfortable. But for Augustine, and indeed all of the authors discussed in this volume, interpreting a psalm not only invites but requires the hermeneutical context of the entire canon in its presumed narrative and theological unity.

Yet Augustine's *en. Ps. 120* is not a commentary, at least not if we were choosing the primary genre in which to classify it. Other *enarrationes*, those which were merely exegetical notes and were never preached, could more truly be labeled as commentaries, if inchoate ones. But *en. Ps. 120* is definitively a sermon, and Augustine's exegesis is appropriately shaped by and speaks to his audience and their context. The exegesis, along with the rhetoric, all serve his homiletic purpose.

For example, in *en. Ps. 120*, 7 Augustine comes to the following verse from the psalm: "The Lord is your protection, better than the hand of your right hand (*super manum dexteræ tuæ*)."<sup>30</sup> The awkward phrasing of Augustine's Latin version of the text prompts him to pursue a deeper meaning.

It seems to me that there must be a hidden meaning why he did not say, simply and unconditionally, "The Lord is your protection," but added, "better than the hand of your right hand." What? Does the Lord guard our right hand but not our left? Did he not make the whole of us? Did not he who made a right hand for us make a left hand too? If he wanted to speak concerning the right hand only, why did he say, "better than the hand of your right hand," and not "better than your right hand"? Why did he say

29 E.g., Norris, "The Theological Structure of Augustine's Exegesis in the *Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis*."

30 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 7, ed. Gori, p. 67, lines 6-7: *DOMINVS TEGVMETVM TVVM SVPER MANVM DEXTERAE TVAE*.



this, unless he hid something secret here, which we will arrive at by knocking at its door.<sup>31</sup>

This passage demonstrates Augustine's rhetorical approach to exegesis in a homiletic context. Having come to a confusing verse, he rejects possible interpretive solutions by demonstrating their absurdity through *interrogationes*. Further, he suggests the key to the text's meaning by identifying phrases that, were they not secretly significant, would have been superfluous or nonsensical, in this case the "hand of your right hand" redundancy. This reading practice derives from the intersection of late-antique grammar and rhetoric as they meet in disputes over the interpretation of legal texts, such as a will.<sup>32</sup> Augustine would have taught would-be rhetors that in such a situation a case can be made based on the presence of an otherwise unnecessary clause, presuming that the wise author would not have included anything without purpose. Finally, having set the goal of discovering the mysterious meaning of the "hand of your right hand," Augustine leads his audience on a quest to find the answer.

## 2.5 *Spiritual Formation*

Augustine's rhetorical approach to exegesis, therefore, is meant to guide his audience to a deeper understanding of the text, but he does so with a more particular spiritual goal in mind.<sup>33</sup> This sermon's primary function is moral exhortation, especially the cultivation of a spiritual disposition according to which the heavenly beatitude of God, and not the fleeting goods of this world, receives our highest love. Similarly the soul is to be loved more than the body, and eternal life more than earthly survival. Throughout the sermon we see Augustine attempting to lead his audience via his rhetorical and exegetical method into his vision of the Christian life.

Augustine even incorporates the liturgical context into his hortatory purpose, turning the martyrs in general and St. Crispina in particular into models

31 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 7, ed. Gori, p. 67, lines 7-15: *Videtur enim mihi habere sensum occultum quare non dixerit: DOMINVS CVSTODIET TE absolute et simpliciter, sed addidit SVPER MANVM DEXTERAE TVAE. Quid enim? Dexteram nostram deus custodit, et sinistram non custodit? Nonne ipse nos totos fecit? Nonne qui fecit nobis dexteram, ipse fecit et sinistram? Postremo si placuit dici de dextera sola, quare dixit: SVPER MANVM DEXTERAE TVAE, et non iam super dexteram tuam? Cur hoc diceret, nisi aliquid hic occultum, quo pulsando perueniremus, absconderet?*

32 On grammar, rhetoric, and the interpretation of texts, see Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition*. With the following as the requisite bibliography reference: Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition: Chapters in the Ancient Legacy and Its Humanist Reception*, New Haven 1997.

33 On the goals of spiritual formation and community building in early Latin preaching, see the chapters by Rebillard and Allen.

of the Christian life. In the sermon's introductory remarks, Augustine explains how the Psalms of Ascent teach us to climb to God by first identifying the deep valley of tears in which we now dwell. "The martyrs," Augustine tells his audience, "understood this valley of weeping. Why did they understand? Why? Because they themselves ascended from this valley of weeping so that they might be crowned."<sup>34</sup> In other words, the martyrs had no delusions about this world and its sorrows because they suffered the worst of it through torture and death, but they did so for the sake of something greater than this world. Similarly, Augustine suggests to his audience, we should pursue "good work in the midst of this earthly tribulation."<sup>35</sup>

Although he opens with the martyrs, Augustine remains silent on them for most of the remaining sermon. It is not until the end that he comes to name the day's celebrated martyr, St. Crispina, thus creating a martyrial frame for his sermon. Crispina provides Augustine's oratorical climax. He contrasts her wealth and physical softness to the strength she had from the Lord who "was her protection, better than the hand of her right hand, and he was guarding her."<sup>36</sup> Augustine continues discussing her violent death in order to reinforce his encouragement to the audience to value spiritual things more than worldly:

When did the enemy truly injure this fortified woman? He struck her, indeed, but in the body. Yet what does the psalm say? "May the Lord guard your soul." The soul did not submit, though the body was struck. ... "May the Lord guard your soul." May it not submit; may your soul not be fractured upon scandals, in persecutions, or in tribulations... "May the Lord guard your soul" lest you submit to the evil persuader or to those promising false things or to those who threaten temporal disaster.<sup>37</sup>

In a context where martyrial memories were contested ground and in an age where, for Augustine's flock at least, martyrdom seemed a thing of the pre-

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34 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 1, ed. Gori, p. 58, lines 12-15: *Istam conuallem plorationis martyres intellexerunt. Vnde intellexerunt? Vnde? Quia et ipsi de conualle plorationis, ut coronarentur, ascenderunt.*

35 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 2, ed. Gori, p. 58, lines 4-5: *Bona opera in ista tribulatione terrena.*

36 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 13, ed. Gori, p. 79, lines 15-16: *... tegumentum eius super manum dexteræ eius, ille qui eam custodiebat.*

37 Augustine, *en. Ps. CXX*, 13, ed. Gori, pp. 79-80, lines 25-28; 33-35; 38-40: *Quando sic munitam pecueteret inimicus? Et tamen percussit, sed in corpus. Quid autem dicit psalmus? CVSTODIAT DOMINVS ANIMAM TVAM. Anima non cessit, corpus percussus est... CVSTODIAT ANIMAM TVAM DOMINVS. Ipsa non cedit, ipsa non frangatur in persecutionibus, in tribulationibus... ne cedas persuasori malo, ne cedas promittenti falsa, ne cedas minanti temporalia, et CVSTODIAT ANIMAM TVAM DOMINVS.*

Constantinian past, Augustine transforms Crispina and her fellow martyrs into models of living piety. On her feast day she becomes a rhetorical exemplum pressed into the service of spiritual formation as Augustine encourages his flock to resist the more quotidian temptations that would threaten their commitment to the true faith and the virtuous life.

*En. Ps.* 120 is but one sermon within Augustine's massive corpus. Augustine himself, despite his prominence, is only one preacher among innumerable colleagues from early Latin Christianity. Why, therefore, spend so much space in this concluding chapter on one sermon of this one over-examined preacher? Good pedagogy moves us to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar. This volume has advocated for increased scholarly attention on early Latin preaching in ways that move beyond Augustine's normativity – though without ignoring the need to deepen our study of even his sermons. Yet the richness of the evidence we have for him, unique among manuscript traditions, and the rather unprecedented knowledge we have of his life and self-understanding mean that he will continue to be a helpful stepping-stone as we leap to less well-known texts and authors. In reading this sermon, precisely because it is not unique, we can cultivate sensitivities to the types of questions and lenses we should bring to other sermons. It is not that all sermons will look like this one. But thinking about how we look at this one will help us look at others. For instance, no matter the particular context or focus of a sermon, we will have to discern what the preacher is attempting to accomplish (even if what he wants to accomplish is a biblical commentary that will never be preached). And we will need to examine the ways in which he pursues that goal: technical rhetorical tropes, exegetical practices, and more informal maneuvers to affect his audience. And we must always keep watch for the theological vision that guides the preacher, how he understands his task in relation to his role as a bishop or priest participating in various liturgical, ecclesial, and cultural contexts.

### 3      **Going Forward**

For many scholars, raising rhetorical, exegetical, and contextual questions already represents the obvious way to approach these sermons. Indeed, by illustrating how *en. Ps.* 120 can be fruitfully examined from various angles, I intend to reflect on and highlight the themes and approaches that tie this volume together, especially for the reader who may be new to this field of early Latin preaching. I come now, however, to some final suggestions of what the field ought to consider as we move forward. In what follows, I offer three hopeful prescriptions for future scholarship that reaffirm the foundational methods

we have discussed above by identifying ways we need to build upon them even further through deeper and wider attention, methodological multiplicity, and collegial cooperation.

### 3.1 *Attend to the Word*

If this volume represents a “state of the field” for scholarship on early Latin preaching, then we can safely say that the field is lush and fecund, perhaps more so than many previously realized. So, while there remains the technical work of discovering, collating, and annotating new sermon collections, the most important need going forward is for more engagement with the breadth and depth of early Latin sermons that we do possess. Here I am thinking particularly of historical theologians whose work will benefit from turning away from the classical canon of doctrinal treatises. For instance, a scholar tracing the development of the doctrine of the Trinity can learn much from Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, but not as much as one could from placing that oft-debated text in conversation with the myriad sermons in which he teaches the doctrine to his congregation.<sup>38</sup>

Sermons do not simply increase the number of sources we have for historical theological study; they also allow us to encounter theology in a different way. Polemical treatises and speculative works present Christian doctrine around particular foci in forms that can be developed over multiple books and years. Yes, they have their own contexts and audiences, but not the precise, quotidian circumstances of a sermon delivered on a particular day to a particular audience. Because of this, the theological content in a sermon has the potential to become more intimate and more focused on the spiritual needs of the baptized, of catechumens, and even of non-Catholic Christians like the young Augustine attending to Ambrose in Milan.

Several benefits may accrue from such increased attention to sermons as unique sources of early Christian theology. First, we may see the ways in which seemingly abstract doctrinal disputes were integrated into the preacher’s vision of the spiritual life. That is to say, for many preachers (and, we may suspect, for many members of their audiences), disputes about the Trinity or the natures of Christ were more than hair-splitting exercises for power-hungry elites. Theology-as-preached may allow for a more nuanced appreciation of how early Christians thought about these doctrines within the life of the

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<sup>38</sup> For examples of such work on the Trinity, see Ployd, *Augustine, the Trinity, and the Church*; and Ayres, “Remember that You Are Catholic”. For homiletic approaches to other key Augustinian themes, see Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine’s Sermones ad Populum*; and Borgomeo, *L’Église de ce temps dans la prédication de saint Augustin*.

church. Similarly we may be able to glimpse the intersection of various theological topics that we would otherwise consider distinct. Preachers have a tendency to leap from one topic to another, and while this approach appears random to the modern reader, it embodies the conceptually interwoven and richly creative nature of early Christian thought. Finally, the broad range of authors and sermon collections presented in this volume suggest that recovering early Latin sermons as valuable theological sources might also mean bringing more voices into the historical conversation. Although there will always be a need to study Augustine, Leo, and Gregory, less celebrated voices – some preserved only in sermons, others anonymously so – need to become more familiar in order to construct a more complete vision of early Christianity, its preaching, and its theology.<sup>39</sup>

### 3.2 *Methodology*

In order to reap the rewards of heightened attention to early Latin sermons, scholars must continue to expand and hone the tools we use to investigate those sources. I want to highlight two key methodological themes that I have used in this brief essay as avenues for further examination. The first theme is rhetoric. Geoffrey Dunn's chapter for this volume provides a helpful overview of the rhetorical tradition that Christian preachers inherited and the varied ways they interpreted and deployed that tradition. While there will always be a need to examine an author's periods and *clausulae*, to categorize his preaching within the three Ciceronian purposes and concomitant styles, such concerns only scratch the surface of the rhetorical structure of early Christian preaching. For instance, one highlight of Dunn's chapter is his inclusion of forensic rhetoric and the role of *stasis*-theory in shaping judicial arguments. More work needs to be done to identify and understand the ways in which these forensic arguments preserved in Quintilian, Cicero, and others shape not only the style of Christian preaching but its content as well.

The other important methodological theme for future study of early Latin sermons is context. Such a statement seems obvious and unnecessary. After all, every essay in this volume has provided rich contextual depictions of particular figures, collections, or of early Latin preaching in general. Further, attention to context is what makes historical theologians "historical," and attention to particular aspects of context are what make cultural historians "cultural." But as an historical genre, sermons (potentially) provide uniquely rich, multi-layered views of particular contexts. Awareness of this fact should encourage us

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39 For three examples of understudied preachers, see McEachnie's discussion of Zeno, Chromatius, and Gaudentius.

to pursue additional contextual lenses through which to read these texts. I, for instance, am more inclined to look for the theological and polemical context of a sermon, but the lens of classical forensic rhetoric described above has allowed me to ground these doctrinal discussions within slightly more tangible cultural practices of meaning-making.

Deepening and expanding our contextual and rhetorical analyses of early Latin sermons will also invite increased use of more recent literary and critical theory. A richer appreciation for a given context emerges from new questions being asked of it. Investigations using feminist, post-colonial, and queer lenses can help destabilize the familiarity some of us feel with early Christian sermons, inviting us to see the well-trodden terrain of Late Antiquity in new ways.<sup>40</sup>

In sum, scholars of early Latin sermons – and of early Christianity in general – must not underestimate the richness these sermons will continue to offer to scholars with new and creative questions to bring to them. In their performed particularity (when that can be identified), sermons are uniquely shaped by intersecting contexts, cultures, and concerns. Therefore, the types of analyses that can be fruitfully brought to bear upon them are theoretically limitless. Every different angle provides a new glimpse of late-antique preaching and of the cultures that produced, preserved, and continue to ponder it.

### 3.3 *Bridging the Gap*

Identifying rhetoric and context as the necessary methodological approaches to these sermons illuminates the diversity of scholarly perspectives that must continue to be brought to early Latin preaching. This diversity also represents a challenge to our field. Anyone attending the North American Patristics Society or the quadrennial Oxford International Conference on Patristic Studies will notice a divide between those scholars who bring explicitly theological concerns to the material and those who are more shaped by social and cultural methods of history. Too often this manifests not just in separate sessions but also in distrust and dismissal. To be fair, an earlier generation of scholars – and all too often this is still the case – had to fight against the prevailing academic culture for the legitimacy of their work and even their

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40 These theoretical approaches have already demonstrated their fruitfulness in other areas of scholarship on late-antique Christianity, so much so that it would be impossible to provide a thorough bibliography here. I, therefore, list only a few emblematic examples for each. For feminist interpretation, see Hylen, *A Modest Apostle*; Stark (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Augustine*. For post-colonial approaches, see Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews*; Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture*. For queer theory, see Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*. For a combination of post-colonial and queer lenses, see Brakke, “Ethiopian Demons”.

own presence in a field traditionally dominated by churchmen. Further, the best of both groups (to force too sharp a binary) are well versed in each other's approaches. Efforts to heal earlier fissures have been fruitful, and scholars seem increasingly interested in the benefits that can come from collaboration and interdisciplinary conversation. Nevertheless, suspicion and derision still creep into our conversations about "other" methodologies. If we are to enjoy the fruit of the myriad fecund approaches hinted at above, we must further increase our efforts at collaboration.

Fortunately, these early Latin sermons provide ideal material for such constructive conversations. Few other types of texts offer such rich contextual and cultural soil in which to dig. While historical theologians will benefit from seeing sermons as sources as important as doctrinal treatises, cultural historians will be able to analyze the (attempted?) processes of Christian identity formation in the way preachers promote certain forms of piety, decry others, and define moral standards for communities whose own cultural complexities are often hidden in the preachers' rhetorical constructions. But for either approach to cultivate the richest understanding possible, it will need the insightful eyes of the other. After all, theology does not arise in a vacuum. Historical theologians have known this for a while, but our default contexts of philosophy and polemics might need to be supplemented with other contextual lenses, not to explain away or functionalize complex doctrinal disputes, but to understand more fully what the theology meant and how it meant it for those who crafted and received it. Of course, theology is itself part of the culture that shapes the preacher, the preaching, and those to whom he preaches. It might not always be the pure, disembodied theological systems that some might want, but the language, imagery, and ritual of theology shape the context just as much as they are shaped by it. Therefore, attention to theological nuance is necessary even for those who are not interested in theology for its own sake.

This description of divisions within the field of early Christian and late-antique studies ought not to be read as ignorant of the good collaborative work that is already being done. One might argue that what I describe is not so much a matter of "division" as it is of "diversity." At our best, this is true. But to sustain that cooperative pluralism, to promote its growth, we must continue to pursue projects that place us in more intentional conversation with each other. As I have argued above, the Latin homiletic material represented by this volume requires such multi-faceted work if we are to cultivate as rich an understanding of early Christian preaching as possible. Therefore, these sermons can and must be approached by cooperative, collaborative models that may teach us to attend to each other as we jointly attend to the words of the past.



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## *Indexes*

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## Notes to the Indexes

Latin forms have been used for ancient and medieval authors and titles, including biblical books and apostles / disciples.

In the Biblical Index, the Old Testament books are arranged according to the Vulgate.

In the Index of Ancient Names, Titles and Selected Realia, proper names have been qualified in English (e.g. 'apostle', 'bishop', 'disciple', 'saint', etc.). The *Claues* (CPG, CPL, CPPM) have been sparsely used for disambiguation purposes.

In the Index of Modern Names, first names have been supplied if they have been used in the volume or to avoid ambiguities.

In the Index of Manuscripts, popular names of manuscripts have been added in parentheses whenever it was deemed expedient. Popular names of manuscripts have also been recorded in the Index of Ancient Names, Titles and Selected Realia. Cross-references have been kept to a minimum.

*Sever J. Voicu*

# Biblical Index

<i>Genesis</i>	74, 210, 386, 388, 457	
3, 15	392	
19	392	
25	393	
27	393	
37	388	
39	388	
<i>Exodus</i>	210, 386-387, 457	
17, 11-12	389	
17, 15-16	389	
<i>Leuiticus</i>	210	
<i>Numeri</i>	210	
13, 28	115	
<i>Iosue</i>	210	
<i>Iudicum</i>	210, 387	
<i>Regum (Regnorum)</i>	210, 386	
1 <i>Regum (Regnorum; 1 Samuelis TM)</i>		
13, 14	393	
3 <i>Regum (Regnorum; 1 Regum TM)</i>		
18	393	
4 <i>Regum (Regnorum; 2 Regum TM)</i>		
6, 5-7	246	
<i>Iob</i>	164, 210	
1, 21	228-229	
<i>Liber Psalmorum</i>	210	
1	416	
1, 3	384	
4, 3	227	
6	416	
18, 2-3	164	
21	364	
22 (23), 5	115	
28	416	
40	416	
62, 10	175	
71, 5-6	175	
78, 1	164	
89, 1	225	
94	416	
95	282	
99	416	
112, 7	164	
115, 4 (116, 13)	115	
	115, 7-8 (116, 16-17)	224
	117, 26-27	175
	117, 27	175
	119-133	484, 490
	120	484, 487-488
	132 (133), 1	257, 268
	137, 6	225
<i>Liber Proverbiorum</i>	210	
14, 3	161	
15, 5	161	
<i>Liber Ecclesiastes (Qohelet)</i>	210	
12, 11	161	
<i>Liber Sapientiae</i>		
2, 24	338	
6	381	
<i>Liber Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)</i>		
13, 21	377	
34, 30	391	
<i>Isaias</i>	210, 457	
1, 19-20	392	
1, 22	352, 366	
5, 2	116	
5, 7	116	
43, 25	390	
52, 11	394	
58, 1	361	
66, 2	229	
<i>Ieremias</i>		
1, 11	164	
3, 12	390	
<i>Baruch</i>		
3, 38	175	
<i>Ezechiel</i>	246	
3, 17	361	
18, 32	390	
<i>Daniel</i>	457	
<i>Ionas</i>	210, 466	
4, 6	78	
4, 9	164	
<i>Zacharias</i>		
8, 19	330	
<i>Malachias</i>		
3, 7	390	

*secundum Matthaeum* 210

- 1, 23 175
- 2, 1-12 239
- 3, 17 175
- 4, 1-11 239
- 4, 10 417
- 4, 18-22 239
- 5, 1-9 333
- 5, 8 226
- 5, 9 417
- 5, 11 394
- 5, 21-22 417
- 5, 38-39 417
- 5, 44 417
- 6, 10-13 (*Pater noster*; Lord's prayer) 419
- 7, 15 392
- 8, 5-13 417
- 8, 14-15 417
- 8, 20 360
- 8, 21-22 391
- 9, 9-13 417
- 9, 20 417
- 10, 5-8 239
- 10, 26 390
- 10, 36 396
- 11, 2-10 239
- 11, 5 103
- 12, 46-50 239
- 13, 44-52 239
- 17, 1-9 333
- 17, 5 175
- 18, 19 417
- 19, 17 392
- 20, 1-16 240
- 21, 18-22 384
- 22, 1-14 128, 240
- 24, 37-39 486
- 24, 43 486
- 25, 1-13 239
- 25, 14-30 239
- 25, 34 395
- 26, 39-42 329
- 26, 39 115, 175
- 26, 42 175
- 27, 24 440

*secundum Marcum* 210

- 5, 18 417
- 7, 2-15 417
- 8, 22-26 285

9, 16-18 416

9, 34 103

16, 1-7 240

16, 14-20 240

*secundum Lucam* 210, 388

- 1, 19 103
- 2, 1-14 239
- 3, 1-11 240
- 4, 18 103
- 7, 22 103
- 7, 36-50 164, 240
- 7, 36-38 416
- 8 242
- 8, 4-15 239
- 9, 6 103
- 9, 23-27 240
- 10, 1-7 239
- 11, 5-8 417
- 11, 29-30 417
- 12, 4-5 417
- 12, 16-20 417
- 12, 22-23 417
- 12, 31-36 417
- 12, 35-40 239
- 12, 41-46 410
- 12, 49 417
- 13, 6-13 240
- 14, 16-24 240
- 14, 26-33 240
- 14, 31 243
- 15, 1-10 240
- 15, 1-7 416
- 15, 7 390
- 15, 8-10 416
- 15, 11-32 416
- 16, 16 103
- 16, 19-31 240
- 17, 3-4 417
- 17, 7-10 417
- 17, 11-19 122
- 17, 34 360
- 18, 9-14 389
- 18, 31-43 239
- 19, 41-47 240
- 21, 9-19 240, 243
- 21, 25-33 239
- 24, 13-35 240
- 24, 36-39 337

*secundum Ioannem* 210

- 1, 1-5 230
- 1, 5 218
- 1, 14 230-231
- 1, 19-28 239
- 4, 46-53 240
- 8, 46-49 239
- 8, 51-53 417
- 10 417
- 10, 11-16 239
- 11, 31-44 432
- 14, 23-31 240
- 14, 23 227
- 15, 12-16 240
- 15, 14 392
- 15, 15 386
- 15, 20 394
- 16, 14 175
- 20, 1-9 240
- 20, 11-18 240
- 20, 19-31 240
- 21, 1-14 240

*Actus Apostolorum* 210, 356-357

- 4, 24 382
- 4, 32 357
- 8, 12, 35 103
- 9, 5 161
- 11, 20 103
- 13, 32 103
- 14, 7, 15 103
- 16, 10 103
- 17, 2, 17 103
- 18, 4, 19 103
- 19, 8-9 103
- 20, 7 103
- 24, 12 103

*ad Romanos*

- 2, 13 392
- 5-8 418
- 6, 23 441

*I ad Corinthios* 418

- 2, 9 395-396
- 2, 13 103
- 3, 16 392
- 8, 6 175

*II ad Corinthios*

- 6, 14, 16 391
- 6, 17 394

*ad Galatas*

- 1, 9 103
- 3, 7 116
- 6, 14 281, 359

*ad Ephesios*

- 6 172
- 6, 12-18 171
- 6, 14 171
- 6, 15-16 171
- 6, 17 171

*ad Philippenses*

- 2, 7 175
- 2, 8 440
- 3, 20-21 335

*I ad Thessalonicenses*

- 5, 2 486

*ad Hebraeos* 311

- 3, 1 447
- 4, 2 103
- 6, 6 442
- 12, 5 103

*Epistula Iacobi*

- 4, 6 229

*I Petri*

- 2, 9 329
- 5, 5 229

*I Ioannis* 210

*Iudae*

- 9 103

*Apocalypsis Ioannis* 386, 466

- 10, 7 103
- 14, 6 103

# Index of Ancient Names, Titles and Selected Realia

- Abel (O.T.) 392, 394  
 Abraham (O.T.) 385, 388-389, 391  
*Acta Proconsularia* 1, 2 382  
*Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs* 379  
 19 394  
 Adam (O.T.) 74, 144, 337, 383, 385, 388, 391,  
 439  
 Adelphius Aquileiensis (?) 419  
 Aduentus, martyr in Turin 152  
 Aelfricus Cantuariensis 247  
 Aelius Donatus, grammarian 274  
 Agapitus Vicentinus, publisher 424  
 Agde, Council of 506, *canones* 16-17 202  
 Agilulfus, Lombard king 247  
 Agimundus, *Homiliarium* (Vat. lat. 3835 / 6)  
 39, 45-46, 179, 303-304, 313  
 Agnellus Ravennatis, *Vita Petri Chrysologi*  
 136, 405  
 Agnes, martyr 239, 241, 370  
 Alanus Farfensis, *Homiliarium* 45-46, 49, 51,  
 180, 313, 366, 369  
 11, 24 369  
 Alaricus I, Visigothic king 91, 121, 125,  
 342-343, 470  
 Alcuinus 247  
 Alexander, martyr in Lyons 267  
 Alexander Magnus, king 105  
 Alexander, Martyrius & Sisinnius, martyrs in  
 the Non Valley 349, 355  
 Amalek, O.T. king 389  
 Ambrosius Mediolanensis 14, 16, 32, 41,  
 46-47, 51, 77, 89, 93-94, 115-116, 136-137,  
 142, 148-149, 159-167, 215, 309, 328, 337,  
 339, 349, 363, 366, 454, 456, 460,  
 464-465, 469, 471, 482, 492  
*De beata uita* 93  
*De Cain et Abel* 363  
*De Iacob et uita beata* 159  
*De incarnationis dominicae sacramentum*  
 32  
*De mysteriis* 32, 163  
*De sacramentis* 32, 93, 163  
*De statu animae* 159  
*De Tobia* 363  
*Epigrammata* 63  
*Ep.* 36 (to Constantius) 160-161  
 5-7 161  
*Ep.* 76 [M 20], 14-19 164  
 20-21 164  
 25 164  
*Ep.* 77 [M 22], 15-23 164  
 3-13 164  
*Ep. extra coll.* 1 [M 41], 2-26 164  
*Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* 363,  
 367  
*Expositio in Psalmum 118* 363  
*Hexameron* 363  
*Serm.* 1a, *Audistis filii librum* 164  
*Serm.* 1b, *Quam alta et profunda* 164  
*Serm.* 11, *Liber lectus est* 164  
*Serm.* 111, *Cum tam effusam* 164  
*Serm.* 1v, *Hesterno tractatu* 164  
*Serm.* v, *In libro prophetico* 164  
 Ambrosius Mediolanensis (pseudo) 39, 51,  
 164-165, 365, 368-369  
*In natali Domini* 159, 165  
 Amerbach, Johannes 180, 482  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 14, 6 259  
 Amphilochius Iconiensis 5  
 Amphilochius Iconiensis (pseudo) – see:  
 Leontius Constantinopolitanus, *In*  
*occursum domini*  
 Anastasius Antiochenus 244  
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius 306, 309, 312  
 Andreas Cretensis, *In dormitionem s. Mariae*  
 312  
*In natiuitatem s. Mariae* 312  
 Andreas, apostle 241, 418  
 Anna, mother of Samuel 389  
 An(n)ianus Celedensis, translator 18,  
 301-302, 310-311  
 Anonymus Arianus, *Adu. Iudaeos* 170  
*Adu. paganos* 170  
 Anonymus Italiae septentrionalis 165  
 Anonymus Romanus, archdeacon 41  
 Anonymus Veronensis (V s.?), *Sermones*  
 42-43, 371  
 Antipater Bostrensis 313  
*In assumptionem s. Mariae* (CPG 6681)  
 308



- Apollinaris, martyr in Ravenna 140, 152, 419  
 Apollinarius Laodicensis (Apollinarianism)  
     277  
 Apollo, deity 340  
 Apostles' Creed (*symbolum*) 443-444  
 Apuleius 383  
     *Metamorphoses* 2, 27-28 433  
 Arcadius, martyr 455, 457  
 Aregius, abbot 213  
 Aristoteles 106-107, 112, 125, 127  
     *Rh.* 1, 2, 3 106  
         1, 3, 2 106  
         1, 3, 4 106  
         1, 4-8 107  
         1, 9 107  
         1, 10-15 107  
         2, 18, 1 106  
 Arius (Arianism; Arians) 18, 21, 33-34, 120,  
     146-148, 164, 168-176, 182, 277, 335, 343,  
     360, 375, 377, 383, 422, 431, 435, 459,  
     467, 470, 483, 485  
     see also: *Collectio Ariana*; *Sermo*  
         *arrianorum anonymus*  
 Arles, Council of 524, *canon* 1 202  
     *canon* 2 202  
     *canon* 15 (14) 380  
 Arnobius Afer 383  
 Asterius Amasenus, *Hom. in laudem S.*  
     *Euphemiae* 61, 70, 306  
     11 61-63  
 Athanasius Alexandrinus 298, 341  
 Augustinus 5, 14-18, 22-23, 31-33, 35-37, 41-44,  
     46, 48, 51-53, 77, 87-92, 95-96, 104,  
     110-113, 115-117, 126, 128, 137, 140-141, 145,  
     147, 149, 159-160, 163, 165, 177-197, 205,  
     215, 236, 255, 269, 276, 281, 297, 299,  
     301-303, 305, 311, 314, 328, 335-337, 364,  
     371, 375-376, 384-385, 395, 398, 436,  
     443-444, 462, 480-487, 489-493  
     *Breuculus conlationis cum Donatistis* 3, 10,  
         20 395  
     *Confessiones* 42, 162, 454  
         5, 23-24 162  
         5, 23 162  
         9, 10 382  
     *Conlatio cum Maximino Arrianorum*  
         *episcopi* 169  
     *Contra adu. Leges et Prophetarum* 1, 1 37  
     *Contra Iulianum* 377  
     *Contra litteras Petiliani* 375  
     *Contra Maximinum* 383  
     *De adulterinis coniugiis* 2, 1 37  
     *De catechizandis rudibus* 32  
     *De consensu euangelistarum* 1, 10 59  
     *De disciplina Christiana* 178  
     *De doct. chr.* 32, 127-128, 187, 189  
         pr., 1. 8 111  
         1, 1, 1 111  
         2, 37, 55 111  
         4 14  
         4, 1, 1. 2 111  
         4, 2, 3 111  
         4, 3, 5 111  
         4, 4, 6 112, 188  
         4, 5, 7 112  
         4, 8, 22 111  
         4, 11, 26 112  
         4, 12-13, 27-29 (74-80) 448  
         4, 12, 27, 28 112  
         4, 13, 29 149  
         4, 14, 30 112  
         4, 17, 34 113  
         4, 19, 38 113  
         4, 24, 53, 54, 55 113  
         4, 26, 57 113  
     *De excidio urbis Romae* 178  
     *De fide et symbolo* 32  
     *De haeresibus* 117  
     *De Symbolo ad catechumenos* 178  
     *De Trinitate* 37, 492  
     *De utilitate ieiunii* 178  
     *Enchiridion* 42  
     *Enn. in Ps.* 37, 40, 138, 178, 185, 236, 481,  
         483-484, 488  
         51, 1 36  
         86, 1 35  
         118, intr. 37  
         120 480-491  
         138, 1 35  
     *Ep. 1A\** 37  
         3\* 390  
         16\*, 1 32  
         18\* 380  
         20\* 380  
         23A\*, 3 32, 37  
         29, 3-7 217

- Augustinus (cont.)  
 41, 2 32  
 44, 2 36  
 66 380  
 148, 13-14 278  
 174 37  
 185, 8-9 395  
 213 36  
 222-224 117  
 224, 2 37  
 231 37  
 231, 7 42  
*In Ioannis Epistulam ad Parthos* 16, 40,  
 178, 481  
 1, 6 382  
*Quaestiones Euangeliorum* 2, 19 387  
*Retractationes* 184  
 1, 5 37  
 1, 17 32  
 2, 13, 15, 32 37  
 2, 67 178  
*Sermo de prouidentia Dei* (Dolbeau 29) 42  
*Sermones ad populum* 16, 22, 24, 37, 40,  
 48, 88, 177-184, 203, 206, 217, 236, 380,  
 481, 483  
 1-183 (*de scripturis*) 177  
 1-51 181  
 2A 208  
 12 42  
 17 337  
 24 91  
 36 219  
 51-70 181  
 61B 208  
 70-91 181  
 96 219  
 114, 1 188  
 150 42  
 151-156 181  
 151 219  
 157-183 181, 187  
 165 186  
 165, 7-8 186  
 165, 8 186  
 167 185  
 171 181  
 178 185  
 180 181  
 184-272 (*de tempore*) 177  
 198 66  
 198, 10 91  
 202 379  
 210, 3-5 219  
 225, 3 35  
 261-265 217  
 261 217-219, 224-231  
 261, 1-6 218  
 261, 1 217-219  
 261, 2-10 218  
 261, 2-6 218  
 261, 2-4a 218-219  
 261, 4b-6 218  
 261, 4b-7a 219  
 261, 6 218  
 261, 7-8 218-219  
 261, 9 218  
 261, 10 218  
 261, 11 217  
 263 (Guelf. 21) 217  
 263, 1-2 216  
 263A (Mai 98) 216-217  
 263A, 4 217  
 265A-F 217  
 265B 335, 337  
 265C, 1-2 217  
 265D 337  
 265F 335  
 273-340 (*de sanctis*) 177  
 279 91  
 293-294 190  
 309-313 116  
 314 186  
 315 186  
 316 186  
 317 186  
 318 186  
 319 (A) 186  
 313A-B (Denis 14-15) 116  
 313C-E (Guelf. 26-28) 116  
 313F (Denis 22) 116  
 320 186  
 321 186  
 322 186  
 323 186  
 323, 4 36  
 324 186

- 341-395 (*de diuersis*) 177  
 351 42  
 351, 1 225  
 352, 1 35  
 356, 1 36  
 359B (Dolbeau 2, Mainz 6) 487  
 359B, 3 380  
 359B, 5 90  
 377 217, 335  
 382 186  
 395 217  
 Dolbeau 1 53  
 Dolbeau 5, 1. 7 35  
 Dolbeau 5, 14 37  
 Dolbeau 26, 20 37  
 Dolbeau 28 53  
 Guelf. 21 216  
 Mai 126 66  
 Morin 9 217  
 Morin 18 53  
*Sermones dubii* 364-394 184  
*Sermones post Maurinos reperti* 177, 181  
*Tract. in Euang. Ioannis* 16, 37-38, 40, 43,  
 178, 185, 236, 481, 484  
 24, 2 59  
 see also: *Collectio Bobbiensis*; *Collectio  
 Bruxellensis*; *Collectio Campana*;  
*Collectio Cartusiana*; *Collectio  
 Cluniacensis*; *Collectio Colbertina*;  
*Collectio de alleluia*; *Collectio de  
 paenitentia*; *Collectio Guelpherbytana*;  
*Collectio Lugdunensis*; *Collectio Mauri  
 Monasterii (Marmoutier)*; *Collectio  
 quinquaginta homiliarum*; *Collectio  
 Sessoriana*; *Collectio tripartita*; *De  
 bono coniugali*; *De lapsu mundi*; *De  
 diuersis rebus*; *De uerbis domini et  
 apostoli*; Roberto de' Bardi,  
*Collectorium sermonum sancti  
 Augustini*; *Sancti Catholici Patres*  
 (homiliary)  
 Augustinus (pseudo) 5, 39, 45, 127, 149, 165,  
 184-185, 275, 295-296, 303, 305, 307, 313,  
 365, 369, 376, 378, 401  
*De bono disciplinae* – see: Valerianus  
 Cemeliensis, *Hom.* 1  
*De natale domini et de defectu solis* (CPPM  
 2460) 42  
*App. sermonum* 206  
 23 402  
 46 (Wilmart 26) 402  
 56 402  
 59 (Wilmart 33) 402  
 73 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 406  
 155 302  
 162 – see: Maximus Taurinensis 1, s.  
 Weidmann 4  
 177 219  
 215 – see: Fulgentius Ruspensis (pseudo),  
 s. 2  
 268 402  
 312 402  
 Caillau 1, 19 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 409  
 Caillau 1, 45 305  
 Caillau 11, app. 43 – see: Maximus  
 Taurinensis 1, s. Weidmann 1  
 Caillau 11, app. 79 402  
 Mai 1 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 406  
 Mai 3 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 407  
 Mai 4 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 407  
 Mai 8 (Ps. Petrus Chrys.) 408  
 Mai 37 309  
 Mai 55 (Caillau 11, App. 65) 173  
 Mai 143 302  
 see also: *Miracula Sancti Stephani*;  
*Sermones ad fratres in eremo*  
 Auitus Viennensis 33, 39-40, 42  
 Aurelius Carthaginensis 37, 90  
 Auxentius Arianus 456  
 Bacchini, Benedetto 405  
 Balbi, Pietro 304  
 Ballerini, Pietro & Girolamo, publishers  
 328, 340  
 Bartholomaeus Urbinas, *Milleloquium  
 ueritatis sancti Augustini* 53  
 Basilus Magnus 33, 76, 299-300, 310, 314, 366  
*Contra ebriosos* 300  
*De fide* (CPG 2859) 299  
*De ieiunio homilia* 1 299  
*Hom. de gratiarum actione* 299  
*Hom. de inuidia* 299  
*Hom. exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma*  
 299  
*Hom. in hexaemeron* 299  
*Hom. in illud, Attende tibi ipsi* 299

Basilius Magnus (cont.)	4-8	209	
<i>Hom. in illud, Destruam horrea mea</i>	4	203	
<i>Hom. in martyrem Iulittam</i>	5, 5	205	
<i>Hom. in principium prouerborum</i>	6	198	
<i>Hom. in Psalmum 1</i>	6, 1	201	
<i>Hom. in Psalmum 59</i>	6, 2-3	202	
<i>Hom. in XL martyres</i>	6, 2	203	
17, 3	6, 5	205	
19, 2	6, 6	205	
<i>Sermo XII (De ascetica disciplina)</i>	7, 1	202	
Basilius Magnus (pseudo)	8	198, 202	
<i>Admonitio ad filium spiritalem</i> (CPL 1155a)	8, 1	203	
300, 305	8, 3	229	
<i>De militia spiritali (Praeuia institutio</i>	9-12	209	
<i>ascetica)</i>	9	209	
300, 303	10	209	
Beda	43, 46, 53, 247, 302	10	209
Belisarius, general	375	11	209
<i>Benedictio fontis</i> (Ps. Petrus Chrys.)	410	13-14	209
Benedictus I, pope	232	13	209
Benedictus Anianenis	246	14-39	209
<i>Regula</i>	44	16	209
Beniuolus, imperial delegate	93, 460-461	18	209
Bernardus, Lucas, o.s.b. (Brixianus)	304	19, 1	201
Bolland, J.	347	20	209, 214
Bruni, Brunone	168, 347, 370-371	21	209
		22, 1	204
Caesaria, niece of Caesarius of Arles	199	23, 4	205
Caesarius Arelatensis	14, 33, 43-44, 47, 53,	24	209
	90, 93, 126-129, 141, 149, 159, 179,	28	209, 214
	184-185, 198-231, 263, 298, 305, 369, 371	35	214
<i>Sermones 1-80 (de diuersis seu</i>		38	214
<i>admonitiones)</i>	208-210	41-47	209
1-2	209	41, 2	205
1	199, 201, 209	42-44	205
1, 2-7	199	44, 4	205
1, 2. 4	202	44, 6	205
1, 2. 12-13. 20	205	46-47	205
1, 5-7. 13	200	50, 3	204
1, 10	199, 203	50-54	209
1, 12-13	201-202	55-55a	209
1, 12	199, 203	55	205
1, 13	201	55, 4	204
1, 14	202	56-68	209
1, 15	149, 199, 201, 203	58	209
1, 20	204	58, 5	229
2	201-203, 205, 210, 216	61, 3	205
2, <i>praef.</i>	149	62	209
3	209	63	209

- 70 209  
 71 369  
 72-80 209  
 72, 1 204  
 73-74 209  
 73, 5 204  
 74, 2 204  
 75 204  
 76-77 204  
 76, 3 204  
 78 127  
 78, 1 127, 204  
 78, 2 127  
 78, 3 127-128  
 78, 4-5 209  
 78, 4, 5 128  
 80 209  
 81-186 (*de Scriptura*) 208, 210-211  
 81-144 210  
 81-130 210  
 81-93 210  
 86, 1 204-205  
 87, 6 204  
 90 214  
 90, 3 211  
 91, 8 204  
 93, 3 211  
 94-104 210  
 97 211  
 99, 3 204  
 104, 5 204  
 105 210  
 106-113 210  
 108 211  
 114-116 210  
 114 198  
 115 369  
 117-120 210  
 121-123 210  
 124-130 210  
 129 211  
 129, 3 205  
 131-144 210  
 131-132 210  
 133-137 210  
 134, 2 211  
 138-139 210  
 140-141 210  
 142 210  
 143-144 210  
 145-186 210  
 145-158A 210  
 151, 1 201  
 152, 3 205  
 158A 211  
 159 210, 219  
 160-166 210  
 162 211  
 166-167 211  
 166, 5 205  
 167-175 210  
 170-171 211  
 173 211  
 176 210  
 177-184 210  
 177 219  
 179, 8 204  
 181 185  
 185-186 210  
 185 211  
 187-213 (*de tempore*) 208, 211-212  
 187-189 212  
 189 205  
 190 212  
 191 212  
 192-193 212  
 194-195 212  
 195, 4 204  
 196-200 212  
 196, 2 203  
 198, 5 202-203  
 201 212  
 202 212  
 203-205 212  
 204 369  
 207-209 212  
 210 (a) 205, 212, 215-219, 224-231  
 210, 1b-5 218-219  
 210, 1b-2 219  
 211-213 212  
 214-232 (*de sanctis*) 208, 212-213  
 214-215 212  
 215, 1 212  
 215, 2-4 213  
 216-222 212  
 216 214

## Caesarius Arelatensis (cont.)

- 218, 5 213  
 219-220 213  
 219, 2 213  
 219, 3 205  
 221 205  
 223-226 212  
 223, 1 213  
 224, 2 205, 213  
 227-229 212  
 227, 5 205  
 228, 1-3 213  
 228, 1 213  
 229, 1 213  
 230-232 212  
 230, 5 200  
 233-238 (*ad monachos*) 208, 213-214  
 233, 2-3, 5 214  
 233, 2 214  
 234, 2-3 214  
 234, 2 214  
 235, 3, 6 214  
 235, 5 214  
 236, 3 214  
 236, 4 214  
 237, 2 214  
 237, 5 214  
 238 214  
 261 217  
 see also: *Collectio biblica altera*; *Collectio Gallicana*; *Collectio Germanica*; *Collectio Wirziburgensis*; *Collectio Zwifaltensis*; Cyprianus Telonensis et al., *Vita Caesarii*  
 Caesarius Arelatensis (pseudo), *sermo* Étaix 10 – see: Augustinus, *sermo* 2A  
*sermo* Vichi – see: Augustinus, *sermo* 61B  
 Cain (O.T.) 388, 391, 393-394  
 Caleb (O.T.) 116  
 Callistus, pope 330  
 Cantiani (Cantus, Cantianus & Cantianilla), martyrs in Aquileia 152, 355  
 Carolus Magnus, emperor 46, 313  
 Carthago, council of 390, *Canones* 3-4 380  
 Cassianus, martyr of Imola 65  
 Cassiodorus 297, 306, 311  
*Expositio Psalmorum* 278  
 praef. 1 278

- 41 278  
*Inst.* 5, 5 165  
 Cassius, bishop of Narni 245  
 Castillo, Martín del 424  
 Choricus Gazaeus, *Laudatio Marciani* 63  
 1, 47 63  
 1, 47-49 63  
 Chromatius Aquileiensis 5, 32, 39, 146, 148, 274, 349, 363, 454-456, 462, 464-471, 484, 493  
*Sermones* 39-40, 467  
 1, 4 468  
 1, 5-6 468  
 1, 7 468  
 2, 5 469  
 3, 1 469  
 3, 4 470  
 3, 5 469  
 4, 1-2 470  
 4, 2 468  
 5, 5 468  
 9, 1-4 470  
 10, 2 469  
 10, 4 470  
 12, 7 468  
 14, 1 469-470  
 15, 1 468  
 15, 5 468  
 16, 3 469-470  
 16, 4 470  
 17, 1-2 470  
 17, 3 469  
 19, 4 470  
 21, 3 470  
 24, 2 469  
 24, 3-5 470  
 25, 3-4 470  
 26, 4 468  
 27, 1-2 470  
 28, 1-2 470  
 28, 1 469  
 29, 3 468-469  
 30, 1 470  
 31, 4 468  
 32, 3-4 470  
 33, 3-4 470  
 35, 2 469  
 35, 4 469

- 38, 1 469  
 41 (*de octo beatitudinibus*) 466, 468  
 41, 1 464, 468  
 41, 2 468  
 42 468  
*Tractatus in euangelium Matthaei*  
     465-467  
*Chronographus anni 354* 114, 121  
 Chrysostomus latinus 301  
     see also: *Collectio 38 homiliarum*;  
               *Collectio Armamentarii*; *Collectio*  
               *Escorialensis*; *Opus imperfectum in*  
               *Matthaeum*  
 Cicero (Ciceronian) 107, 109, 493  
     *Brutus* 105  
     49, 185 105  
     *De inuentione* 112  
     *De optimo genere oratorum* 104  
         1, 3 105  
     *De oratore* 104  
     1, 31, 141 107  
     1, 31, 142 109  
     1, 31, 143 110  
     2, 25, 105-35, 151 109  
     2, 27, 115 104  
     2, 28, 121 105  
     2, 77, 310 105  
     21 112  
*Inu. rhet.* 1, 1, 1 112  
     1, 5, 7 107  
     1, 7, 9 109  
     1, 8, 10-1, 11, 16 109  
     1, 15, 20-56, 109 109  
     1, 15, 20-18, 26 109  
     1, 19, 27-21, 30 109  
     1, 22, 31-23, 33 109  
     1, 24, 34-41, 77 110  
     1, 42, 78-51, 96 110  
     1, 51, 97 110  
     1, 52, 98-1, 56, 109 110  
     2, 4, 13-51, 154 107  
     2, 4, 14-39, 115 109  
     2, 51, 155-58, 176 107  
     2, 59, 177-78 107  
*Orator* 105  
     11, 37-13, 42 107  
     14, 43 109  
     14, 44-15, 49 109  
     14, 45 109  
     15, 50 109  
     17, 54-18, 60 109  
     19, 61-71, 236 109  
     21, 69 105  
*Part. or.* 2, 5-7, 26 109  
     3, 10 108  
     8, 27-17, 60 110  
     18, 62-19, 66 109  
     20, 69-39, 138 107  
     see also: *Rhetorica ad Herennium*  
 Clarus, priest, disciple of Martin of Tours 64  
 Claudianus Mamertus, *De statu animae* 159,  
     165  
 Clemens Romanus, pope 242  
 Clemens Romanus (pseudo) – see:  
     *Recognitiones*; *Secunda Clementis*  
*Codex Theodosianus* 16, 5, 39-40 (Edict of  
     Unity of 405) 375, 377  
     16, 6, 4 377  
*Collectio 38 homiliarum* 49, 301, 305, 307  
*Collectio Ariana* (CPL 695) 40  
*Collectio Armamentarii* 35, 47, 301  
*Collectio biblica altera* 47  
*Collectio Bobbiensis* 179  
*Collectio Bruxellensis* 179  
*Collectio Campana* 40, 49, 179  
*Collectio Clichtovea* 206  
*Collectio Cluniacensis* 179  
*Collectio Colbertina* 48, 179  
*Collectio de alleluia* 178-179, 218  
*Collectio de paenitentia* 179  
*Collectio Escorialensis* 34, 379, 381, 385,  
     394-397, 401-402  
     1-25 386  
     see also individual homilies under  
         *Collectio Vindobonensis*  
*Collectio Felicianiana* 38-39, 45, 403-408, 410  
     Prol. 404  
*Collectio franca* 403  
*Collectio franca deriuata* 403  
*Collectio Gallicana* 216, 219, 224  
*Collectio Germanica* 215-216, 219, 224  
*Collectio Guelpherbytana* 48  
*Collectio Lugdunensis* 179  
*Collectio Maguntino-Carthusiana* 40-41, 49,  
     179  
*Collectio Mauri Monasterii* (Marmoutier) 179

*Collectio Monacensis* 33, 173-175

7-10 174

7 173

8 173

9 173

9, 1 175

10 173

12-14 173

12 174

13 174

13, 1 174

13, 2 175

14 174

18 173

18, 1 174

19 173-174

21-22 173

21 173

22 173-174

23 173

23, 2 175

*Collectio Morin* – see: Iohannes Neapolitanus  
(pseudo)*Collectio Prefeliciana* (*Collectio Seueriana*)  
403*Collectio quinquaginta homiliarum* 46, 48,  
51, 179-180*Collectio Sessoriana* 35, 40, 179*Collectio tripartita* 48, 51, 179*Collectio Veneta XIX Admonitionum* 206, 209*Collectio Veronensis* 33, 40, 168

1-2 170-171

1 170

2 170

3 170

4-5 170

4 170

5 170

6 170

7 170

7, 1 170

8 170

9 170

10 170

10, 2 170, 173

11 170, 172

12-15 171

12 170

13 170

14-15 170

14 171

15 170-171

15, 1 173

15, 2 171

15, 3 171-172

15, 5 172

*Collectio Vindobonensis* 7, 34, 377-379,  
381-382, 394, 396-397, 401-4021 [Esc. 1] (Ps. Paulus Diaconus) 383, 393,  
396

2 [Esc. 4] (Ps. Paulus Diaconus) 385

3 [Esc. 2] 385, 396-397

4 [Esc. 5] (Ps. Paulus Diaconus) 392

5 [Esc. 3] 392

6 [Esc. 6] 393

7 [Esc. 7] 388, 393, 397

8 388, 402

9 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 23) 402

10 382, 402

11 397, 402

12 [Esc. 8] 388-390

13-14 386, 402

14 397

16 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 56) 402

17 390-393

18 (Ps. Augustinus, Mai 90) 392, 395, 402

19 382-383, 390-391, 402

20 384, 393, 402

20B 393, 397, 402

21 [Esc. 9] 393, 397

22 [Esc. 10] 397, 402

23 [Esc. 11] 383, 388

24 [Esc. 12] 392-393, 397

25 [Esc. 13] (Ps. Augustinus, App. 43) 389

26 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 46) 402

27 381, 402

28 383-384, 397, 402

29 (Ps. Fulgentius, *sermo* 76) 382-383,  
390-392, 402

30 [Esc. 15] 385, 392

31 390-391, 402

32 [Esc. 14] 390-391, 394, 397

33 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 59) 402

34 402

35 402

35, 3-4 382

36 389, 402



- 37 [Esc. 16] 377, 384, 391, 393  
 38 [Esc. 17] (Ps. Augustinus, App. 268)  
     389, 393, 396, 402  
 39 [Esc. 18] 377, 391-392, 394, 402  
 40-44 [Esc. 19-23] 383, 402  
 40 [Esc. 19] 383, 385, 389  
 41 [Esc. 20] 384, 387-388  
 42 [Esc. 21] 380, 383-384, 388, 391  
 43 [Esc. 22] 383, 386  
 44 [Esc. 23] 383, 386  
 45 (Ps. Augustinus, Caillau II, app. 79)  
     402  
 46 [Esc. 24] 394-395, 402  
 47 [Esc. 28] 396, 402  
 48 385, 389, 395, 402  
 49 389-390, 392, 395, 402  
 50 390, 393, 402  
 50, 4 382  
 51 384, 402  
 52 [Esc. 25] 389, 402  
 53 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 312) 392-393, 402  
 54 (Ps. Paulus Diaconus) 402  
 55 384, 393, 402  
 56 395  
 57 [Esc. 26] 384, 390  
 58 383, 395, 402  
 59 (Ps. Augustinus, App. 97) 382, 402  
 60 389  
*Collectio Wirzburgensis* 216, 219, 224, 445  
*Collectio XLII homiliarum* 206  
*Collectio XXV admonitionum* 206, 209  
*Collectio Zwifaltensis* 216, 219, 224  
 Constantinus I (Constantinian) 21, 66, 70,  
     329, 374, 491  
 Consultus Fortunatianus, *Ars Rhetorica* 2, 12  
     434  
 Corbie, *Lectionarium magnum* 51  
 Cornelius, centurion 389, 393  
 Cosmas Vestitor, *Orationes in dormitionem s.*  
     *uirginis Mariae* 312  
 Councils – see under the place  
 Coustant, Pierre, Maurist 206  
 Crispina, martyr 484-485, 489-491  
 Cynic philosophers 13-14  
 Cyprianus Carthaginensis 12, 14-15, 32, 40,  
     103, 114-115, 117, 128, 137, 142, 148, 152,  
     172, 215, 236, 302, 352, 355, 370, 382-383,  
     394, 419, 455  
     *Ad Fortunatum* 172  
     *De bono patientiae* 172  
     *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* 172  
     *De dominica oratione* 172  
     *De lapsis* 10, 10 394  
     *De mortalitate* 172  
         12 173  
     *Ep.* 58, 9 172  
         63, 11, 2-3 115  
     *Martyrium Cypriani* 172  
 Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo) 383  
     *Adu. Iudaeos* 12  
     *Quod idola dñi non sint* 172  
 Cyprianus Telonensis et al., *Vita Caesarii*  
     127, 141, 198-200, 207  
     1, 1 199  
     1, 16 126  
     1, 17 126  
     1, 18 201  
     1, 19 204  
     1, 27 204  
     1, 54 149, 201  
     1, 55 198, 203-205, 209  
     1, 56 202  
     1, 59 203  
     1, 60 200  
     1, 63 199  
     2, 1 199, 205  
 Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Ep.* 4 (CPG 5304) 307  
     *Homiliae* 307  
 Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus 310  
  
 Damasus, pope 274  
 Daudid (O.T.) 388, 393-394  
*De bono coniugali* 179, 203  
*De diuersis rebus* 179  
*De lapsu mundi* 48, 51, 179  
*De uerbis domini et apostoli* 48, 51, 179, 185  
 Defensor Locogiacensis, *Liber scintillarum*  
     247, 369  
 Dexter, son of Pacianus 436  
*Didascalia Apostolorum* 21, 14, 6 175  
 Didymus Alexandrinus 310  
 Dio Chrysostomus 14  
 Dionysius Areopagita, *De coelesti hierarchia*  
     236  
 Dionysius Exiguus 299, 311

- Donatus Carthaginensis (Donatism;  
Donatists) 17, 21, 34, 147, 177, 182,  
188-189, 373-402, 483, 485  
see also: *Codex Theodosianus*, 16, 5, 39-40  
(Edict of Unity of 405); *Liber  
genealogicus*; *Sermo de passione  
Donati et Aduocati*; *Sermo de natali  
sanctorum innocentium*; *Sermones  
Donatisti*
- Du Frische, Jacques 165
- Egeria, *Diary* 280
- Egino Veronensis, *Homiliarium* (Berlin,  
Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1676) 45,  
180, 312
- Elias, prophet 210, 355, 389, 393, 415
- Elisaeus, prophet 210, 246, 365, 389
- Elvira. Synod of 305, *Canon* 36 72
- Ennodius Ticinensis (Magnus Felix Ennodius)  
35, 42  
*Sermo* 2-4 35
- Ephraem (also Ephraem Graecus: CPG  
3905-4175; Ephraem Latinus: CPL  
1143-52) 17, 298
- Ephraem (pseudo) 294, 303
- Epiphanius Constantiensis 74  
*Ep. ad Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* 70  
*Ep. ad Theodosium* 68, 70
- Epiphanius Latinus, *Interpretatio  
Euangeliorum* 41, 51
- Epipodius, martyr 267
- Eraclius Hipponensis (Heraclius) 184  
*Sermones* 41-42, 44
- Erasmus, Desiderius 149, 180, 184, 482, 484
- Esther (O.T.) 389
- Eua (O.T.) 74, 144, 337, 385
- Eucherius Lugdunensis 43, 253, 255
- Eugippius, abbot 53
- Euodius Uzaliensis – see: *Miracula Sancti  
Stephani*
- Euphemia, martyr in Chalcedon 152
- Eusebius Alexandrinus – see: Pseudo-  
Eusebius Alexandrinus
- Eusebius Caesariensis 296  
*Hist. eccl.* 294  
4, 26, 2-3 296  
6, 36, 1 36  
10, 4 (*In dedicationem ecclesiae Tyri*) 61,  
65  
10, 4, 39-45 65-66  
10, 4, 44 61
- Eusebius Emesenus 33, 35, 41, 298, 309
- Eusebius Gallicanus 7, 17, 21, 33, 43, 47, 49,  
53, 150-151, 215, 219, 253, 256, 259-260,  
262-270, 298, 309, 369, 371, 485  
*sermo* 2 266  
2, 2 266  
4 266, 269  
4, 5 269  
4, 6 266  
6 ext. 208  
8 263  
11 267  
11, 2, 3, 6 268  
20 269  
20, 4 269  
24, 25 265  
25 267  
27, 9 224  
28, 4 224  
33 269  
33, 5 269  
36 263  
37-44 263  
38 264-265, 269  
38, 1 269  
38, 2 266  
38, 4, 5 264  
40 265  
40, 6 266  
42 264-266  
42, 1 265  
42, 7 264, 266  
44, 3 266  
45 263  
48 265  
48, 3 265  
50 265  
50, 3-4 265  
50, 4 266  
53 265  
53, 3-6 266  
53, 13 265  
54, 1 268  
55 267  
60 266  
72 263

- Eusebius Vercellensis 355, 367  
 Eustathius, translator 299  
 Eustochium, Paula's daughter 275  
 Eutyches (Eutychian) 328, 332, 335  
 Ezechias, O.T. king 389
- Faustinus and Marcellinus, *Libellus precum* 431  
 Faustus Manichaeus 162  
 Faustus Reiensis 33, 43, 215, 253, 263  
 Felicitas, martyr in Rome 239, 241, 419  
 Felix III, pope 232, 330  
 Felix Rauennatis 38, 45, 403, 406  
     see also: *Collectio Feliciana*  
 Felix & Nabor, martyrs in Milan 77  
 Ferrandus Carthaginensis, *Breuiatio canonum* 96 380  
     *Vita Fulgentii* 36  
 Firminus, bishop of Uzès 199  
 Florus Lugdunensis 53, 436-437  
 Froben, Johannes 180  
 Fulgentius Ruspensis 33, 36, 184  
 Fulgentius Ruspensis (pseudo) 33, 43, 48-49, 173, 185  
     *sermo* 2 (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* App. 215) 173  
     *sermo* 76 – see: *Collectio Vindobonensis* 29
- Galla Placidia, empress 136  
 Gaudentius Brixiensis 7, 16, 32, 34, 36-38, 41, 51, 89, 93, 454, 456, 460-465, 471, 484, 493  
     *Tract.* 34  
         praef. 3-5 93  
         praef. 7 34  
         praef. 10-11 35, 461  
         1-10 461  
         1, 13 462  
         1, 25 463  
         2, 6-25 462  
         2, 17 463  
         3, 10-21 462  
         3, 10 463  
         4, 9 463  
         4, 13 463  
         5, 1-5 462  
         6, 14-16 462  
         7, 3 463
- 7, 22-23 463  
 8, 12 463  
 8, 40 463  
 9, 5-12 463  
 9, 18 463  
 9, 26 463  
 10, 23 463  
 11-15 461  
 11, 11 463  
 11, 24 463  
 13, 31 463  
 14 463  
 15, 6 463  
 16 461  
 16, 2 460  
 17 461  
 17, 15-16 463  
 17, 38 463  
 18-19 461  
 18, 12-14 463  
 20 461, 463  
 21 461  
 21, 6 463
- Gaume, editors 180  
 Gelasius I, pope 149, 327, 330, 342-343  
     *Adu. Andromachum* 330  
 Gennadius Massiliensis 33, 35, 39, 49, 347, 349, 364, 366-369  
     *De uiris illustribus* 40 253  
         41 39, 347-347  
         53 253  
         57 253  
         67 253  
         68 33, 35  
         69 253  
         73 253  
         77 253  
         78 33  
         79 253  
         80 33  
         90 253  
         93 253
- Genserikus, Vandal king (Geisericus) 117, 121, 342  
 Gering, Udalricus (Ulrich) 180  
 Germanus I Constant., *In dormitionem b. Mariae* 312  
 Geruasius & Protasius, martyrs in Milan 77, 164

- Gothi 128, 174, 242, 267, 342
- Gratianus, emperor 342
- Decretum* 52
- Gregorius Antiochenus, *In s. theophaniam II*  
309, 312
- Gregorius Illiberitanus 33, 38
- De arca Noe* 41
- Tract.* 35, 296, 430
- 1, 2 278
- Gregorius Magnus 14, 16, 33, 35-39, 42-43, 45,  
77, 89, 137, 141, 232-252, 343, 481, 484,  
493
- Dialogi* 232, 245-246, 248
- II, 6, 2 246
- III, 38, 3 247
- IV, 15, 2-5 245
- IV, 16, 1-7 245
- IV, 17, 1-3 245
- IV, 20, 1-4 245
- IV, 28, 1-5 245
- IV, 40, 2-5, 6-9 245
- IV, 58, 1-2 245
- IV, 59, 1 245
- Hom. in Canticum Canticorum* 232
- Hom. in Euang.* 34, 38, 41, 47, 173, 232-233,  
236-248
- praef. 34
- 1-20 237
- 1 239
- 1, 1 243
- 1, 5 244
- 2 239
- 3 239
- 4 239
- 5 239
- 6 239
- 6, 6 244
- 7 239
- 8 237, 239
- 9 239
- 10 239
- 11 239
- 12 239
- 12, 7 245
- 13 239
- 14 239
- 15 239, 242
- 15, 4 244
- 15, 5 244-245
- 16 237, 239
- 17 236, 239, 247
- 17, 16 247
- 18 239
- 19 237, 240-241
- 19, 5 241
- 19, 7 245
- 20 240
- 21 34, 237, 240
- 21, 1 34
- 22 240
- 23 240
- 23, 2 245
- 24 236, 240
- 25 236, 240, 242
- 26 240
- 26, 11 244
- 27 240, 242
- 28 240
- 29 240
- 30 237, 240
- 30, 2 244
- 31 240
- 32 240, 242
- 32, 7 242, 245
- 33 240, 242
- 34 236, 240, 242
- 34, 18 245
- 35 240, 243
- 35, 8 245
- 36 240
- 36, 8 244
- 36, 13 245
- 37 240
- 37, 8, 9 245
- 38 240, 243
- 38, 15, 16 245
- 39 240, 244
- 39, 10 245
- 40 240
- 40, 11 245
- Hom. in Ezechielem* 41, 232-233, 246-247
- I, 1 246
- I, 6, 4 246
- I, 9 246
- I, 9, 9 247
- I, 11 246
- I, 12 246
- II, 6 246-247

- Moralia in Iob* 46, 232-235, 246  
 22, 5, 9 246  
 30, 3, 13 234  
*Registrum epp.* 233, 242, 244  
 1, 41 233  
 3, 29 247  
 5, 37 247  
 9, 209 (to Serenus of Marseilles) 74  
 11, 10 74-76  
 11, 37 247  
 13, 1 (to the citizens of Rome) 241, 244  
*App. 9 (Oratio de mortalitate)* 243-244  
*Regula pastoralis* 232-236, 242, 245-246  
 3 141  
 3, 1 235  
 13 235  
 21 235  
 24 235-236  
 25 235-236  
 30 235  
 31 235  
 33 235  
 35 235  
 Gregorius Magnus (pseudo), *In I librum Regum* 232  
 Gregorius, bishop of Nazianzus, father of  
 Gregorius Nazianzenus 71  
 Gregorius Nazianzenus 33, 71, 76, 310,  
 313-314  
*Or.* 300-301  
 2, 28 234  
 18, 39 71  
 19 301  
 29 301  
 38 301  
 39 301  
 45 301  
 Gregorius Nyssenus 341  
*De deitate filii et spiritus sancti et in Abraham* 66  
*De opificio hominis* 299, 311  
*De sancto Theodoro* 59-60  
 Gregorius Turonensis 69, 242  
*Historiarum libri* 244  
 10, 1 241  
*Miraculorum libri* 1 (*De gloria martyrum*),  
 23 69  
 49 267  
 Habetdeum, Donatist bishop 377, 394  
 Haymo Autissidorensis 50  
 Heiricus Autissidorensis 50  
 Heraclius Hipponensis – see: Eraclius  
 Hipponensis  
 Hercules, mythical hero 91  
 Hermagoras 109  
 Herodes Magnus 120, 268, 376  
 Hesychius Hierosolymitanus 142  
 Hieronymus 14, 16, 18, 33, 37, 44, 46, 52,  
 77-78, 137, 215, 274-293, 296-298, 310,  
 363, 366, 438, 464-465, 482, 486  
*Apol. c. Ruf.* 2, 24 280  
*Contra Vigilantium* 3 285  
*Comm. in Am.* 2, prolog 285  
*Comm. in Gal.* 1, 2, 11-13 285  
 3, prolog 285  
*Comm. in Hiez.* 12, 40 285  
*Comm. in Soph.* 3, 14-18 285  
*Contra Rufinum* III, 2 464  
*De uiris illustribus* 436  
 100 296  
 135 276  
*Epistulae* 42  
 22, 34, 3 144  
 50, 2, 3 284  
 51, 1, 5 279  
 52 288-289  
 60, 12 (to Heliodorus) 69-70  
 69, 6, 1 285  
 71, 5 37  
 78 363  
 81, 1, 3 285  
 108 (*Epitaphium S. Paulae*) 275  
 108, 20, 3 279  
*Hom.* 276, 302  
*Hom. de natiuitate domini* 280  
*Hom. de pers. Chr.* 284  
*Hom. in Ioh.* 1, 1-14 284  
*Hom. in Luc.* 16, 19-31 284  
*Hom. in Marc.* 8, 22-26 285  
*Hom. in Matt.* 18, 7-9 285  
*Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim* 279  
*Tract. in Marc.* 41, 275-276  
 1, 1-12 278, 284  
 1, 13-31 281  
 2 281  
 8, 1-9 280

## Hieronymus (cont.)

8, 22-26 280

9, 1-7 284

13, 32-33 282, 284

14, 3-6 282, 284

*Tract. in Ps.* 41, 137-138, 275-276, 310

1 276

5 276, 283

7 276, 281, 283, 288

9 276, 282-283

10-16 276

10 276

14 276, 282, 284

15 276, 279

41 278, 283

66 276, 288

67 276, 288

74-78 276

74 282, 284

76 289

77 288

78 289

80-84 276

82B-84B 276

82A 310

82A, 12 138

82B 310

83, 12 138

84 284

86 276

87B-91B 276

87A 284-285

88A, 2 138

89-91 276

90 288-289

91 282-283, 289

92 284

93A 276, 278

93B 276

95A-98A 276

95A 282

95B 276

96A 280, 284, 287

96B 276

97 283

98 283-284

100-111 276

102 288

108 284

114 276, 289

115 276

119 276, 280-281, 286, 289

127 276, 288

128 276

131-133 276

135-137 276

143 285, 289

145-149 276

147 280

149 280

Hieronymus (pseudeo) 51, 302, 431

*Breuiarium super Psalmos* 275

Hilarius Arelatensis 253, 339

*Vita* 14 33

Hilarius Pictauiensis 296, 328, 447, 449

*De trinitate* 448

1, 7 449

1, 18 449

Hippolytus, martyr 65

Hippolytus, Greek writer 12

*Homiliarium Ottobereun* – see: Roma,Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale,  
Vittorio Emanuele 1190*Homiliarium Sancti Petri* 45, 179, 312-313

Honoratus Arelatensis, s. 212-213

Honoratus Massiliensis, *Vita Hilarii**Arelatensis* 14 253

Honoratus Nouariensis 35

Honorius, emperor 121, 347-348

Hun(n)i 144, 370

Hydacius Emeritensis 445

Hypatius Ephesinus 71

Iacobus Zebedaei, apostle 212, 242

Iairus, N.T. character 417

Ianus, divinity 146

Innocentes (N.T.) 40, 212, 268, 376, 397,  
418-419

Innocentius I, pope 327, 341, 343

Iob (O.T.) 287

Iohannes, apostle 212

Iohannes Baptista 40, 48, 151, 212, 242, 355,  
370, 418

Iohannes Cassianus 301-302

*Conlationes* 236*De incarnatione domini contra Nestorium*

VII 314

*De institutis coenobiorum* 236

- Iohannes Chrysostomus 5, 15, 17-18, 21, 33,  
71, 89, 142, 301-306, 311, 313-314, 460,  
462, 464, 483  
*Ad populum Antiochenum hom. 1* 304  
*Catechesis Piédagnel 1 (Ad illuminandos)*  
304  
*Catechesis Wenger 3 (s. ad neophytos)*  
303-304, 311  
*Contra ebriosos et in resurrectionem* 305  
*De cruce et latrone homilia 1 (CPG 4338)*  
302, 314  
*De laudibus S. Pauli Apostoli* 310-311, 313  
3 311  
*De paenitentia homilia 2* 305  
*De paenitentia homilia 5* 304  
*De proditione Iudae homilia 1* 302  
*Ep. 155* 464  
*Hom. in Matthaeum* 311  
*In Acta Apostolorum hom.* 311  
*In Ascensionem D.N. Iesu Christi* 303, 314  
*In Ep. ad Ephesios hom. 10, 2* 71  
*In Ep. ad Hebraeos* 306, 311  
*In Ep. ad Romanos hom. 10* 305  
*In paralyticum demissum per tectum* 305  
*Quando ipse de Asia regressus est* 304  
*Sermones in Genesim* 303  
Iohannes Chrysostomus (pseudo) 5, 45, 51,  
149, 275, 299-300, 308, 313, 376, 378, 431  
*De Chananaea* 303  
*De consolatione mortis hom. 1-2* 306  
*De cruce et latrone (CPG 4728)* 302, 307  
*De eleemosyna (CPG 4618)* 305  
*De Ioseph et de castitate* 305  
*De turture seu de Ecclesia* 304  
*In Annuntiationem B. Virginis (CPG 4519)*  
306, 308  
*In Christi natalem diem (CPG 4650)* 306,  
308  
*In decollationem S. Iohannis* 305  
*In pentecosten sermo 1* 303  
*In Petrum et Heliam* 305  
*In Psalmum 50 homilia 2* 302  
*In uenerabilem crucem sermo* 303  
*Omelia de ieiunio* 304  
*Omelia de Iona* 304  
see also: Chrysostomus Latinus; *Collectio*  
*Escorialensis*; *Collectio Vindobonensis*;  
Iohannes Neapolitanus (pseudo;  
*Collectio Morin*)  
Iohannes Damascenus, *In dormitionem b.*  
*uirginis Mariae* 312  
Iohannes II Hierosolymitanus 280  
Iohannes Neapolitanus (pseudo; *Collectio*  
*Morin*) 35  
Iohannes Scotus Eriugena 299  
Iona, prophet 391  
Ionathan, Saul's son 353  
Ioseph, O.T. patriarch 204, 388, 394  
Ioseph, Mary's husband 418  
Iosue (O.T.) 389, 447  
Isidorus Hisp. 46  
Hisp., *Etymologiae* 6, 13, 1 38  
Iudaei (anti-Judaism; Judaism) 3, 13, 67, 95,  
104, 115-116, 120, 145, 147-148, 244,  
329-331, 341, 352, 359-360, 365, 422,  
430, 459-460, 463, 466-467, 469-471  
Iudith (O.T.) 389  
Iulianus, emperor 376  
Iulianus Aeclanensis 301, 311, 314  
Iulianus Pomerius 126  
Iulianus Toletanus 302  
Iustina, empress 164  
Iustinianus, emperor 63, 243, 296, 375  
Iustinus Martyr 94  
*Apologia* 1, 67 94  
1, 67, 3-4 11-12  
Jouffroy, Jean, cardinal 47  
Kant, Immanuel (Kantian) 482  
Lactantius 278, 455  
*De ira Dei* 278  
*Diuinae Institutiones* 277-278  
Laurentius, martyr in Rome 48, 152, 242, 331,  
338-339, 352, 355, 370, 419  
Laurentius Nouarum (pseudo) 41, 303  
Lazarus, N.T. poor 417  
Lazarus, resurrected by Jesus 417, 434, 450  
Le Nourry, Nicolas, Maurist 165  
Leander Hispalensis 233-234  
Leo, emperor 314  
Leo Magnus 33, 39, 41, 47, 120-126, 128, 137,  
145, 147, 254, 302-303, 308, 327-346,  
364, 481, 493  
*Epistulae* 327  
1 334

- Leo Magnus (cont.)  
   2 334  
   3 341  
   28 (*Tomus ad Flavianum*) 314, 334, 461  
   28, 3 335  
   88 341  
   104 314  
   137 341  
   138 341  
   165 (*Tomus ad Leonem*) 332  
   168 336  
   168, 1 342  
*Sermones* 39  
   2 337  
   4 328, 339  
   6 337, 340  
   7 340  
   8 337, 340  
   9 328, 337, 339-340  
   9, 3-4 340  
   10 337, 340  
   10, 1 340  
   11 337  
   11, 2 340  
   12 337  
   15 337  
   16 328, 337  
   16, 4-6 337  
   16, 4 340  
   17 337  
   20 337  
   21-25 332  
   22 328  
   24 328, 337  
   26-30 332  
   26 337  
   27 328, 331  
   27, 4 329, 332  
   27, 5 331  
   31-35 332  
   33 328  
   34 328, 337  
   35 337  
   36-38 332  
   38 332, 337  
   38, 1 333  
   39-50 330  
   39 328
- 40 328, 337  
 42 328, 337  
 44 337  
 45 337  
 48 337  
 49 337  
 51 328, 333  
 51, 1 333  
 52-72 333  
 52 333, 337  
 54 333  
 55 333, 337  
 58 328-329  
 59 328-329  
 60 333  
 60, 4 334  
 61 328  
 62 337  
 64 333  
 65 337  
 67 337  
 69 328, 333  
 70 333  
 71 333-335  
 71, 6 334  
 72 328, 333-337  
 72, 3-4 335  
 72, 5 334, 335  
 72, 6 331  
 72, 7 335  
 73 328, 336-338  
 73, 3 337  
 73, 4 337-338  
 74 336  
 75-81 336  
 75 336  
 76 328, 336-337  
 76, 1 336  
 77 336  
 78 336-337  
 79 336  
 80 336-337  
 81 336  
 82 339  
 82B 328  
 83 339  
 84 121, 125, 327-328, 337, 342-343  
 84, 1 121-123



- 84, 2 122  
 85 328, 338-339  
 85, 4 339  
 86-89 337  
 87 328, 331  
 88, 2-4 330  
 89 330-331  
 89, 1 331  
 90 328  
 91-95 337  
 94 123  
 94, 1. 2. 3 124-125  
 94, 4 124  
 95 328, 333, 335  
 96 332  
 96, 1 332  
 Leo Magnus (pseudo) 45, 51, 295-296, 303,  
 308, 365, 370  
*sermo* 98 (*Preface to the Creed*) 343  
 Leontius Constant. 142-143, 308-309  
*In occursum domini* 308, 312  
*Liber genealogicus* 546 387  
 626 395  
*Liber Pontificalis* 71, 330, 338  
*Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Rauennatis*, 24-27  
 136  
 Lombardi 232, 243  
 Lorsch, inventory 48-49  
 Lot (O.T.) 392  
 Luculentius, exegete 50  
*Ludi Apollinares* 121  
*Ludi soli et lunae* 121  
 Lyon – martyrs of 177 267-268  
  
 Maccabaei 355, 370, 388, 461  
 Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5 172  
 Maffei, Scipione, *Istoria Teologica* 169  
 Magi (N.T.) 351, 367, 376, 413, 418  
 Magnus Felix Ennodius – see: Ennodius  
 Ticinensis  
 Mani (Manichees) 138, 147, 182, 188-189, 328,  
 336-337, 340, 385, 445  
 Maniacutia, Nicolaus 277  
 Marcellina, sister of Ambrosius 163  
 Marcellinus & Petrus, martyrs in Rome 242  
 Marcus Iulius Eugenius, bishop of Laodicea  
 Combusta 66  
 Maria, virgin 66, 71, 74, 143, 242, 351, 364, 385  
 Maria, sister of Lazarus 433  
 Maria Magdalena 242  
 Marius Mercator 308  
 Martinianus, martyr 240  
 Martinus Turonensis 64, 68  
 Martyres XL in Cappadocia 462-463  
 Maternus Mediolanensis 77  
 Matthaëus, apostle 417, 422  
 Maurini, religious congregation 180-181, 206,  
 219, 233, 237, 482  
 Mauritius, emperor 232, 247  
 Maximianus Donatista, deacon 378  
 Maximinus Arianus, *Dissertatio contra*  
*Ambrosium* 169  
 Maximinus Arianus (pseudo) 40, 168-176  
 Maximus Mediolanensis 369  
 Maximus Patauinus 35  
 Maximus Taurinensis I 5, 14, 32, 41, 49, 51,  
 89, 91, 114-117, 128, 135-156, 160, 165, 168,  
 215, 347-369, 371, 482-484  
*Sermones* 39  
 1-89 365  
 1-66 368  
 1 354  
 1, 1. 2 354  
 1, 3 355  
 2 354  
 3-44 368  
 3 138, 356, 362  
 3, 1 349, 362  
 3, 2-3 152  
 4 152, 355  
 5 355  
 6 355  
 6, 1 364  
 7 355, 367-368  
 8 367-368  
 9 354  
 10-11 355  
 10 114, 152, 352, 360  
 10, 1 114-115  
 10, 2 115-116, 142  
 11 114, 116  
 12 152, 355  
 13 351, 363  
 13, 1 353  
 13, 2 352  
 13A-B 351, 363, 365, 368

## Maximus Taurinensis I (cont.)

- 13A, 1. 2 351  
 14 355, 367, 370  
 15 152, 355  
 16 355  
 16, 2 354  
 17 356-357, 369  
 18 369  
 18, 3 150, 357  
 19 356  
 19, 1 139, 362  
 20 360, 365  
 21 358  
 21, 2 349  
 22 369  
 22, 1 144  
 22A 365, 368  
 22A, 4 144, 358  
 23 362  
 24 355  
 25, 3 354  
 26 146, 356  
 26, 4 360  
 27 368  
 27, 1. 2 361  
 28 356, 366, 368  
 28, 1-2 361  
 29 354, 356, 364  
 29, 4 360  
 30 140, 349, 358, 369  
 30, 1 139  
 30, 3 359  
 30, 31 145  
 31 349, 358  
 31, 1 358  
 31, 2 359  
 32 356, 369  
 32, 1 357  
 32, 2 362  
 33 135, 356, 360, 369  
 33, 1 349, 362  
 33, 2 139, 361  
 34 358  
 34, 2 356  
 35 353  
 36 353  
 36, 2 357  
 36, 2. 4 144
- 36, 4 144  
 37-38 354, 363, 365  
 38, 4 364, 367  
 39 354, 363  
 39, 2 355  
 39A 354, 363, 365, 368  
 40 369  
 40, 2 360  
 41 356  
 41, 5 146, 360  
 42 356  
 42, 1 139, 145, 362  
 42, 5 367  
 43 360  
 44 369  
 44, 2 354  
 44, 4 145  
 45 367  
 46-49 368  
 46 366  
 47 366  
 48 356  
 48, 4 358  
 49 356  
 49, 2 360  
 49, 4 358  
 50 353  
 50, 1 140, 144  
 50A 144, 353, 365  
 50A, 1 143, 352  
 51 353, 370  
 51, 1 143  
 52 353  
 53-55 353  
 53 369  
 54 363  
 54, 1 364  
 55 363  
 56-89 368  
 56 146, 353, 363  
 56, 1 353  
 56, 2 354  
 56, 3 360  
 57-59 354, 364  
 57 363  
 58 146, 363  
 58, 3 360  
 59 363

60 351, 368  
 60, 2 351  
 60, 4 363  
 61 351, 368  
 61, 1 358  
 61, 3 364  
 61A-C 368  
 61A 351, 365  
 61B-C 351, 365, 367  
 62 351  
 63 146, 359  
 63, 1-2 145  
 63, 2 359  
 63, 3 147, 359  
 64 351  
 65 351  
 65, 1 352-353  
 65, 3 367  
 66-70 353  
 66 353  
 66, 1 353, 360  
 66, 2 353  
 67 353, 363  
 69, 2 352  
 69, 4 353, 358  
 71 362  
 72 356  
 73 365  
 73, 3 146  
 74-77 354  
 74-76 369  
 74 363  
 75 363  
 75, 3 364  
 76 363  
 77, 1 364  
 78 364  
 78, 1 349  
 78, 2 367  
 79 139-140, 362  
 80, 1 139, 362  
 81-85 150  
 81 356, 365, 369  
 82 356, 365  
 82, 1 356  
 82, 2 357  
 83 150  
 84, 3 365

85, 1-2 356  
 86 356  
 86, 3 150  
 87 367  
 88 361  
 89 139-140, 361  
 90-111 365  
 90 367-368  
 90, 3 360  
 91 368  
 91, 1 139, 362  
 91, 2 358-359  
 92 361, 365  
 92, 1-2 139, 145  
 92, 1 139, 361-362  
 93-98 368  
 93-94 356  
 93 361, 365, 369  
 94 361, 369  
 95 369  
 97 354, 367  
 98 146, 359  
 98, 1 359  
 98, 2 357-358  
 99 150, 351  
 100-103 351  
 101, 1 145  
 101, 2 364  
 102, 1 362  
 102, 2 350  
 103, 1 350  
 104 367  
 105 146, 355  
 105, 1 349  
 106 146, 349, 355  
 106, 2 358  
 107 349  
 107, 1-2 145, 358  
 108 139, 145, 358  
 109 367  
 110 354, 366  
 111 353  
 162 368

*sermo* Weidmann 1 (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo*

Caillau II, app. 43) 367

2-3 (CPPM 5896) 367-368

4 (Ps. Augustinus, app. 162) 367-368

Maximus Taurinensis I (pseudo) 45, 51

*sermo* 10B 367

- Maximus Taurinensis II 347, 367-371  
*In reparatione ecclesiae* 370  
 Maximus Taurinensis III (pseudo) 371  
 Medea, mythological character 62  
 Melito Sardensis, *De corpore et anima* 296  
*Peri Pascha* 295-296  
 Mennas, martyr 240-241  
 Messianus, priest 199  
 Meyranesius, Giuseppe Francesco 371  
 Michael, archangel 242  
*Miracula Sancti Stephani* (CPL 391), 4, 2 70  
 Mita, Domenico 405, 424  
 Monica, Augustine's mother 382  
 Moyses (O.T.) 360, 365, 388-389, 439, 447  
 Musaeus Massiliensis 33, 253  
 Mutianus, translator 306, 311
- Natalis, martyr 240  
 neo-Platonism 335  
 Nereus & Achilleus, martyrs 240-241  
 Nestorius (Nestorian) 147, 307, 360  
 Nilus (pseudo), *Ep.* IV, 61 (to Olympiodorus)  
 68-69, 72, 74  
 Noe (O.T.) 391  
 Nouatianus (novatianism) 436  
 Nouatianus (pseudo) 12  
 Nun (O.T.) 116
- Octavius, Aduentus & Solutor, martyrs in  
 Turin 152, 355  
 Odysseus, mythological character 365  
 Olympiodorus, fictitious eparch 68-69  
 Optatus Mileuitanus 32, 94, 375-376, 384,  
 398  
*Sermo de natali sanctorum innocentium*  
 376, 381, 394-395, 397, 401  
*Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* 306, 313  
 Origenes (Origenism) 15, 33, 36, 46, 94, 137,  
 211, 215, 277-278, 294-298, 310, 430, 462,  
 466  
*Hom. in I Reg.* 1, 1 297  
*Hom. in Ieremiam* 297  
*Hom. in Iob* 296  
*Hom. in Psalmos* 5, 277, 296-297  
*In Canticum canticorum hom.* 297  
*In Epistulam ad Romanos* 460  
*In Exodum hom.* 297  
*In Ezechielem hom.* 297
- In Genesim hom.* 297  
*In Iesu Naue hom.* 297  
*In Isaiam hom.* 297  
*hom.* 9 297  
*In Leuiticum hom.* 297  
*In librum Iudicum hom.* 297  
*In Lucam hom.* 297, 313  
*In Numeros hom.* 297  
 Origenes Latinus (CPG 1510-18; CPL 668-75)  
 296, 313  
 Origenes (pseudo) 303  
 Ostrogothi 17, 232, 243  
 Ouidius 383
- Pacianus Barc. 7, 430, 450  
*Ceruulus (Ceruus)* 438  
*De Baptismo* 32, 436-444  
 1, 1-2 443  
 1, 1 438  
 1, 2 438-439  
 1, 3-6 439-440  
 1, 3 443  
 1, 4 440  
 2, 1 443  
 2, 2. 4 440  
 3, 2. 4 440  
 4, 1 440  
 4, 2 443  
 5, 1 440  
 6, 4 441  
 6, 5 442  
 7, 1-2 441  
 7, 2 441  
 7, 3. 4. 5 442  
 7, 6 442-443  
 7, 7 442  
*De paenitentibus* 436-437  
 I 3 438  
 II 3-4 438  
*Epp.* (CPL 561) 436  
*Sermo* 444  
 Palladius, *Dialogus de uita Chrysostomi* 4, 1  
 460, 464  
 Pancratius, martyr in Taormina 240-242  
 Paschasinus Lilybet. 341  
*Pater noster* (Lord's prayer; Matth. 6, 10-13)  
 419  
 Paterius, notary 247

- Patiens Lugdunensis 253  
 Paula, patron of Jerome 274-275, 279-280  
 Pauli, Sebastianus 405-406, 424  
 Paulinus Nolanus 64, 68, 78, 148, 215, 454  
     *Carmen* 27 72-74  
     *Epist.* 30, 2 68  
         32 64  
         32, 2 68  
 Paulus, apostle 40, 66-67, 94, 103-104, 139,  
     152, 242, 267, 281, 327, 331, 339-340, 342,  
     354-355, 370, 461  
 Paulus Diaconus, *Homiliarium* 45-46, 49, 51,  
     247, 297, 305, 311, 313, 370, 378, 402  
 Paulus Diaconus (pseudo) 401  
 Paulus Silentarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiae* 63  
 Pelagius II, pope 232, 241, 243-244  
 Pelagius (Pelagianism) 128, 147, 182, 186,  
     188-189, 215, 217, 302-303, 305, 311, 334,  
     360, 379, 384-385  
     see also: Semi-pelagians  
 Persius, poet 278  
 Petilianus Donatista, *Ep. ad presbyteros et*  
     *diaconos* 4-5 391  
 Petronius Veronensis (Bononiensis?) 41  
 Petrus Chrysologus 14, 16, 23, 33, 41, 44-45,  
     90, 135-156, 371, 421, 482-483  
     *Ep. ad Eutychem* 403  
     *Sermones* 403-429  
         1-6 419  
         1 416, 423  
         2 143, 411, 416, 420, 422  
         3 416, 420  
         4 411, 416, 420, 423  
         5 411, 413-414, 416, 420-423  
         6 150, 416, 423  
         7-9 419  
         7 (Ps. Augustinus, s. 97) 402, 406, 418,  
             423-424  
         7, 6 145  
         7bis 409, 418  
         8 418, 423  
         8, 3 145  
         9 418  
         10 416, 423  
         10, 5 146  
         11-13 419  
         11 150, 416, 418  
         12 407, 416, 418, 423  
         13 143, 416, 418, 423  
         14 416, 418, 423-424  
         15 417, 421, 423  
         16-17 419  
         16 416-417  
         17 416-417, 423  
         18-20 419  
         18 414, 420  
         20 150, 416, 420, 423  
         21 150, 416, 423  
         22-27 419  
         22 417, 421, 424  
         23 417, 423-424  
         23, 2 146  
         24 417, 423  
         24, 3 146  
         25 417, 424  
         26 410, 423  
         27 143, 415, 423  
         28-31 419  
         28 417, 423-424  
         29 417, 422-423  
         30 417, 422-423  
         31 148, 418  
         32 423  
         33 417, 419-420, 423  
         34-36 419  
         34 416-417, 420, 423  
         35 417, 420, 423  
         36 411, 414, 417, 419-420, 423  
         36, 1 142  
         37 417, 420  
         38 417, 423  
         39 411, 413, 417, 421, 423  
         39, 5 143  
         40 417, 419, 423  
         41-43 419  
         41 418, 423  
         42 418, 424  
         43 150, 411, 414, 418, 423  
         43, 1 141  
         44 416, 420, 423  
         45 150, 416  
         46 416, 420, 422  
         47 423  
         47, 3-4 150  
         48-49 419  
         48 423

## Petrus Chrysologus (cont.)

- 50 417, 420, 423  
 51-52 419  
 51 411, 413, 416, 422  
 51, 1 136  
 52 410-411, 416, 420  
 54 417, 423  
 55-62 419  
 55 421  
 56-62A 146  
 56 419  
 57 419, 422  
 58 419, 422  
 59 414, 419, 422  
 60 411, 419, 422-423  
 60, 4 146-147  
 61-70 137  
 61 419, 422  
 61, 1 139  
 62 (bis) 414, 419, 422  
 63-65 419  
 63 417, 420, 423  
 64 413, 417, 420  
 65 417, 423  
 65, 6 143  
 66 417  
 67-72 419  
 67 405, 411, 423  
 68 405, 419, 423  
 69 419  
 70 405, 411, 419, 423  
 71 405, 419, 422-423  
 72 405, 419, 423  
 72B 142, 409, 418  
 72ter 409, 418-419, 423  
 73 140, 418  
 73, 3 137  
 74-84 419  
 74 418-419, 421, 423  
 74, 1 139  
 75 408, 418-419, 421  
 75, 1, 8 139  
 75, 8 138  
 76 418-419, 423  
 77 411, 418-419  
 77, 1 138  
 78 418-419  
 79 411, 413, 418-419  
 79, 2 151  
 80 418-420  
 81 418-419, 421, 423  
 82 415, 418  
 83 418, 423  
 84 418  
 84, 10 146  
 85 418  
 85, 1 140  
 85A (bis) 140, 409  
 85ter 409, 418, 424  
 86-92 419  
 86 138, 411, 413, 417-419, 422  
 87 417, 419  
 88 411, 417, 422  
 88, 5 146  
 89-91 419  
 89 411, 414, 417, 420  
 90 417  
 91 (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* 199) 407, 415,  
 417, 421  
 92 415-417  
 93-95 419  
 93 416, 420, 423  
 94 411, 413, 416, 420, 423  
 95 408, 413, 416, 420-421, 423  
 96 411, 413, 417, 419-423  
 97 148, 152, 411, 417, 419-420  
 98 411, 413, 417  
 99 417, 420-421  
 99A (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* Mai 2) 148,  
 407, 416, 423  
 100 417  
 101 411, 417, 419, 422-423  
 102 417, 423  
 103 417, 423  
 103, 7 144, 150  
 104 417  
 104, 5 145  
 105 143, 146, 148, 417, 420  
 106 148, 407, 417, 421, 423  
 108-118 419  
 108 423  
 109 411, 413, 423  
 110-119 418  
 112 412-415, 419, 423  
 113 423  
 115 411, 415, 420

116 415, 423  
 117 419  
 118 143, 414, 423  
 120 419-421, 423  
 121-124 419  
 121 417, 419, 424  
 122 142, 411, 414, 417-419, 424  
 123 411, 417, 419-420, 424  
 124 417, 424  
 125 411, 413, 417, 419  
 126 411, 417, 419-420  
 127 414, 418  
 128 140, 419  
 128, 3 152  
 130 137, 419, 424  
 130, 3 136  
 130A 136-137, 149, 410, 419  
 131 417, 419, 423  
 132 414, 417, 420, 423  
 133 418  
 134 419  
 136 419  
 137 418, 423-424  
 139 417, 420  
 140 418-419  
 140bis 408, 418  
 140ter (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* 124) 407,  
 411, 413, 418  
 141 408, 418, 424  
 142-144 419  
 142 418  
 142, 13 147  
 143 406, 418  
 143, 5 143  
 144 418  
 144, 7 146  
 145-146 419  
 145 418, 422  
 146 418, 420  
 147 418, 422  
 148 418  
 148bis 408, 418, 423  
 150-151 419  
 150 418, 423  
 151 407, 418  
 152 (Ps. Ambrosius, *sermo* 147; Ps.  
 Augustinus, *sermo* 135; Ps. Augustinus,  
*sermo* Mai 109) 407, 418-419  
 153 418-419

154 419  
 155 146, 422  
 155A 146, 408, 422  
 156-160 419  
 156 411, 413, 418, 420-423  
 157 141, 418, 422  
 158 418, 423  
 160 418  
 161 417  
 162 424  
 163 417  
 164 148, 417, 423  
 165 136-137, 149, 419  
 166-167 419  
 166 418  
 167 418, 423  
 167, 4 143  
 168 416, 420  
 169 416, 420-421, 423  
 169, 5 148  
 170 416, 423  
 171 417  
 172 417, 423  
 172, 3 148  
 173 418, 420, 422  
 173, 2 140  
 174 151, 418  
 175 136-137, 149, 418-419, 423  
 176 417, 420-421  
 177 (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* Mai 5) 407,  
 417, 423-424  
 178 (Ps. Augustinus, *sermo* Mai 6) 407,  
 417  
 179 409, 418  
 see also: *Collectio Felicianae*  
 Petrus Chrysologus (pseudo), *sermones*  
 53 404  
 107 404, 411-412, 418, 423  
 119 404  
 129 404, 419  
 135 404, 419  
 138 405, 417  
 149 405, 418  
 159 405, 418  
 extr. 7 (CPL 236) 410  
 see also: Augustinus (pseudo), s. Caillau  
 1, 19; *Benedictio fontis; Rotulus*  
*Rauennae; Seuerianus Gabalitanus*  
 (pseudo)

- Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae* 52
- Petrus, apostle 40, 66-67, 152, 242, 267, 281,  
327, 329, 331, 333, 339-340, 342,  
354-355, 360, 364, 370, 389, 417-418, 461
- Philastrius Brixienis 41, 461
- Philipus, apostle 242
- Philo Alexandrinus 310
- Phoebadius Agennensis 431
- Plato 335
- Plutarchus 306
- Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus* 329
- Pontius Pilatus 440
- Pontius, martyr in Cimiez 152, 260
- Possidius, *Indiculus* 16, 36, 38, 40, 183-184  
104, 1-4 37  
106, 1-199. 202 185  
*Vita Augustini* 36, 177, 184, 375-376, 398  
5 177  
7 36, 177  
9 36, 177  
15 36  
31 177
- Potamius Olisiponensis 7, 18, 41-42, 430,  
434-435, 440, 450  
*De Lazaro* 14, 21, 303, 431-432  
*De martyrio Esaiæ prophetæ* (CPL 543)  
431  
*Ep. ad Athanasium* 431  
*Ep. de substantia patris et filii et spiritus  
sancti* (CPL 544) 431
- Primasius Hadrumentinus 236
- Primianus Carthaginensis 378
- Priscillianus Auilensis (Priscillianism) 7, 33,  
430, 443-450  
*Tract.* 4 446-449  
5-10 446  
5 446, 450  
6 446, 449-450  
7 446, 450  
8 446  
9-11 446, 449
- Processus & Martinianus, martyrs in Rome  
241-242
- Proclus Constantinopolitanus 5, 142, 313  
*De laudibus s. Mariæ* (hom. 1) 308  
*In s. Iohannem Chrysostomum* (hom. 20)  
308  
*In s. uirginem* (hom. 5) 308
- Proclus Constantinopolitanus (pseudo) 306  
*In annuntiationem beatissimæ dei genitricis*  
308
- Proiectus, bishop of Imola 419
- Prosper Aquitanus, *Epigrammata* 42
- Prudentius 76  
*Dittochæon* (*Tituli historiarum*) 64  
42 69  
*Peristephanon* 64  
9, 9-92 65  
11 65  
11, 125-126 65  
12, 43-44 65
- Pseudo-Eusebius Alexandrinus 309  
*De Christi passione* 309  
*In diabolum et orcum* 309  
see also: *Sermo de confusione diaboli*;  
*Sermo de dominicæ obseruatione*
- Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II 71
- Quintilianus 105, 107, 118, 493  
*Inst.* 3, 3, 1 108  
3, 4, 1-16 107  
3, 4, 16 107  
3, 4, 7 107  
3, 5, 2 105  
3, 5, 3 107  
3, 6, 66-67 109  
3, 7, 1-28 107  
3, 7, 1 107  
4, 1, 1-6, 1, 55 110  
4, 1, 1-79 110  
4, 2, 1-132 110  
4, 3, 1-17 110  
4, 3, 30 118  
4, 3, 31 119  
4, 4, 1-4, 5, 28 110  
5, 1, 1-5, 14, 35 110  
6, 1, 1-55 110  
8, 1, 1-9, 4, 147 110  
8, 6, 44-57 114  
9, 2, 4 118  
9, 2, 6-16 123  
9, 2, 30-37 119  
9, 3, 30 118, 123  
9, 3, 81-84 123  
9, 3, 81 118  
9, 3, 85 125  
9, 3, 98 119, 123



- Quoduultdeus Carthaginensis 42, 117-120,  
 128, 138, 149-150, 184, 215  
*Adu. quinque haereses* 1, 7-11 147  
 2, 8, 3 138  
*De symbolo ad catecumenos* 117  
 3, 1, 3-21 118  
 3, 1, 7 118  
 3, 1, 12 118  
 3, 1, 14-15 118  
 3, 1, 19-20 119  
 3, 2, 1-13, 7 118  
 3, 2, 1-3, 17 118  
 3, 2, 1 118  
 3, 2, 2, 6, 15 119  
 3, 2, 16 120  
 3, 4, 1-22 118  
 3, 4, 7 120  
 3, 4, 12 120  
 3, 4, 16 120  
 3, 4, 21 118, 120  
 3, 4, 22 120  
 3, 5, 1-24 118  
 3, 5, 6-7 120  
 3, 5, 9 118, 120  
 3, 5, 21-23 120  
 3, 6, 1-10 118  
 3, 7, 1-5 118  
 3, 7, 5 118  
 3, 8, 1-8 118  
 3, 8, 8 118  
 3, 9, 1-11 118  
 3, 9, 6-8 119  
 3, 9, 9 120  
 3, 9, 11 120  
 3, 10, 1-2 118  
 3, 11, 1-12, 5 118  
 3, 11, 4 120  
 3, 12, 2 120  
 3, 13, 1-7 118  
 3, 13, 1 118  
 3, 13, 5 120  
*sermones* 11-12 (de tempore barbarico 1-2)  
 150  
*Sermo contra Iudaeos, paganos, et Arianos*  
 184  
 Rabanus Maurus 50, 247  
 Rebecca (O.T.) 393  
*Recognitiones* 172, 460  
 Remigius Autissidorensis 50  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 118  
 1, 2, 2 107  
 1, 2, 3 108  
 1, 3, 4-2, 31, 50 107  
 1, 3, 4 109  
 1, 3, 5-2, 31, 50 108  
 1, 3, 5-7, 11 109  
 1, 8, 12-10, 16 109  
 1, 10, 17 109  
 1, 10, 18-2, 29, 46 109  
 1, 11, 18-17, 27 109  
 2, 30, 47-31, 50 109  
 3, 1, 1-5, 9 108  
 3, 2, 2-5, 9 107  
 3, 6, 10-8, 15 107-108  
 3, 9, 16-10, 18 108  
 3, 11, 19-15, 27 109  
 3, 16, 28-24, 40 109  
 4, 1, 1-56, 69 109  
 4, 8, 11-55, 69 110  
 4, 13, 19 118  
 4, 14, 20 119  
 4, 15, 21 118  
 4, 23, 33 119  
 4, 34, 46 114  
 4, 52, 65 486  
 4, 53, 66 119  
 Roberto de' Bardi, *Collectorium sermonum  
 sancti Augustini* 51-52, 179  
*Rotulus Rauennae* 410  
 Rufinus Aquileiensis 18, 33, 215, 234, 274,  
 278, 296-297, 299-301, 310, 366, 460,  
 464-465  
 Ruricius Lemouicinus, *ep.* 2, 12 (to Ceraunia)  
 78  
*Sacramentarium Gelasianum* 343  
*Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* (CPL 1899)  
 343  
*Sacramentarium Gregorianum* 343  
*Sacramentarium Leonianum* (CPL 1897;  
*Veronense*) 343  
 Saluianus Massiliensis 33, 35, 253, 341  
*Sancti Catholici Patres* (homiliary) 50-51,  
 179, 313, 369  
 Saul (O.T.) 393-394

- Sebastianus, martyr in Rome 240-241  
 Second Sophistic 15  
*Secunda Clementis* 13, 2 363  
 Secundinus Tauromenitanus 237-238  
 Sedatus Nemausiensis 41  
 Sedulius Scottus 53  
 Semi-pelagiani 261  
 Seneca 259, 383  
 Serenus Massiliensis 75-76  
*Sermo arrianorum anonymus* 169  
*Sermo de confusione diaboli* 309  
*Sermo de cruce et latrone* (CPPM 940) 302-303  
*Sermo de dominicae obseruatione* 309  
*Sermo de passione Donati et Aduocati* 376, 379, 381, 386, 394, 396-397, 401  
*Sermo quare iusti tardius audiuntur* 42  
*Sermones ad fratres in eremo* 52, 184  
*Sermones Donatisti* 373-402, 483  
 Seuerianus Gabalitanus 5, 18, 302, 307, 403  
     *De caeco nato* 307  
     *De pace* 307  
     *In theophaniam* 307  
 Seuerianus Gabalitanus (pseudo Seueri(a)-nus) 45, 302, 307, 403  
     see also: Augustinus (pseudo), *sermo* Mai 37  
 Seuerus Antiochenus 74, 142  
 Seuerus Minoricensis 95  
 Sidonius Apollinaris 148  
     *Epist.* 9, 3, 5 36  
 Silius Italicus, *Punica* 383  
 Simon Magus 172, 355  
 Sirmond, J. 180  
 Sixtus II, pope 338  
 Sixtus III, pope 330, 339  
 Sixtus V, pope 165  
 Solutor Taurinensis, martyr 152  
 Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9, 1, 4 71  
 Stephanus, deacon, author of the *Vita Caesarii* 199  
 Stephanus, first martyr 40, 70, 95, 186, 212-213, 242, 419  
 Sully, Maurice de, bishop of Paris 247  
 Susanna (O.T.) 364, 467  
 Sylvester, pope 239, 241  
 Terentius 278, 288  
     *Phormio* 454 288  
 Tertullianus 14-15, 94, 110, 383, 395, 433, 455  
     *Apol.* 39, 3 110  
     *De anima* 9, 4 94  
     *De idol.* 10, 5 110  
*Testamenta XII Patriarcharum, Test. Leui* 14 172  
 Tharsilla, aunt of Gregorius M. 245  
 Theodoretus Cyri 307  
 Theodoricus, Ostrogothic king 169-170  
 Theodorus, Roman monk 245  
 Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *Expositio in Psalmos* 311  
 Theodosius I, emperor 164  
 Theodosius II, emperor 347-348  
     see also: *Codex Theodosianus*  
 Theodotion, translator 279  
 Theodotus Ancyranus 307  
 Theophanes, count 245  
 Thomas, apostle 354  
 Tilius (Jean du Tillet) 437  
 Timotheus Aelurus 332  
 Tobias (O.T.) 393  
 Traversari, Ambrogio 304  
 Vaison, Council of 529, *canon* 2 201  
 Valentinianus III, emperor 338  
     *Novella* (June 445) 339  
 Valerianus Cemeliensis, *Ep. ad monachos* 254  
     *Hom.* 33, 35, 38, 41, 51, 150, 152, 253-262, 265-269, 300, 305  
         1 149  
         1, 6 255-256  
         1, 7 256  
         2 262  
         3 262  
         3, 1 262  
         3, 2 256  
         4, 2-3 256  
         5 256  
         5, 1-2 256  
         5, 3 256  
         5, 6 257  
         6 257  
         6, 3-4, 5-6 257  
         7 150, 258  
         7, 4-5 258  
         8 258

9	150	<i>Sermones</i>	32, 38	
9, 2-4	258	I, 8	459	
9, 5	259	I, 9	459	
10	259	I, 13	457	
11, 7	256	I, 14, 6	458	
12	257, 259	I, 15	457	
12, 1-4	257	I, 18	459	
12, 4, 5	257	I, 25	459	
12, 6	257, 268	I, 26-32	457	
12, 7	257, 260	I, 28	459	
13	257, 259	I, 30	459	
13, 4, 7	257	I, 32	458	
14	259	I, 33, 1	457	
14, 4	259	I, 34	457	
15	260	I, 34, 2	456	
15, 4	260	I, 37	457	
15, 5	261	I, 38	457-458	
16	152, 260-261	I, 39	457	
16, 1, 3	261	I, 40	457	
16, 5	261	I, 43	457	
17	152, 260-261	I, 46B	459	
17, 3	260	I, 51	459	
17, 4	262	I, 52	459	
17, 5-6	262	I, 54	457	
18, 5	256	I, 59	457	
19, 1	256	I, 62	457	
Valerius Hipponensis	177	II, 1, 16	459	
Valerius Niciensis	255	II, 1, 19	459	
Vandali	17, 117, 121, 150, 375, 377, 384	II, 6	457	
Vergilius	288	II, 6, 1	459	
<i>Georgica</i>	7, 3	172	II, 7, 1	459
Victor Cartennensis	33	II, 7, 11	458	
Victorinus Aemilianus, monk	245	II, 8	457	
Vigilius, pope	343	II, 9, 1-2	460	
Vignier, Hieronymus	180	II, 12	457	
Viuentius, bishop	199	II, 16	459	
Vlimmerius, Johannes	180, 482	II, 17	459	
		II, 20	459	
Zacchaeus (N.T.)	383, 385, 389, 417	II, 20, 2	459	
Zacharias, father of Iohannes Baptista	417	II, 24, 3	458	
Zacharias, <i>Vita Seueri</i>	74	II, 25	459	
Zeno Veronensis	5, 16, 42, 89-90, 94, 454-462, 469, 471, 484, 493	II, 28	458-459	
		Zeno Veronensis (pseudo)	431	

# Index of Modern Names

- Abel, F.-M. 63  
Adkin, N. 278  
Adriaen, M. 234, 285  
Alès, A. d' 199, 206-207, 209-215  
Alexander, J.S. 378-379  
Alici, L. 149  
Allen, Pauline 14, 19, 111, 114, 135-156, 238, 259, 482, 489  
Altaner, B. 299, 301  
Altendorf, H.D. 307  
Amand de Mendieta, E. 299-300  
Amos, T. 253  
Anang, C. 334, 338  
Anderson, G. 15, 108  
Anglada Anfruns, Àngel 436-438  
Arbeiter, A. 66-67, 69  
Armitage, J.M. 341  
Arns, P.E. 277  
Aubineau, M. 306  
Auerbach, E. 14  
Auwers, J.-M. 466  
Ayres, L. 492  
  
Bady, G. 18, 301, 304  
Baehrens, W.A. 297  
Bailey, Lisa K. 17, 19, 94, 96, 150-152, 198, 201, 204, 209, 215, 219, 253-273, 479, 485  
Bailey, Rob 270  
Baldovin, J.F. 140  
Banniard, Michel 89, 243-244, 246  
Banterle, G. 456  
Bardenhewer, O. 159  
Bardy, G. 61, 65, 203-204, 214, 298, 310  
Barnes, T.D. 110  
Barral i Altet, X. 69  
Barré, Henri 50, 165, 294, 306-307, 309  
Bartelink, G. 314  
Barthes, R. 92  
Baskin, J.R. 287  
Bass, Alden Lee 377, 379, 385, 483  
Bateson, Gregory 98  
Batiffol, P. 430  
Baxter, J.H. 412  
Beatrice, P.F. 466  
Beaujard, B. 264  
  
Beck, H.G.J. 198, 200  
Benedictus XVI, pope 470  
Benelli, A. 424  
Benericetti, R. 424  
Bergren, T.A. 297  
Bernt, G. 64  
Berrouard, M.-F. 187, 485  
Berschlin, W. 309  
Bidez, J. 71  
den Biesen, K. 298  
Bigelmair, A. 455-456  
Bisconti, F. 77  
Bishop, R.W. 5  
Bizzozero, Andrea 403-429, 483  
Blanchard-Lemée, M. 114  
Bless-Grabher, M. 65  
Blowers, P.M. 255, 259  
Boehrer, S. 460-462  
Böhmer, G. 404-405, 407  
Bona, E. 202, 205  
Bonfiglio, E. 311  
Bonini, I. 205  
Bonner, S.F. 108  
Boodts, Shari 47, 177-197, 481, 483  
Borgomeo, P. 492  
Bori, P.C. 246  
Bouhot, Jean-Paul 45, 51, 111, 179, 238-239, 247, 300-305, 313, 376-377  
Bouwman, G. 311  
Bradbury, S. 95  
Braet, A. 109  
Brakke, D. 494  
Braun, J. 77  
Braun, René 42, 117-120, 138, 147, 150  
Brenk, B. 66  
Brinton, A. 106  
Brock, S. 74  
Brooks, E.C. 310  
Brottier, L. 303  
Brown, Peter 17, 91, 259, 454  
Brubaker, L. 69  
Bruce, S.G. 255  
Brunner, K. 198-199, 201, 204, 215  
Bruzzone, A. 264  
Buchem, L.A. van 264

- Bulhart, V. 430  
 Burgess, R.W. 121  
 Burns, J.P. 396  
 Burrus, V. 444-445, 494  
 Butler, H.E. 105, 107-110, 114, 118-119, 123, 125  
 Buytaert, E.M. 298
- Cabié, R. 336  
 Cacciari, A. 5  
 Cain, Andrew 274-293, 481, 486  
 Calboli Montefusco, L. 107, 434  
 Cameron, Alan 69, 74  
 Cameron, Averil 97  
 Cameron, M. 487  
 Campetella, M. 205  
 Canellis, A. 283  
 Cantalamessa, R. 296  
 Cantino Wataghin, G. 77  
 Capelle, B. 169, 343  
 Capelle, W. 430  
 Caplan, H. 107-110, 114, 118-119, 486  
 Capone, A. 301  
 Carey, C. 107  
 Carle, P.-L. 264  
 Carter, M.F. 107, 431  
 Caruso, G. 314  
 Casiday, A.M.C. 255, 261  
 Casula, L. 337  
 Cattaneo, E. 296  
 Cavernos, J.P. 60  
 Chadwick, H. 296, 444-446  
 Chaffin, C. 150  
 Chavassee, Antoine 45, 48, 121-125, 237, 242, 328-340, 343  
 Chiesa, P. 236, 294, 309, 312  
 Clarke, G.W. 115  
 Clarke, M.L. 108  
 Clerici, E. 205  
 Colombi, E. 294, 306  
 Conroy, M.C. 142, 351, 364  
 Conti, Marco 14, 303, 431-435, 444-450  
 Conway, A.J. 121, 123, 328, 337-338  
 Coppa, G. 310  
 Coppieters 't Wallant, B. 48, 178-179  
 Corsato, C. 464  
 Costa, I. 301  
 Courcelle, Pierre 91, 165, 309  
 Courreau, Joël 199, 204, 208, 210-211, 213-215
- Cracco Ruggini, Lellia 148, 465, 470  
 Craig, B.M. 115  
 Cremascoli, G. 233, 328  
 Crouzel, H. 277  
 Cugisi, P. 64  
 Cunningham, M.B. 17, 19, 137  
 Cupiccio, M. 312  
 Cuscito, Giuseppe 465-466  
 Cutino, M. 310
- Dagemark, S. 31  
 Dagens, C. 233, 243-244  
 Damme, D. van 12, 296  
 Datema, C. 62, 143  
 Davis, R. 330, 338  
 De Blaauw, S. 71, 241  
 De Bruyn, Theodore 96-97  
 De Bruyne, D. 406-407  
 De Clercq, C. 44  
 De Coninck, L. 48, 178-179  
 De Ghellinck, J. 179  
 De Maeyer, Nicolas 47, 127, 198-231  
 Deferrari, R.J. 61, 93, 277, 283  
 Degórski, B. 461  
 Dekkers, E. 12, 23, 37, 110, 159  
 Del Ton, J. 412, 417, 424  
 Delage, Marie-José 90, 198-202, 204-210, 214  
 Deleeuw, P. 248  
 Deliyannis, D.M. 136  
 Delmulle, J. 203  
 Demacopoulos, G.E. 329, 333, 342  
 Demeulenaere, R. 48, 178-179  
 Denis, A.-M. 172  
 Devoti, D. 136-137  
 Diercks, G.F. 115  
 Dissaderi, M. 466  
 Dodaro, R. 487  
 Dolbeau, François 4, 16, 31-58, 88, 93, 178-181, 183-185, 216-218, 456, 481, 483  
 Dolle, René 121, 328, 336, 339, 343  
 Dossey, Leslie 89-90, 380  
 Dresken-Weiland, Jutta 59-84, 481, 483  
 Drobner, Hubert R. 24, 66, 87-88, 90, 114, 140, 183-184, 418, 483  
 Duchesne, L. 330, 338  
 Dudden, F.H. 233, 237  
 Duffy, B.K. 106  
 Duncan, M. 15

- Dunn, Geoffrey D. 14, 103-134, 493  
 Dunn-Wilson, D. 103  
 Dupont, Anthony 16, 22, 111, 177-197, 217,  
 335-337, 481, 483, 492  
 Duval, Noël 90-91  
 Duval, Yves-Marie 277, 284, 461, 465, 470  
  
 Eden, K. 489  
 Eelen, A. 180, 187  
 Eizenhöfer, L. 343  
 Elliger, W. 62  
 Elliott, J.K. 23  
 Engelbrecht, A. 159, 165, 300  
 Engemann, J. 64  
 Ennaïfer, M. 114  
 Eno, R.B. 117, 150  
 Enos, R.L. 14  
 Étaix, Raymond 33-34, 38, 42-43, 51, 173-174,  
 203, 208, 215-216, 218, 233, 238-239, 248, 303,  
 307, 367, 370, 389, 402, 467  
 Ewald, Marie Liguori 276  
 Ewald, P. 241, 244  
  
 Falls, T.B. 94  
 Fedwick, P.J. 299-300  
 Feiertag, J.-L. 285  
 Ferguson, E. 443-444, 457-458  
 Ferreira, A. 202  
 Février, P.A. 69  
 Fiedrowicz, M. 138, 246, 481  
 Finn, R. 143  
 Finn, T.M. 117-118, 137, 390  
 Fischer, B. 181  
 Fitzgerald, A.D. 88  
 Fitzgerald, B. 74  
 Floryszczak, S. 236  
 Foerster, R. 63  
 Foletti, I. 77  
 Fontaine, J. 444  
 Forrai, R. 312  
 Fortenbaugh, W.W. 106  
 Foucault, Michel 97  
 Franklin, C.V. 312  
 Fransen, P.-I. 297-298, 300  
 Franes, Desiderius 117  
 Frede, H.J. 181  
 Fredouille, J.-C. 91  
 Freeland, J.P. 121, 123, 328, 337-338  
  
 Freese, J.H. 106-107  
 Friend, W.H.C. 376, 378  
 Friedländer, P. 63  
 Fulkerson, G. 111  
 Fux, P.-Y. 65  
  
 Gaar, E. 12, 23, 159  
 Gain, B. 299, 301, 308  
 Galli, A. 312  
 Ganss, George E. 141, 254-256, 260  
 Ganz, D. 298  
 Garver, E. 107  
 Garzya, A. 311  
 Gasparri, S. 243  
 Gauthier, N. 255  
 Gavriluk, P. 296  
 Geerlings, W. 177  
 Gemeinhardt, P. 430  
 Gerzaguët, Camille 94, 159-167, 482  
 Ghetta, M. 358  
 Giannarelli, E. 337  
 Gingras, G.F. 280  
 Giordano, L. 243  
 Giorgetti Vichi, Anna Maria 208  
 Glorie, Fr. 263-265, 267-269, 309  
 Glück, A. 34-35, 461-463  
 Gnlika, Ch. 63-65  
 Godding, R. 242  
 Goldbacher, A. 117  
 Goldschmidt, R.C. 64, 66, 73-74  
 Goosen, A.B.J.M. 444, 446, 449  
 Gori, F. 485-490  
 Goulet, M. 295  
 Gounelle, Rémi 168-176, 483, 485  
 Gourevich, A.I. 91  
 Granado, Carmelo 436-443  
 Grappone, A. 310  
 Grasser, S. 188  
 Graumann, T. 136, 310  
 Grech, P. 149  
 Green, Bernard 327-329, 336  
 Greenacre, R. 336  
 Gregg, R.C. 287  
 Grégoire, Réginald 31, 43, 45-48, 208,  
 253-255, 294, 308, 312-313  
 Gribomont, J. 310  
 Grillmeier, A. 337  
 Grimaldi, W.M.A. 106

- Grote, A.E.J. 303  
 Gryson, Roger 33, 40, 168-175, 181, 184, 208, 215, 295  
 Grzywaczewski, J. 202  
 Guglielmetti, R. 297  
 Guyon, J. 198  
  
 Haelewyck, J.-C. 172  
 Haldon, J. 69  
 Halkin, F. 308  
 Hall, B.M. 254  
 Hall, S.G. 296  
 Hall, T.L. 248  
 Hall, T.N. 302  
 Hallermayer, Michaela 78  
 Halliwell, W.J. 123  
 Halton, T.P. 276  
 Hamblenne, P. 284  
 Hamilton, R.W. 63, 279  
 Hamman, A.G. 184, 219, 445  
 Hansen, G.C. 71  
 Harmless, J.W. 90, 390, 443  
 Harries, J. 263-264  
 Harrison, Carol 18, 114, 151  
 Hartel, W. 382  
 Haselock, J. 336  
 Heath, M. 109  
 Heather, P. 17  
 Heggelbacher, O. 349  
 Heil, G. 60  
 Hen, Y. 212  
 Hendrickson, G.L. 105  
 Henschen, G. 347  
 Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, G. 64  
 Hermant, G. 159  
 Herron, M.C. 283  
 Hey, O. 309  
 Heyden, K. 61  
 Hilberg, I. 70, 144, 279, 284-285  
 Hill, E. 112, 217  
 Hillgarth, J.N. 431  
 Hinks, D.A.G. 107  
 Holeyton, D.R. 338  
 Holloway, P.A. 287  
 Holmes, T.S. 446, 448  
 Hombert, P.-M. 88, 169, 182-183, 483  
 Honigmann, E. 311  
 Hoppe, L. 279  
  
 Hritzu, J.N. 285, 464  
 Hubbell, H.M. 105, 107, 109-110, 112  
 Hübner, W. 37, 458  
 Huglo, M. 299-300  
 Hugoniot, C. 95  
 Humphries, Mark 454-456, 461, 463  
 Hunter, D. 6  
 Hurst, David 238, 244-245  
 Hylen, S.E. 494  
  
 Ihm, Ch. 66  
 Iogna-Prat, D. 242  
 Irigoin, J. 312  
 Izydorczyk, Z. 309  
  
 Jacobs, A.S. 494  
 Janini, J. 342  
 Januel, H. 412, 417, 424  
 Jay, Pierre 277  
 Jeanes, G.P. 90, 455-458  
 Jeanjean, B. 278  
 Jeffery, P. 282  
 Joffre, M.-D. 205  
 Judic, Bruno 141, 232-252, 481, 484  
 Junod, É. 137, 277  
  
 Kaiser-Minn, H. 67  
 Kamimura, N. 22  
 Kampling, R. 459  
 Kannengiesser, C. 416  
 Kappelmacher, A. 117  
 Kasper, C.M. 263-264  
 Keech, D. 460-461  
 Kennedy, G.A. 106, 108, 111  
 Kessler, S.Ch. 246  
 Kienzle, B.M. 254  
 Kirby, J.T. 108  
 Klausner, Th. 237-238  
 Klingshirn, W.E. 90, 126, 198-202, 204-205, 209, 212, 215  
 Klostermann, E. 297  
 Knox, Daniel 270  
 Kochaniewicz, B. 424  
 Kolbet, P.R. 15  
 Korol, D. 66, 68  
 Kötzsche, L. 62  
 Krautheimer, R. 241  
 Kunzelmann, A. 181-182

- La Bonnardière, A.-M. 183, 189, 485  
 La Rosa, V. 424  
 Labriolle, P. de 159  
 Lamarsen Tinambunan, E.R. 243  
 Lambot, Cyrille 90, 178-180, 207, 217  
 Lancel, S. 376-377, 380, 391, 394-395  
 Lardet, P. 280  
 Latouche, R. 255  
 Lausberg, H. 434, 438-439, 441, 486  
 Lawless, G. 187-188, 286  
 Lazzati, Giuseppe 163, 283  
 Le Goff, Jacques 245  
 Leanza, S. 296  
 Leemans, Johan 3-7, 59-60, 62-63  
 Lehmann, P. 300  
 Lehmann, T. 64, 68, 72  
 Lemarié, Joseph 50, 208, 296, 306, 424, 464,  
 467-470  
 Lendle, O. 60  
 Leonardi, C. 312  
 Leroy, François J. 34, 304-306, 308, 377-379,  
 382-385, 389-397, 401-402  
 Leroy, J. 263-264, 269, 309  
 Levine, P. 299  
 Lewin, A. 279  
 Lewis, Maxine 270  
 Leyser, Conrad 245, 248, 264  
 Lim, R. 95  
 Lizzi, Rita 455, 460, 465, 470  
 Lo Cicero, C. 299, 310  
 Lodi, E. 424  
 Löfstedt, B. 32, 455-460  
 Longère, J. 254  
 Loofs, F. 307  
 Lorini, T. 301  
 Lössl, J. 311  
 Love, R. 302  
 Lundström, S. 312  
  
 MacCoull, L.S.B. 309  
 Macé, C. 300  
 Machielsen, J. 52, 164, 184  
 MacMullen, Ramsay 14, 88-89, 104, 137, 190  
 Madec, G. 165, 185  
 Magalhães de Oliveira, Julio Cesar 91-92  
 Maier, J.-L. 88, 177, 182, 376  
 Mali, F. 306  
 Mandouze, A. 87, 96  
  
 Mango, C. 69, 71, 74  
 Manselli, R. 244  
 Marazzi, F. 243  
 Marcovich, M. 11  
 Margerie, B. de 147  
 Margoni-Kögler, M. 90, 189  
 Mariani Puerari, M. 418  
 Marin, M. 190  
 Markus, R.A. 233, 236-237, 329  
 Marrou, H.I. 96, 430  
 Martens, P.W. 387  
 Marti, H. 36, 299, 310  
 Martimort, A.G. 45  
 Martin, J. 111-113, 434  
 Martin, T.F. 114  
 Martyn, J.R.C. 233  
 Mascari, M.A. 456-457, 462  
 Mathisen, Ralph W. 78, 150  
 Mattei, P. 159  
 Matthiae, G. 241  
 Mavroudi, M. 294  
 Maxwell, Jaclyn L. 13, 89, 94  
 Mayer, C. 181, 186  
 Mayer, Wendy 11-27, 89, 103, 137, 145, 259,  
 481, 483  
 Mayeski, M.A. 210  
 McCormick, M. 243  
 McEachnie, Robert 454-475, 484, 493  
 McKinnon, J.W. 282  
 McKitterick, R. 46  
 McLaughlin, R.E. 93-94, 238  
 McLynn, N.B. 136, 148, 464  
 McNalley, R.E. 244  
 Mechlinsky, L. 187  
 Mercier, Paul 165  
 Merkt, Andreas 13, 31, 78, 135, 137, 139,  
 145-148, 152, 348-349, 362-363  
 Meslin, M. 146, 169-170, 172  
 Metzger, C. 69  
 Meyer, R. 460, 464  
 Meyers, J. 70  
 Meyvaert, P. 245  
 Michaud, J.N. 70  
 Mirhady, D.C. 106  
 Mohlberg, L.C. 343  
 Mohrmann, Ch. 93, 113, 163, 187-188, 190, 283,  
 294, 481  
 Molin Pradel, M. 5, 298



- Mommsen, Th. 121, 330, 387  
 Monceaux, Paul 376, 391  
 Montanari, E. 328  
 Montes Moreira, A. 432  
 Moore, Diane L. 3  
 Morel, C. 246  
 Moreschini, C. 299, 301  
 Morgan, E. 145  
 Morin, Germain 40, 43-44, 47, 116-117,  
 126-128, 138, 141, 149, 180-181, 201, 203,  
 205-209, 213-216, 219, 263, 275-289, 296, 309,  
 376-378, 401, 406-407  
 Mrass, M. 69  
 Muckle, J.T. 294  
 Mueller, Mary Magdeleine 201, 208  
 Mühlenberg, E. 6  
 Müller, B. 237  
 Müller, C. 298  
 Müller, H. 91, 137-138, 140, 481  
 Munier, C. 380  
 Murphy, F.X. 123  
 Musurillo, H. 311  
 Mutzenbecher, Almut 49, 114-116, 135-136,  
 138-140, 142-147, 150, 152, 165, 347, 349-369  
 Mynors, R.A.B. 311  
  
 Nadeau, R. 109  
 Näf, Beat 78  
 Naldini, M. 149, 328  
 Nasrallah, L.S. 494  
 Nauroy, G. 93, 159-160  
 Nautin, Pierre 277  
 Neil, Bronwen 120-121, 123, 145, 233, 259,  
 327-346, 481  
 Norberg, D. 74-76, 233, 241, 244  
 Norcock, C.R. 461  
 Norris, J. 488  
 Norris, M. 302  
 Noy, D. 470  
 Nürnberg, R. 264  
  
 Oberhelman, S.M. 14-16, 113, 283  
 Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. 93, 95-96  
 Olbricht, T.H. 109  
 Old, H. Oliphant 6, 198, 204, 209-211, 216  
 Olivar, Alejandro 6, 12, 16, 19, 31, 71-72, 78, 87,  
 93-96, 136-152, 205, 209-213, 215, 255, 307,  
 403-424, 430, 432, 437, 445  
  
 van Oort, J. 6, 328, 337, 339-340  
 Oravec, C. 107  
 Orbán, A.P. 309, 312  
 Oroz Reta, J. 113, 186  
 Ortenberg, V. 242  
 Osborn, R.E. 104, 110  
  
 Padovese, L. 146-147  
 Palanque, J.-R. 93, 162  
 Palardy, W.B. 136, 143, 145, 148, 152, 424  
 Parker, J.H. 234  
 Paronetto, V. 236  
 Partoens, Gert 16, 48, 127, 179-180, 186,  
 190-191, 198-231  
 Pease, A.S. 276-277, 283-284  
 Peiper, R. 40  
 Pellegrino, M. 181, 188, 190, 371  
 Pena, A. 298  
 Perelman, Ch. 93, 95-96  
 Peri, I. 297  
 Peri, Vittorio 277-278, 310  
 Perler, O. 88, 177, 182, 217  
 Perrone, L. 5, 298  
 Persiani, G. 303  
 Petschenig, M. 314  
 Peyrot, P.H. 436-437  
 Pezéz, W. 203  
 Picard, J.-Ch. 255  
 Pieri, F. 466  
 Pietri, C. 465  
 Pincherle, A. 401  
 Piussi, Sandra 466  
 Ployd, Adam 479-497  
 Pollheimer, M. 264, 267  
 Pollmann, K.F.L. 77  
 Polo de Beaulieu, M.A. 245  
 Pomarès, G. 330, 342  
 Pontet, M. 189  
 Poque, S. 90, 95, 186, 189  
 Porta, P.C. 297  
 Pozzi, G. 51, 179  
 Prinzivalli, E. 5, 297, 310  
 Probst, F. 163  
  
 Quacquarelli, A. 149  
  
 Rackham, H. 104-105, 107-110  
 Ramsey, Boniface 135-136, 142, 144, 147-148,  
 349-367, 369

- Rand, E.K. 309  
 Rapisarda, C.A. 205  
 Rapp, C. 151, 312  
 Raspanti, G. 285  
 Rauer, M. 297  
 Rebillard, Eric 87-102, 137, 481, 483, 489  
 Recchia, V. 243  
 Reifferscheid, A. 110  
 Remboldt, Berthold 180  
 Rhein, E. 66  
 Ricci, L.G.G. 236  
 Richardson, E.C. 35  
 Richtsteig, E. 63  
 Rivington, J. 234  
 Rizzi, M. 310  
 Roberts, M. 65  
 Rochette, B. 294  
 Rommel, F. 235  
 Rondeau, M.-J. 277  
 Rorty, A.O. 106  
 Rosenberg, S.P. 92, 96  
 Rousseau, Philip 12, 88-89, 137, 151, 459, 463  
 Rowe, G.O. 110  
 Rubio Fernández, L. 436-437, 443  
 Rudberg, S.Y. 299  
 Rylaarsdam, D. 15  
  
 Saak, E.L. 52, 184  
 Sachot, M. 430  
 Salvatore, A. 14, 205  
 Salvini, A. 299  
 Salzman, M.R. 114, 121, 329-330  
 Sandwell, Isabella 97  
 Santi, F. 243  
 Savon, Hervé 160, 163  
 Saxer, V. 189, 243  
 Schack, N. 255  
 Schäferdiek 376  
 Schaff, P. 70, 76  
 Schanz, M. 159  
 Schäublin, C. 13, 430-431  
 Schepens, Prosper 117  
 Schepss, Georg 33, 444-445, 449  
 Schiller, I. 5, 180  
 Schindler, A. 385  
 Schipper, H.G. 328, 337, 339-340  
 Schlitz, E. 424  
 Schmidt-Lauber, H.-C. 336  
  
 Schmitz, Ph. 44  
 Schneider, A.M. 62-63  
 Schnitzler, F. 187  
 Scholz, A. 465  
 Schulz-Flügel, E. 430  
 Schumacher, W.N. 67  
 Schüttrumpf, E. 107  
 Schwank, H. 243  
 Schwartz, E. 334  
 Scimè, G. 412, 425  
 Scorza Barcellona, F. 395  
 Scourfield, J.H.D. 283  
 Shaw, B.D. 18, 87, 94-95  
 Siegmund, A. 295, 405  
 Siffrin, P. 343  
 Simonetti, M. 117  
 Skeb, M. 68  
 Skutella, M. 162  
 Slim, H. 114  
 Slim, L. 114  
 Smith, T. 261  
 Sobrero, G. 43  
 Solmsen, F. 107  
 Sotinel, Claire 146, 148, 455, 464-466  
 Sottocornola, F. 90, 136, 152, 418, 424  
 Souter, A. 263  
 Spagnolo, A. 168, 172  
 Speyer, W. 62  
 Spinelli, G. 465  
 Spinelli, M. 137, 144-145, 150, 424  
 Sprigath, G. 74  
 Staats, R. 334  
 Stancliffe, C. 263  
 Stark, J.C. 494  
 Steger, D. 77  
 Stenger, J. 63  
 Sterk, A. 151  
 Stewart-Sykes, A. 13, 94  
 Stökl Ben Ezra, David 123, 330-331  
 Stowers, S.K. 94, 96  
 Straw, C. 233  
 Strecker, C. 443  
 Studer, B. 329, 334  
 Sturges, R. 184  
 Sutton, E.W. 104-105, 107, 109-110  
  
 Tamas, H. 5  
 Tardif, H. 467

- Tarulli, V. 149  
 Teitler, H.C. 36  
 Terraneo, G. 199-200, 202, 215  
 Thélamon, Françoise 465-466, 470  
 Thompson, R. 14  
 Thomson, H.J. 65  
 Thümmel, H.G. 62, 68, 70-71  
 Tibiletti, C. 150, 255  
 Tilley, Maureen 373-402, 483  
 Tovar Paz, F.J. 16  
 Traina, A. 294  
 Triacca, A.M. 264  
 Trisoglio, F. 205, 424, 461  
 Truzzi, Carlo 412, 415, 455-456, 459, 461, 464  
 Turner, C.H. 168-169, 172  
  
 Uthemann, Karl-Heinz 96-97  
  
 Vaccari, A. 205, 276, 303  
 Valli, N. 311  
 Van Dael, P.C.J. 59  
 Van Dam, R. 94  
 Van der Meer, F.G. 90  
 Van Hoof, L. 15  
 Van Neer, J. 187  
 Van Slyke, D. 117  
 Vannier, M.-A. 114  
 Varalda, P. 304  
 Verbraken, P.-P. 35, 40, 48, 53, 88, 178,  
 180-181, 203, 281, 305  
 Verdo, R. 205  
 Verheijen, L. 162  
 Verheyden, J. 172  
 Veronese, M. 448-449  
 Verwilghen, A. 113  
 Vessey, M. 33  
 Vinzent, M. 61  
 Vogel, C. 330, 338  
 Vogüé, Adalbert de 208, 213, 263  
 Voicu, Sever J. 294-326  
  
 Vollmann, B. 444-446, 448  
 Vorster, Ch. 71  
  
 Wagner, M. 310  
 Ward-Perkins, B. 17  
 Warland, R. 72, 77  
 Wasselynck, René 238  
 Waszink, J.H. 207  
 Way, A.C. 300-301  
 Weaver, R.H. 200, 261  
 Webb, R. 61  
 Weber, D. 5, 180  
 Weidmann, Clemens 5, 53, 114, 180, 185, 208,  
 347-372, 483-484  
 Weigel, Th. 71  
 Weiss, Jean-Pierre 150, 253-255, 258-261,  
 263-264, 300, 305  
 Wenger, A. 307  
 Wenk, W. 18, 49, 302  
 Wessel, S. 121, 123, 329  
 Westra, Liuwe H. 94, 430-453, 479, 482  
 Wicher, H.B. 299  
 Wilhelmsson, I. 306  
 Williams, M. 462, 466  
 Willis, G.G. 90, 189  
 Wilmart, André 35, 40, 48, 51, 179-180,  
 300-304, 376-379, 401-402, 430, 432-433  
 Wilpert, J. 72, 77  
 Wilson, P.S. 103  
 Winkelmann, F. 310  
 Winkin, Y. 98  
 Wisse, J. 106-107  
 Wissowa, G. 110  
 Wood, I. 40  
 Wright, D.F. 40  
 Wuellner, W. 110  
  
 Zangara, V. 39, 136, 138, 152, 370  
 Zattoni, G. 425  
 Zelzer, M. 161, 314

# Index of Manuscripts

- Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare  
ms. 6 367
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek  
Phillipps 1676 (*Homiliarium Eginonis*) 45,  
180, 312
- Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale  
ms. 11 201
- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica  
Vaticana  
Arch. S. Pietro C 105 (*Hom. S. Petri*) 180  
Vat. lat. 3828 47, 179  
3835-3836 (*Homiliarium Agimundi*) 46  
3836 403  
4222 294, 309  
4952 403  
5758 44, 403, 406-408
- Douai, Bibliothèque municipale  
212 49
- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de  
San Lorenzo  
R.III.5 378
- Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek  
CA. 4° 131 4-05, 53  
CA. 12° 11 22, 24, 180
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana  
14.10 368
- Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek  
cod. 23 370
- Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek  
Augiensis 80 312  
227 39
- Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale  
ms. 302 49  
ms. 1236 (1108) 368-369
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek  
I 9 4, 22, 180
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek  
cod. 218 370
- Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana  
C. 77. sup. 403  
C. 98. inf. 369-370
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
CGM 314 5, 298  
CLM 16057 53  
CLM 6329 34, 173
- Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale  
ms. 155 179
- Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana  
ms. 72 306
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal  
ms. 175 (*Collectio Armamentarii*) 47,  
303-304
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France  
lat. 3785 219  
3798 (*Collectio Colbertina*) 48  
5132 39  
8913-14 40  
10 593 300  
11 702 51  
11 703 51  
11 704 51  
12 141 378  
13 331 51  
13 387 51  
n.a.l. 1598-99 179
- [Reims, Saint-Remi, ms. burnt in 1774] 38
- Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale  
«Vittorio Emanuele II»  
Sessoriano 470 (2103) 368  
55 (2099) 165, 368  
99 (1545) 368  
Vitt. Em. 1190 (*Homiliarium Ottobeuren*)  
47
- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana  
B. 20 403
- Saint-Mihiel, Bibliothèque Bénédictine  
ms. Z 20 48
- Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek  
Ms. 188 368

Sankt-Petersburg, Rossijskaja nacional'naja  
biblioteka

Lat. Q. v. I 5 369

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale

279 369

Venezia, Collezione Giustiniani Recanati

*Frammenti ariani* 168

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare

LI (49) 34, 168-169

LIX (57) 43

LXXXV (80) 343

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

lat. 1616 179

lat. 4147 (*Coll. Vindobonensis*) 34, 304, 377

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

Weiss. 12 (Guelf. 4096; *Collectio*

*Guelferbytana*) 48, 179

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek

M. p. th. q. 3 33, 444-445